

A GENERAL INVENTORIE

OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE,

From the beginning of that MONARCHIE, vnto the Trea-
tie of VERVINS, in the yeare 1598.

Written by I HON DE SERRES.

And continued vnto these Times, out off the best Au-
thors which haue written of that Subiect.

Translated out of FRENCH into ENGLISH,
by EDWARD GRIMESTON Gentleman.



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TO THE RIGHT NOBLE
AND MOST WORTHY OF ALL
HONOURS, AND ALL TITLES,

THOMAS EARLE OF SUFFOLKE,
ROBERT EARLE OF SALISBURY.



Y MOST HONORED LORDS.

I dare not so much trespass against the publicke, as (after the solemn and tedious manner of Epistling) to vsurpe your time with a barren Preface: it is my gaine, if I be but heard to say, I dedicate my selfe: in which, I vnderstand my utmost abilities, and of those, doe here offer vnto your Lordships a small part, being rather the redemption of my life from the note of idlenesse, then any fruitfull course of liuing. For, being (after some yeares expence in France, for the publicke seruice of the State) retired to my priuate and domesticke cares, it was yet my couetousnesse to winne so much vpon them, as the leisure of Translation to this generall Historie of France, written by *Iohn de Serres*; an Author, whom (about mine own particular knowledge of this subiect) I haue heard vniuersally esteemed, for the most faithful, and free from affection, that euer toucht at that Argument; able to teach the vnlearned, to delight the learned, and draw to him as many Commenders, as Readers. The Maiesty, Graces, and Strength of whose worke, if I in my traduction, haue any way vnfinewed or deformed, I confesse a sinne against his graue; yet, in my consecration of him to
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your

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

your Lordships, I haue made him plenarie satisfaction: which presumption of mine, though he may glorie in, I haue no other meane to expiate, but by naked professing my selfe to both your Honours, bound in all obligation of dutie & seruice, no lesse then your selues are each to other in the faith of loue & freindship. For which sacred respect, I haue thus prefixed you joyned in the face of my Altar, where I omit to speake more of your mutuall and knowne merites, except I had volumes to fill, not pages: and desire onely, that where I am studious to be gratefull, I may not deserue to offend.

*Your Lordships deuoted in all
dutie and seruice.*

EDWARD GRIMSTON.



To the Reader.



Could not (Courteous Reader) neglect an vsuall complement, in the publishing of this worke, to recommend the worthines of the Author, and to excuse my weaknesse. To free my selfe from the imputation of Idleness, I undertooke the Translation of this Historie of France, and to giue some content vnto such as either by their trauell abroad, or by their industrie at home, haue not attained vnto the knowledge of the Tongue, to read it in the originall. Where you may see the sundry Battailles woon by our Kings of England against the French, and the worthie exploits of the English, during their warres with France, whereby you may bee incited to the like resolutions vpon the like occasions. I doubt not, but those which haue conuerfed most familiarly with the Histories of France, will concur in that generall approbation of his writing, to be as free from affection and passion, as any one that euer treated of this subiect. He hath digested into one Worke what soeuer hath bene written by many, touching the French History, since the beginning of their Monarchie. And if he hath not dilated at large the great attempts of Strangers in France, employed eyther for their Kings, or against them: he is not therefore to be blamed, nor to be held partiall, for that the subiect whereof he treats, being great, the time long, and his style short and succinct, he had vowed to note euery accident of State and Warre briefly and truely. Besides, you must consider, that he was a Frenchman: and although hee would not altogether smother and conceale those things, which might any way eclipse the glory of his Nation, least he should be taxed to haue sayled in these two excellent vertues required in an Historiographer, Truth and Integrity, without passion, yet happily he hath reported them as sparingly as he could. The History of Iohn de Serres ends with the Treatie at Uernins betwixt France and Spaine in the yeare 1598. I haue been importuned to make the History perfect, and to continue it vnto these times, wher vnto I haue added (for your better satisfaction) what I could extratt out of Peter Mathew and other late writers touching this subiect. Some perchance will challenge me of indiscretion, that I haue not translated Peter Mathew onely, being reputed so eloquent and learned a Writer. To them I answer first, That I found many things written by him that were not fit to be inserted, and some things belonging vnto the Historie, related by others, whereof he makes no mention. Secondly, his style is so full, and his discourse so copious, as the worke would haue held no proportion, for that this last addition of seuen yeares must haue exceeded halfe Serres Historie. Which considerations haue made me to draw forth, what I thought most materiall for the subiect, and to leaue the rest as vnnecessarie. But now I come to my last, though not my least care, how this

To the Reader.

my labour shall be accepted, the which must undergoe the censure of all humors. Some I doubt not, (regarding the content and profit they may reape thereby) will allow of mine endeavors, though others do but prye into it with a curious eye, so note what is defectiue, obseruing more the elegancie and choise of words, then the worthinesse of the Historie. But let me intreat as much kindnesse of these curious Surueyors, as a graue Senatour of Rome did of one of his companions, who had found him playing in his garden with his yong sonne. The Father somewhat abashed to see himselfe so surprised, requested his fellow Senatour not to publish his folly vntill he had a yong Sonne. Euen so I intreat them, not to detract nor to maligne that which is well meant, vntill they haue produced the like. Concluding with the Poet, Carpere vel noli nostra, vel ede tua. I must craue your patience in regard of the Presse, intreating you to supply with your iudicious reading such errors as you shall find committed: For that I my selfe could not attend it, being drawne away about other imployments. And so referring all to your kind acceptance, I rest

Yours,

Edward Grimestone.



IOHN DE SERRES.
TO VCHING THE VSE
of this his Inuentorie.



An Historie is the Theater of mans life, whereby all may learne one common lesson; by the goodly examples the represents vnto their eyes, eares, and vnderstandings. Euen so she inuities all men to view, heare, and to conceiue them well, what language soeuer she speaks, what subiect she treats of, what time shee notes, and what person soeuer shee represents. Thus offering her selfe to all with this excellent vse, shee deterris readily to bee embraced, Experience verifying the testimonie which Antiquitie doth giue her. That shee is the *Mistresse of Adams Life*, the *Testimonie of Truth*, the *Recorder of Iustice*, the *resplendent Beames of Vertue*, the *Register of Honour*, the *Trumpet of Fame*, the *Examiner of Actions*, the *Comptroller of all Times*, the *Rendez-vous of diuerse Euent*, the *School of Good and Evil*, and the *Soueraigne Iudge of all Men, and all Actions*. This praise is common to all Histories: But as in a general action euery one ought to haue a more speciall care of that which concerns his dutie: So in the generall Historie of all Nations, euery man is bound to be more particularly informed of that which toucheth himselfe, and instructed in the managing of the State, vnder which he is borne: By reason whereof I haue alwaies held the complaint of *Thucydides* (one of the chiefe Architects of a History) very considerable, That it was a great shame for *Grecians to be Strangers in Greece*; when as (busying themselves in forreine Histories) they were ignorant of their owne. May we not in like sort say, That it was a great shame that *French-men should be Strangers in France*: for why should the ignorance of our Historie bee more excusable in vs, then of theirs in them. Doubtlesse we often seeke for that a farre off, which is neere vnto vs at home: I commend the diligence of our men in searching out of forreine Histories. But if it may be lawfull to speake of this Subiect (as one of the common sort) I dare say there is no Nation vnder the cope of Heaven (without flattering my selfe with the loue of my Countrey) since Man was borne; that hath more admirable matters; or more worthy euents in euery kinde, and by consequence a History more memorable, then ours of *France*. Bee it for the forme of *Gouernment*: there was neuer Kingdome nor Common-weale established with goodlier lawes then our Monarchie. It is the true patterne of a perfect estate, such as the wise Politicians in former times vsed to discusse off in their *Academie*: A *soueraigne Commander* with Authority absolutely *soueraigne*, but fortified with a power so well qualified with the Counterpoise of inferior offices, that we may rightly call the *French Monarchie* a mixture of all the lawfull governments of a *Common-weale*, by a well gouerned proportion; if the lawes prescribed be well obserued, the which I haue (to that end) planted in the front of this building. Bee it for the *greatnesse and strength of the State*; although I know well that the foure Monarchies which commanded diuer Nations, had larger dominions then the *French*; yet was there neuer any Empire better vniited, better grounded, nor of longer continuance, more famous for the beaultie and bountie of the Land, situation

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of the Country, Riches of the people, and excellencie of wittes, cyther in Peace or Warre: As for the greatness of her Prouinces, what is the *French* Monarchie? but diuers Kingdomes vnited in one, and sundry Crownes annexed to one. But herein it excels the rest, that although they all in generall hold as it were of the Church, yet ours hath herein a speciall priuledge, hauing diuerged from *Europe* that great deluge of Infidels, which threatened all *Christendome* with Shipwracke. To conclude, it yelds to no Monarchie whatsoever, neither needs it any thing but good husbandrie. As for worthy men, which be a iuuing law, and as it were the soule of an Estate, is there any nation whatsoever that can shew so many excellent personages, yea and Kings, as *France* may? There is no Vanitie more vaine, nor more vnworthy of a free minde, making profession of an Historie, wholly vowed to truth, then flatterie. But the most strictest *Arcopagiste* that euer was, cannot deny; but our Monarchie may produce as many excellent Kings and Princes, as any other whatsoever. The three Races haue made shew in diuerse times: But the third had the continuance of a more temperate season, for the establishing of an Estate. Let iudgement bee made by an vnpassionate tryall of their Reignes and Actions: to set downe Kings beautified with sundry graces, as necessitie required, Valiant in Warre, Wise for Counsell, Resolute in Aduersities, Milde to pardon faults, when as Forgetfulness was necessary for the good of the State, and the quiet of the Realme.

What shall wee say of great and worthy Events, such as may chance to Man, being good or euill? Hath any Historie more rare Examples then ours: cyther ordinarie in the common sufferance of Prosperitie or Aduersitie, or extraordinary in the greatest, and most tragically rare accidents that may bee noted in any other Nation. there was neuer State reduced into greater difficulties, both within and without the Realme, and not subverted: And in these extreame dangers, what valiant Resolutions. Truly our History sets downe in diuerse Reignes, the Courage and Constancie of diuerse Kings and People, in shew conquered, in effect Conquerors, in that they neuer disparaged the Common-weale, in the midst of their dispaire: what loue of Kings to their Subjects, and of Subjects to their Kings, in common calamitie? Our Historie is full of these Examples, and of all things else considerable in the Societie of Man, cyther in Warre or Peace, and which depends vpon their vertues, which held the Helme of this great Barke. But as wee cannot hide, nor deprive of their due praise, (these goodly lights which shine in diuers parts of our History) by the many examples of Valour, Equiry, Wisdome, Magnanimity, Modesty, Dexterty, and other Excellent Vertues of our Kings, so to iudge thereof soundly, wee must flye to the Father of lights, who vsing these great and worthy personages for the building, preferuation or increase of this Monarchie, hath intiched them with great and pretious graces, that acknowledging him the Author aswell of all these Vertues, as of the happy successe of things managed by them, we may learne to yeld him Homage, for the Preferuation, Continuance, and Increase of this great Estate.

The negligence of our Kings hath too often brought our Royall Diadem into danger, whereof they made themselves vnworthy, making it weake and contemptible in their persons, who (by their basenesse and child sh government) suffered their Seruants to command absolutely. The Kingdome hath bene as it were dismembred by the daution of royall commands. And by this meanes Brothers deluid by strange and selfe-wild discentions, haue abandoned all to spoyle: and from these domesticall diuisions, haue sprung ciuill Warres, amidst the which, the Inferiours (fishing in a troubled Water) freed themselves, and opposing against their Sueraigne, became petty Kings. Wee haue seene their rage extend farther, attempting against the Kings person, imprisoning him, forcing him to quit his Crowne, and in the end reducing him to that extremity, as to dye desperately, seeing himselfe so cutragiously dealt withall. Wee haue seene Kings prisoners in their enemies hands, and abandoned by their Subjects, Kings besieged in their houses. Wee haue seene a poore young man ap-

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pointed to guide a Ship (during the fury of a storme) without Helme, without Matte, without Sayles, and without Oares: beaten without by the Tempests, and within by the Saylers: Seized on in his Cabin by madde men, imbrued with the blood of his most trusty Seruants, murdered before his eyes, yea euen in his bosome. Wee haue seene the Crowne of Kings in their minorities, set to sale by their Tutors, who became murderers, and of Regents, Theeues, making themselves Kings: Wee haue seene a King in his non-age become madde, gouerned by the passions of Men and Women, holding the chiefe degrees in state, which did strue to ruine it with in-bred Fastions, Rages, and populer Tumults, by tragicall Massacres, and furious Hostilitie. Wee haue seene amidst these Combustions, the Stranger not onely awaked at this brute, but also Armed; entred within the Realme, and lodged within the bowels of the goodlyest Prouinces. And (which is more) installed in the Kings Authoritie by the Edict of a lawfull King, seated in the royall throne, hauing the Crowne on his head, with the Scepter and Purse in his hand, and a Daughter of *France* in his bedde, for a gage of this vniust pretension, a Sonne to warrant his possession, with the force and obedience of the Capitall City, and the first Princes of the blood, armed with Power and Counsell to countenance these horrible confusions. Amiddest these ruinous disorders of our Countrey, who hath preferred the Realme of *France*, but hee that with one and the same hand, hath made both the lawe and the King of *France*?

O my Countrymen, it is to you to whome your History is directed, hauing the chiefe interest in the estate of our Mother, although Strangers are forced to admire it. But what? Our Ancestors haue seene all these things specified here, and represented in particular in the discourse I now offer vnto you. But I beseech you what haue wee seene with our owne eyes, within these thirtie and fve yeares? haue wee felt lesse miserie, or tried weaker Remedies? What were our troubles, and to what extremities wee were brought vnto of late yeares? By the conference of our Historie, with our Ancestors, ours serues as a Comentarie for the well understanding thereof, yet can wee not denie but our age hath seene things farre more extraordinary and miraculous: So as wee may say *That wee haue liued in a time of myracles*: Without doubt our posterity will admire in particular the Historie of our time, as the rarest part of the whole body, wee that haue seene it, should often belye our Eares and Eyes in reading or hearing it, when shce shall appeare in publick to put vs in minde of that whereof wee were Eye witnesses, and therefore witnesses aboue all exception: But euery thing must bee done in order and time. Behold the first part of my enterprise, which it behooues you to looke vnto: SHALL IT then bee in vaine, and without any fruite? it is not my intention, if the end of euery commendable enterprise be the vs: Shall wee thinke that the knowledge of our Ancient Estate is vnprofitable, and in a time when as wee haue so great need of consolation? Truly in the continuance of our long calamitie, wee must needs bee oppressed with a troublesome care. But in feeling the paine, why seeke wee not the remedie? If wee often apply the example to things wee do cyther without lawe or against the lawe, how much more should it auail vs being ioyned with reason? An Example rightly represented in the Historie of our Ancestors, serues vs now as a good guide to comfort vs, when as the like misery is common to vs and them. And if it please God to make vs like in condition, what reason haue wee to complaine? At the least wee may therein obserue; that not at this time alone *France* is afflicted, and hath shewed her indiscretion. So likewise by the same reason, it is not now alone that shce hath felt the succours of her Protector, who preserues her, amends her follies, and repaires her defects: without this protecting hand, shce had long since perished. What shall wee then say? truly wee were much too blame to accuse our Fathers, and seeke to excuse our selues, of the like or greater errors: our waywardnesse were not pardonable, if our hearts should faint in these difficulties, seeing that wee learne in the same Historie, that our

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Fathers haue deliuered from the like afflictions. It is therefore a speciall vse of this History, to cast our eyes vpon the condition of our Predecessors, to mollifie our languishings, as a necessary symptome of our inward warres, which like a continual feauer hath sucked (euen to the marrowe) all the vigour of this Estate, and hath not yet left it.

We must accuse our impatience and nicenesse, if we shall complaine to haue been worse intreated then our fore fathers, seeing wee obserue in them the like afflictions. Experience layes goodly grounds to reason, this certaine experience ingenders in our hearts hope of future things, without confusion or deceit. Do wee not then reape excellent fruites of this Historie? if by the deliuerance of our Fathers wee conclude and hope for ours, but in such fort and at such times, as the wise prouidence of God hath appointed, which ordinance neither Enemies can hinder, nor Friends aduance: and therfore the direction of this truth doth teach vs to saile in this Sea, euery one as hee ought according to his degree, expecting a happy harbor by the bountie and wisdom of him that rules the waues of Men & the euent of Things. Do wee grieue at our long troubles: let vs read the reignes of *John*, *Charles* the first, *Charles* the sixth, and *Charles* the seventh of our late losses? Let vs read the reignes of *Philip of Valois*, and wee shall see that the losse of the same Citie was deerer to him then to vs. As wee may neuer dissemble our losses, so is there a time to loose, and a time to gaine, if in our houses in the Countrie or City, all things succeed not as wee desire, who can with reason require alwaies the like successe in a State. To conclude, if to flatter the disease be no meanes to cure it, or to compare without remedie, (seeing that chollier and despaire brings no helpe to the diseased) let vs rather seeke for remedie then increase the disease, by a bootlesse complaint. If we wish for peace abroad, let vs lodge it first in our hearts at home. This inward peace shall be a good warrant for the generall, but wee are very sick, if we thinke by waywardnesse and furie to cure the disease. If then wee seeke any found cure for our griefes, the Apothecaries shop is open, behold some preparatiues. But what is that in regard of the tedious reading of the Historie it selfe, as necessary at this day for *French-men*, as necessity doth force vs to seeke for consolation?

I haue endeouored therefore (*my Countrymen*) to trace out some slender obseruations for you in this little worke (such as I could, I see it is not according to the dignitie and greatnesse of the subiect, worthy in truth of a good writer, rather fit for that obscure age, when the most ancient *Druides* had a maxime, *not to write at all*, of those which haue left vs these small Abridgements, the which we now vse for want of better, and without doubt if our History had incountred such spirits as the *Greeke* and *Latin* did, it had bene nothing inferior to any of them, in Beauty and Profit. This is the onely cause why our Countymen haue not read our History, hauing not enjoyed the light of Excellent Writers, to represent her in her liuely colours, according to her deserts. And although our *France* hath heretofore had cause to complaine in this respect, yet now that fault is partly repaired, by the industrie of some that strue to plant and beautifie it. Amongst all that haue laboured in this subiect, *Pu Hailan* in my opinion exceeds all others with immortal commendations, hauing so happily cleared these ouer-grown bushes and made so plaine a path in this thick and obscure Forrest: if zeale to doe my Countrie seruice, and hope by my example to awake the learned to doe better, were not my iust excuse, where should I hide me from the blout of inconsiderate rashnesse? especially being in this City of *Paris*, not onely the capitall City of *France*, the fertile Mother of goods wittes, but also the *Rendez-vous* of the greatest miracles in the world. I will therefore speake freely, that in presuming to beautifie this History, I haue taken for the onely obiect of my aime, *To seeke the truth with the vse thereof*, and to giue you some cause of content. Regard not my tongue, I offer you the simple truth without painting, the which I haue curiously searched for in many good Bookes, which my necessary abode here hath giuen me meanes to

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obtaine, and the desire I haue to serue you, occasion to imploy them, for as I am wholly vowed to the publike, so will I yeeld an accompt not onely of my idleness, but also of my employments, I haue therefore resolved to vndertake a labour that should not bee vnprofitable, in preparing you a way to learne your Historie in the originals, with lesse paine and more profit. I do therefore call this my endeavour an INVENTORIE, by the direction whereof, you may see the body and euery part at your pleasure. If I may perswade the Reader to conserue this my labour with the writings of others vpon this subiect (both old and new) I shall not then need to put in caution, but be of an assured hope to obtaine a testimonie of my fidelitie, And it may be in time, of some diligence; at the least I bring nothing, that hath not bene well purified and applyed to the vse. The fruit depends on the blessing of God, by the iudgement of such as shall read mee, I will protest onely for that which doth concerne my selfe: I haue used the Rule, Square, Lead and Compasse, to obserue proportion both in stile and subiect, that in my course I might direct you to the firme truth; if it bee with that light and breuitie I pretended, I shall haue cause to thanke God, and to labour in some subiect of greater moment, yet I haue done my best endeavour that the learned may supply my defect, in doing better. The course is open, euery one may runne it. I leaue the prize to them that shall doe best, my intent was onely to profit the publike: and therefore I bring not an Abridgement, but an INVENTORY. I haue searched the very Springs of such as went before me. The first haue not hindered the second: and why should the second take it ill to be followed by others? one kinde of meate may be diuersly seasoned to good purpose. A small Diall makes the houres in like proportion to a great Clock: It is one of my wishes, that this goodlie subiect may be set to open view, that the learned may strue to exceed one another, and leaue no excuse for our *French-men* to be any more strangers in *France*, making the way easie and profitable: If in this respect my zeale and integritie may bee approved of my Countrie, why should I repent the imployment of some houres in so goodly and worthy a worke, as a testimonie (at the least) that I desire to discharge my dutie.

To conclude, *my Countrymen*, I must not conceale from you the chiefe cause that induced mee to compile this worke. About fixe and twenty yeares since, I was thrust forth vpon the Theater, (being very young) to represent the Historie of our miseries: the desire of forraigne Nations begat this desaigne, being curious to vnderstand a particular relation of our Tragedies. By reason whereof I presented this my first worke in Latin, that Strangers might vnderstand it. I held it for an Abortiue, and esteemed the losse but lightly, yet was the successe greater then my proiect, for being imbraced by the publike beyond desert, it hath so increased, that of one Booke there is made fiftene, and corrected with diuerse impressions. And as the Child increased, so the Father had meanes to do him good. GOD suffering me to liue to be a witnesse of great accidents, not onely as many of my Country-men, that sees the danger from a safe Porte, but embarked in full Seas amidst these common tempests: for being imployed in some and no small affairs (both within and without the Realme) I had the Honor to be admitted into Kings and Princes Cabinets, to manage publike causes of Prouinces, and to conferre with the heads of Parties, to learne from their owne moutnes, and from others that had authoritie and imployment vnder them, the Truth of all that passed: so as being able to giue a reason for many things which I had scene, I may likewise giue an account of most that hath passed, by the proceedings and instructions of both parties. I will adde to this opportunitie the priuate deuotion which hath alwaies held my minde inclined to this care, to gather together whatsoever was done, when as necessity of affaires thrust mee into employments: and this my desire succeeded so happily, that both great and small haue fauourable imparted vnto mee whatsoever might benefit concerning this subiect. So as I haue made a iust collection of all the substance, that may serue for the building of a perfect Historie, from the

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beginning of the troubles to this day. The end of this painfull labour depends of him from whom proceeds the euent of all our prayers. To him therefore I referre my selfe, protesting onely of that, which is in mee. As therefore I aduow my selfe both Debtor of this worke, and Author of these Bookes, which wander among men: so I protest the fault shall not be mine, if all turne not to the publique good, wherevnto it is appointed, as by the order shall be found most expedient. And expecting an end of this great masse, my intent was onely (as may easily appeare by the Table of the third Race) to set before your eyes (as in one Mappe) a Summarie of the ancient History, very necessary for the vniting and resemblance of that which hath happened in our time. But the iudgement of my learned friends, hath made mee to take a new course, that the length of so tedious a paiment might not bee troublesome vnto you, in giuing you the whole Historie vnto this day, fashioned of this meane and base stature, whereof I now offer you this first part, as a Patterne of the whole peece, imbarcking my selfe from the maine land in this tempestuous Sea, which must needs bee fearfull vnto mee, both by the feeling of mine owne weaknesse, and the apprehension of diuerse iudgements, as the Ebbing and Flowing of the Ocean. I durst not hazard all this small modell at one voyage. Goe forth my first parcell, and seeke thy fortune, learne by the Chapmen, how the market goes, that by thy successe

I may resolute with lesse danger to Ship the rest, the which in the meane time shall attend (in a safe Harbor) the winde of your fauourable contents.



A PLOT OR DISSEINE OF THE WHOLE HISTORIE.

My meaning is to represent in this discourse, what is most remarkable in the Historie of France, and (with a simple, faithfull, and liuely breuitie) to report altho it hath succeeded in the French Monarchie, worthe of memorie, to make our Frenchmen see a modell of this great building, reducing it to the first foundation, according to the proportion of the subject, and the order of times, the certaine light of truth; and by the changes of the greatest and most famous forreine States, to the end, that this our Inuentorie may serue the learned for a memoriall, and learners for a direction. The enterprise is not small, although the worke be little, but as it must bee valued by the fruit, so the prooffe will appeare to such as shall touchsafe to reade what my desire was able to performe. And for a ground of this goodly and excellent Historie, so worthy of knowledge, we must set downe in generall termes what shalbe handled in particular throughout the whole discourse, and lay before your eyes (as in a table by the most cleere and foundest proofes that may be drawne from likelyhoods of so obscure antiquitie) the beginning and continuance, with the greatest apparance of truth, the increase with the diuers euent and successe of this state such as now it is.

It were to seeke truth in vanitie, following the common error, to search for the originall of the FRENCH, in the ruines and ashes of Troy or in the fennes of Meotides, for in the most auncient Histories of the Trojans, there is no mention of FRANCUS or FRANCON, sonnes of Hector, who had but one sonne named Aslanax slayne at three yeares of age in the sacke of Troy. There is also no likelyhood to find the stemme of our FRENCH nation in the fennes of Meotides, where they were first called SICAMERES, hauing built a Citie by imagination named SICAMBRA: And that they issued from thence in great troupes. There is no more prooffe that they are come from these marshes, then from the deserts of Assticke. It appeares the SICAMERIANS were a different people from the FRENCH, and that the wales of SICAMBRIA are yet to build. But the newe presumption of a certaine writer is yet more admirable, who com's so far to aduertise the FRENCH of their originall, the which he findes beyond the Moone, and with so great an assurance as he sett's downe namely name the kings of the house of SICAMBRIA and of FRANCE, their race, manners, deeds, adventures and that in so good order (as reporting a thing but of yesterday, or as being a Counsellor to these supposed kings) seeming with reason to reprehend such as will not take his word for present payment, vnder the authoritie of certaine old Registers produced by him, wherein he names these kings one after one, like in presumption to the Castilians, the inuentors of the fabulous Historie of Amadis: or the deuisors of the offspring of the Panim Gods, or of the Romant of the Role, hauing forged names at their pleasure; leauing therefore all these Diuinations and Fopperies, let vs search (as neere as wee may) what is most likely by the traces of

A Plot or Dissein

Truth, untill it may guide us to the firme land, not plunging our selves any further in the boggs and unknowne desarts, of an imagined Antiquitie.

The French
are come out
of Germany.

What then? doubtlesse we shall nowhere find a more certaine originall of our FRENCH Nation then in Germany. This is most apparant; FRANCONIA beares yet the name of the old Inhabitants, and the markes of their aunient possession: The Cities of the one and the other side of the Rhine are full of their Antiquities. We can no way doubt by these markes, but they haue inhabited in those parts, and it is likely they were dispersed betwixt the Rivers of Rhine and Danubius, vnto the Ocean. Whether the had their beginning there, or came from any other part, it auules not to dispute, seeing the search is altogether vnprofitable, for that in deed it is impossible.

Of the name
of Frenchmen.

The originall of the name is verie difficult, being wholly unknowne to the first Antiquitie: for we recade not in any aunient Histories the name of French-men among the nations of Germany, yet carefully obserued by the most aunient. But who sees not the change of aunient names to new. Alemaigne is now called Germanie: Heluetia, Suisse: Brittain, England: without seeking vnecessary proofes in so apparant a matter. The FRENCH therefore being an aunient people of Germany, haue changed their name with the whole country vpon diuers subiects, but when, how, by whome and wherefore, it cannot be certainly defined, but by coniectures, more easie to be refuted then maintained. It appears only that FRANCE is a German word, which signifies free, and that their auncestors either hauing shakt of the yoke of the Romaine seruitude, and recovered their aunient libertie, or remayning free amongst so many neighbours, subiect to that great Empire were called French-men in token of their libertie.

There are learned men which write that FRANCE was the name of a Communalty of diuers people, assembled and vnted together, to preserve their libertyes, hauing taken that name as a marke of their generous resolution, and not of any certain Nation: Although Tully (a witnesse aboue all exception) notes the name of FRANCONS among the nations of Germany, which had offered obedience to the Romanes, whilst their commonweale florished, before the Empire began, which shewes that we cannot talke of so obscure Antiquitie but doubtfully, so as it is bootlesse to pronounce Oracles vpon a subiect so disputable. Truly to referre the first memories of their name to the Empire of Valentinian, and the beginning of their liberty to the defeat of the Alans, and to the bounty of this Emperour, hauing freed them in recompence of so worthy a seruice: that were to make a leape of aboue an hundred and thirtie yeares, to confound things and to be ignorant of the estate of our Auncestors, who at the time of this memorable defeat, did in nothing acknowledge the Romanes; But rather for a particular fruite of the victorie gotten by them in common with Valentinian, they had possession of a great part of the Gaules, not holding it of any but of their Sword, nor doing homage but to their owne Valour. It were in briebe not to haue obserued the originalls of true Histories. Seeing then the aunient habitation of the FRENCH was in that part of Germany which lay nearest vnto Gaule, who can with reason deny but the are issued from thence, and that in taking Gaule they made it to change both Master and Name: This is in briebe what may bee spoken with most apparance of truth concerning the originall of our FRENCH nation, if we will not urge more then may well bee iustified.

By what meanes
and when
they entered
Gaule

As for their estate and gouernment there is great likelihood that it was a great nation growne wylke by meanes of defending themselves and succoring others with their owne forces. I adde that they were led and commanded by a king, for the most aunient Histories represent them vnder a royall authority, as I will shew els where. Doubtles they had no meanes to buyld this great Monarchie in Gaule without force and order, yet did they not erect it all at one instant, but slipt into Gaule at sundry times, eyther employed to succor the Romanes, or they themselves, seeking their fortune, and good aduentures: And as they grew familiar by diuers sommonings, so they got footing by little and little, untill that hauing not only expelled the Romanes, but all other tributarie Lords, they became Masters and possessors of this goodly country: so
this

of this Inuentorie.

this Monarchie was buyld vpon the ruines of the Empyre, and the end of the one was the beginning of the other. The Romaine Empyre had not only seized vpon all Gaule as the eye of Europe (hauing reduced it into the forme of Prouinces) but did long inioe it by their Gouernours and Lisfounts generall. This authoritie and Romaine power was in a manner dispersed ouer the whole world. But as this Empyre was framed of diuers peeces, and built by iniustice and Tyranny, so God a iust iudge & reuenger of iniquities, raysed them vp great & pouerfull enemies from all parts of the world, as it were hyred to teare in sunder this Cloake, to dismember this Bodie by peecemeales, and to punish their vniuersall rigor, by a barbarous cruelty, and their greedy iniustice, by the ranshing extortion of others. The Empire then which had robbed was sackt it selfe, and hauing taken anothers good, lost their owne, being scarce able (and that by meanes of the FRENCH) to retaine any shew of this great and vast body. The fury of Mahomet invaded Asia, and Affricke, with a part of Europe, like a violent flame, with an incredible swiftness, Spaine was seized on by the Vandales, Alans, Sueues and Gothes, Italy by the Vandales, Hunnes, Gothes and Lombards, Gaule wanted not sundry guests: the Gothes seized on that goodly Gaule Narbonise, called for the excellencie a second Italy, and left their name to this goodly Prouince, which they enioyed long, and called it by their name, first Gothia and after Languedoc, as it were the language of Gothe, although they giue other reasons of this name more subtle then true. The Burgognons seized of the country which they called by their name Bourgongne, and erected a kingdome which contained the one & the other Bourgongne with the Prouince of Lionois, Dauphine, Sauoy, and Prouence. The Normans, Brittons and Picts, tooke euery one their tickett to lodge in Gaule, according to the diuers occurrents of affaires which presented themselves in this generall dissipation of the Romaine Empyre, who amidst these confusions did with great difficulty retaine the least portion: knowing not how to oppose themselves against so great and victorious enemies. So the FRENCH hauing likewise in the beginning seized on their quarter, were so fauoured by the prouidence of God, that through their valour they layed the foundation of a newe estate, so as hauing expelled out of Gaule, both the old and new vsurpers, in the end they became Masters, and buyld this goodly Monarchie, the which since hath giuen a lawe to neighbour Nations, settled the Romaine Empeire, stopt the violence of these cruell and barbarous Nations, and (which is the greatest honour of this estate) hath maintayned the Christiā Church in Europe, the which God hath appointed for an habitation amidst the furious confusions of Asia and Affricke, where the deluge of Mahomet's blasphemies hath horribly exceeded: wherein the greatnesse and power of Gaule is to be admired, by the which Iulius Cæsar could first alter the common weale of Rome his country, into the newe forme of an Empyre, and after when as all the most furious nations did stocke together to cast downe this great masse; Charlemaigne with the same force could preserve a great part of the west from that cruell shipwracke which ruened all the East.

And as this spoyle was not generall at one instant ouer all Gaule, but by fits like vnto a River which takes her course in a newe quarter; so the FRENCH Monarchie was buyld by degrees. The FRENCH being first employed by the Romanes for their valour in notable occasions, we begin to recade of their Name with some shew and state, vnder the Empeire of Gallienus, about the yeare of Christ two hundred seuenty. Posthumus gouernour of Gaule armed them against his Master and with the helpe of their forces & the consent of the Gaules, he enioyed Gaule the space of seauen yeares, with the Title of Emperour. It is likely this first abroad caused them to taste the fertile sweetnesse of this goodly and rich Country. Thus both the example of Posthumus and the prooue of their owne forces gaue them courage to attempt for themselves, wee reade that vnder the Emperours Aurelian, Probus, Dioclesian and Constantius father to Constantine the great, they haue often returned without any other subiect then to seeke their aduantage: so were they often repulsed by the Romanes with great losse.

These fruitelesse striniges might well haue cooled the heate of their attempts, but
not

A Plot or Dissein

not their desire to seeke for means: But they continued most obstinately their practice in Arms, and maintained their reputation even with the Romaines themselves, who were glad to have them for friends and to employ them in their wars, as Constantine against Licinius a greate enimie to the Christians: and Constantius his soune against the Germanes and Iulian the Apostate against the Persians. True it is well the Historie of the Church as Saint Hierome in particular (one of the most famous Doctors) spake of the FRENCH as of a very renowned people, who might both hurt and helpe, by their multitudes and their valour of their Armes. The style of this desseine, which I have undertaken, doth only note the thing for your understanding, without spending time in longer proofes. This Apprentisship of the FRENCH by their many voyages into Gaule, continued a hundred and thirtie yeares, for so much it was from Gallienus to Honorius, under whom they began to sett footing into Gaule, upon this occasion. Those of the City of Treues tyred with the Tyrannie of the Romaines, were infinitely grieved that Lucius their Governour a Romaine, had by force taken the wife of a notable Citizen. This excesse ministred a subject to call the French-men to their ayde, who expelled the Romaines, seized quietly on the City with the consent of the Inhabitants, and so (proceeding in their conquest) they possessed their neighbour Countries, and in time, became Masters of all that lyes beyond the Rivers of Elcaut, and Some: and in the end having woone Paris, and the territories about, they gave their name to the conquered Country. I doe briefly touch what shall be represented in particular in every place, and sett downe truelie the originall of the FRENCH in this Realme.

PHARAMOND layd the first stone in the building of this estate, CLODION followed in this desseine. MEROVE made it appeare above ground, in a more goodly forme, having purchased credit among the Gaules, both by his valour and the happy successe of his Armes. CLOVIS (adding the profession of Christ to his Predecessors valour and his owne) did so winne the hartes of the Gaules, (who were for the most part Christians) as by their hartes he got their voluntary obedience, and the assured possession of these new Conquestes. Two nations united in one by the Conquerour, giving lawe to the Conquered, with so wise and mylde a discretion, as they held him worthy of this Alliance, and Name: and the fruite of this marriage was to happy as the new name of FRANCE was generally received in Gaule. Thus this newe estate increased daily in the race of PHARAMOND by diuers occurrences during the space of three hundred yeares. But it was much more augmented by the famous race of PEPIN. And God the Author of all good order in mankind, giving him to Sonne CHARLEMAGNE to prevent the ruine of the Empire, enriched him with singular graces, and confirmed in him that great authoritie and power of the King of FRANCE, and Emperour of ROME, which greatnesse God would make profitable to all Christendome. But his rare Inheritor of these great honours did not inherite his valour and happinesse, having scarce continued 257. yeares: but degenerating from his vertues, they lost both Authoritie and Crowne, so much augmented and beautified by him and CHARLES MARTELL. So this second race, unworthy of the blood and name of their Grandfathers, was spoiled of their Kingdome by their negligence. But God the Guardian of Monarchies (who changing the persons, would preserve the State) raised up HUGH CAPET a wife and modest Prince, arming him with wisdom and dexteritie fit for the preservation of his Crowne, accompanying his Armes with lawe, and his royall authoritie with well governed Iustice. It is to HUGH CAPET that the Realme of FRANCE standes most indebted for the establishment of those goodly Ordinances, by the which (together with the valleur and fidelitie of the FRENCH) this great Monarchy hath withstood the stormes of so many ages, and maintaines even unto this day, the lawfull heire in the same race, for the space of five hundred and thirtie yeares. So as gathering the summe of all these yeares, they reckon from PHARAMOND to HENRY the fourth that now Reignes, 1175. yeares.

This

of this Inuentorie.

This is the Plot or desseigne of the whole History of France, the which being thus laid before we raise this great building in every part according to the true measures and iust proportions, let vs make a Diagramme as a lively figure, which may containe nakedly, and without circumstance, the names of our Kings, according to the order of these three royall Races. To the which we will add a particular Chronologie, which shall be proued by the discourse of our Inuentorie, I have distinguished it into three parts, according to the order of the three royall Races. In the front of every part I note the names of Kings, and the time they have reigned, that at my first entrance you may obserue all that is represented in this particular discourse. wherein the wise Reader (that shall take the paines to conferre this modell with the whole Historie) will iudge that I have omitted nothing that may concerne the subject of the History with all principall circumstances, to the end the truth in this short, simple, and unseemly weed, appointed for every day, may serue as well as that which the Learned and eloquent writers shew forth in open Theaters at Festiual times. To Actions carefully described, I adde sometimes my Iudgement, for the vse of the History, examined by the Maximes of State. To actions I say generally aduowed, as for the rest I leave them, remembering that I am a Witnesse and no Iudge, to do service to such as could not see the Originals. I note in the beginning the Elections, the Birithes, Lines, Aduentures, Intents, Desseignes, Matters and Completions of our Kings, the Motiues, Actions, Alterations, Crosses, Issues and Successe of their affaires, both in Warre and Peace: their Enterprises, taking of Cities and Countries, Battels, Encounters, Victories, Queribrowes, Advantages, Disadvantages, and other things remarkable in State. Finally I obseue their ends in their death, as the Catastrophe of their Life, and doying up of their Reigne. But to make this discourse more proportionable for the knowledge of our Monarchie, it was necessary to explaine it by that which hath changed of most import in forreine Estates, especially in the Church & Empire, the most famous Theaters of the world, by reason whereof I have added a most careful Collation of the one and the other with our Realme. I intreate the wise Reader to way with iudgement what I shall report concerning matters most subiect to comptonne, as those of the Church. I doubt not but that hee shall finde that I have contained my selfe within the limits of State, talking nothing of Religion, nor meddling with the diuerse humors of this age. I have onely treated of the politike government of Rome, with as much modestly as the subject would permit. I know likewise that making profession to write a History, no man will wish mee eyther to disguise or to conceale the truth, the which will warrant it selfe, and free me from reproche, in making knowne to iudicious and modest wits, that I have no other passion but my duty, whereof I can give no better proofe, then in iustifying my discourse with the Original, if there appeare any difficulty. I protest I have only had a true desire to serue the publique, whose profit is the onely scope of my labours. As for the Computations, as they be very necessary for the well understanding of the History (which is the Register of times) so hath it much troubled me, being altogether neglected by the most ancient Writers, borne in the first obscure ages. The learned which have happily handled this subject before me, finding plainly this notable difficultie, have held it expedient to make litle or no accompt to obserue the dates, which was in my conceipt, under correction be it spoken) to cut the knot a sunder instead of unloosing it. But it hath made me more carefully to labour in this search, to finde out some means amidst these extremities. And therefore I have distinguished the most notable changes, not onely from one Race to another, but in the Races themselves, placing the dates in the front of the whole discourse, at a Round ston to limit the Lands. Moreover I have faithfully collected in grosse the yeares of every reigne, and have deuised them as I thought most likely, by the continuance of publike and private actions. It is all I could do in the most ancient reignes, being unable to deuise further, but in those that approach neerer to our age, the Reader shall see the uniting of things from yeare to yeare by degrees, whereby he may maraile plainly in so goodly a light without any confusion, the Diagramme shall supply the particular default of times, which we cannot otherwise distinguish. But let us first see the whole patterne of our Monarchie, which will shew many colours and fountaine what is to come.

A gene-

A generall Diagramme.

Which notes onely the names of the Kings of France, according to the order and succession of three Races, from Pharamond the first King, vnto Henry the 4. King of France and of Nauarre (now rainging) in number three score and three.

The first Race called *Merovingiens*, in number twenty and two Kings.

1. Pharamond.
2. Clodion or Cloion the hayrie.
3. Merouce.

Who vpon the foundation laid by his Ancestors of this Monarchie, made the building appeare more resplendent and beautifull.

4. Chilperic the first.
5. Clouis the Great, the first Christian King, and the first of that name.
6. Childebert the first.
7. Clotaire the first.
8. Cherebert.
9. Chilperic the second.
10. Clotaire the second.
11. Dagobert the first.
12. Clouis the second.
13. Clotaire the third.
14. Childeric or Chilperic the third.
15. Theodoric or Thierry the first.
16. Clouis the third.
17. Childebert the second.
18. Dagobert the second.
19. Chilperic or Childeric the fourth.
20. Thierry the second.
21. Chilperic or Childeric the first.
22. Charles Martell, Maior of the Palace in name, but King in effect: hauing layde the foundation of the royall Authoritie to his posteritie, and so reckoned among the Kings the two and twentieth.

The second Race of *Carlovingiens* or *Carles* of Charles Martell or of Charlemaigne, in number 13. Kings.

23. Pepin the short or the brieft, sonne of Martell.
24. Charlemaigne King and Emperour, hauing drawne the Empire of the West into France.
25. Lewis the gentle, King and Emperour, his sonne, first of that name.
26. Charles the first, called the bald, King and Emperour, his sonne.
27. Lewis the second, called the liping, King and Emperour, his sonne.

28. Lewis

A generall Diagramme.

28. Lewis the 3. and Carloman baylards to Lewis, receiued by the estates, against the Institution of Lewis by his will, who had named Eudes for Regent, they gouerne the Realme together, in the first yeare of the minoritie of Charles the simple, papill and lawfull heire to Lewis, and yet being crowned Kings, (although they were but Regents) are accounted amongst the Kings, and make but one.

In the libertie of this Nonage.

- Lewis the do nothing, or idle, Sonne or Brotherto Carloman takes vpon him to be King, but not being acknowledged by the French, as they were ready to dispossesse him, hee dyed, and is not reckoned for any.
29. Charles the 2. called the grosse, a Prince of the bloud of France, and Emperour of Germanie, confirmed in the Regencie by the States, following the example of these baylards, is Crowned King, hee was degraded from the Empire and the Crowne, And in his place
 30. Eudes or Odo Duke of Angers named by the Kings testament (as is sayd) is called and crowned as the other Regents, and for this cause accounted among the Kings, in the end the Crowne comes to
 31. Charles the simple, the lawfull King after 22. yeares, but being forced to renounce it, he dyes for sorrow in prison, and leaves for his lawfull successor Lewis the 4. his sonne, carried into England by his Mother, yielding to the violence of the victorious league, by the which
 32. Ralfe or Raoul Duke of Burgondie, Prince of the Bloud, was called to the Crowne, and and so is accounted among the Kings, although he were an Esurper, and he being dead
 33. Lewis the 4. called Doutremer, or beyond the Sea, Sonne to Charles the Simple, is restored, and leaves the Crowne to
 34. Lothaire, and he to
 35. Lewis the 5. his onely sonne, who dyed without issue Male, hee was the last of this second Race, leaving the Throne empty to Hugh Capet, the Stocke and first King of the third Race following.

The third Race called the *Capetingiens* or *Capets*, in number 27. Kings.

36. Hugues or Hues Capet, to whom succeeded
37. Robert his sonne, alone of that name, and to Robert
38. Henry the 1. his sonne. And to Henry
39. Philip the 1. his sonne. And to him
40. Lewis the 6. surnamed the Grosse his Sonne: And to Lewis the 6.
41. Lewis the 7. called the young his Sonne: And to him
42. Philip the 2. surnamed Augustus, his Sonne: And to Philip the 2.
43. Lewis the 8. his Sonne, father to the King St. Lewis, the most ordinary marke of his name: And to Lewis the eight
44. Lewis the 9. honoured by the name of Saint, for his singular pietie and vertue: to whom succeeded
45. Philip the 3. his sonne, surnamed the Hardy: and to him
46. Philip the 4. called the Fair, his Sonne, who was also King of Nauarre by his wife Ioane: And to him succeeded
47. Lewis the 10. called Hutin, his Sonne, also King of Nauarre by his Mother, he had one Sonne borne after his death called Ianenterre, but not numbred among the Kings, for that he dyed in the Cradle: so by the lawe of State

48. Philip

A generall Diagramme.

48. Philip the 5. called the Long, sonne to Philip the Faire, succeeded his Brother Lewis Hutin, he dyed without issue Male: who left the Crowne to
49. Charles the 4. called the Faire, his Brother, who also dying without issue Male, the Crowne came by right of inheritance to
50. Philip of Valois, the 6. of that name, first Prince of the bloud, and first King of the royall line of Valois: to whom succeeded
51. Iohn his sonne, onely of that name, unfortunate: to him succeeded
52. Charles the 5. surnamed the Wise, who preferred the State, during a horrible combustion: to him succeeded
53. Charles the 6. his sonne, called the Beloued, and yet too well noted by his long and unhappy reigne, amidst the furies of ciuill warres, bred in his minority, and increased in his frensie, so as a strange King was crowned King of France, and became Master of the greatest part of the Realme: to Charles the 6. succeeded
54. Charles the 7. his sonne, who established the Realme in expelling the Stranger and to him succeeded
55. Lewis the 11. his sonne, who hauing incorporated Bourgongne and Prouence to the Crowne, and purged the Leuen of intestine diuision, left the Realme rich & peaceable: to
56. Charles the 8. his sonne, who dying without Males, left the Realme according to the law of State: to
57. Lewis the 12. Duke of Orleance, first Prince of the bloud, who likewise dyed without issue Male, leaving the Crowne: to
58. Francis the 1. of that name, first Prince of the bloud, Duke of Angouleme, and he to
59. Henry the 2. his sonne, and Henry to
60. Francis the 2. his sonne, who dying without Male: left it to
61. Charles the 9. his brother, who dying without issue lawfully begotten: left it to
62. Henry the 3. his brother, the last of the royall race of Valois, who being slaine by a Iacobin, and dying without issue, by the same right of the Fundamentall law of State, he left the Realme intangled in diuerse confusions: to
63. HENRY the 4. then King of Nauarre, first Prince of the bloud, and first King of the royall race of Bourbon.

A Prince indued with vertues fit to restore a State, but successor to much trouble, wearing a Crowne not all of gold, but intermixt with Thornes, wreathed with infinite difficulties, gouerning a body extreemly weakened with a long and dangerous disease, surcharged with Melancholy and diuerse humours, led with the furie of the people, bewitched by the practises of Strangers, who had crept so farre into the bowels of our miserable Country, that they were ready to dispossesse the lawfull heires, and to inuest a new King, if God the Gardian and Protector of this Realme, had not opposed a good and speedy remedie, to their force (in shew triumphant) by the valour and clemencie of our Henry, incountring his enemies with the one, and by the other reducing his Subjects (strangely distracted) to their duties. God send him grace to finish as he hath begun, and Crowne the miraculous beginning of his reigne with the like issue: Truly all good and cleere-sighted French-men may note how necessary this Head is for the preservation of the State, and by their daily and feruent prayers, to pray vnto God for the long and happy life of our King. And for the peace and tranquillity of this poore and desolate Realme.

Rom. 13.

There is no power but from God, and all powers in an estate are ordyned of God.

THE FIRST RACE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE CAL- led Merouingiens of Merouée, the third King of the French, the most famous founder of the French Monarchie.

DANIEL I. 2. verse 21.

*The Soueraigne Lord rules ouer the Kingdomes of Men,
And giues it to whom he pleaseth. He putteth downe,
and sets up Kings at his pleasure.*

A particuler Chronologie of the races from
the yeare foure hundred and twenty, to seauen
hundred and fiftie.

The yeare of grace.	Kings	
420	1	P haramond reigned 11. yeares.
430	2	Clodion the hairy 20. yeares.
450	3	Merouce the great Architect of this Estate, and in this regard the most famous Stem of this race, reigned 10. yeares.
459	4	Chilperic or Childeric the first, the sonne of Merouce, 24. yeares.
484	5	Clouis the first 30. yeares, the first Christian King. The foure sonnes of Clouis, to whom he diuided the whole Realme: that is.
514	6	Childbert King of Paris. Clotaire King of Soissons. Clodamire King of Orleans. Thierri King of Metz, reigned together 42. yeares, and Clotaire the 1. reigned alone eight yeares.
558	7	Cherebert King of Paris.
564	8	Chilperic King of Soissons. Gontran King of Orleans. Segebert King of Metz, reigne together 25. yeares.
578	9	Chilperic the 2. in the end reigned alone 8. yeares.
586	10	Clotaire the second 37. yeares.
632	11	Dagobert the first, 16. yeares.
647	12	Clouis the second, 18. yeares.
666	13	Clotaire the third, 4. yeares.
670	14	Chilperic the third, and Thierri 19. yeares.
689	16	Clouis the third, 4. yeares.
693	17	Childebert the second, 17. yeares.
710	18	Dagobert the second, 5. yeares.
715	19	Chilperic the 4. called Daniel by his first name, 5. yeares.
720	20	Thierri 20. yeares.
740	21	Chilperic or Childeric the 5. the last of the race of the Merouceens, hee liued with the title of a King ten yeares, being degraded from the Kingdome, he dyed a Moncke, and left the Crowne to
750	22	Charles Martel Maire of the Palace, who (without taking the name of King, but inuoying it in effect,) left the Monarchie hereditarie to his posteritie, the date of his reigne being set vnder the name of Chilperic, vnto the decease of Martell.

So this race hath reigned in France 320. yeares.

PARAMOND, the first
King of France.



A Paramond the son of Marcomir, is held for the first King of France by the consent of all our writers. He began his Reigne the yeare of Christ 420. A date very remarkable to describe the first beginning of the French Monarchie. At that time Honorius and Arcadius, brethren, (sonnes to Theodosius the great) held the Romaine Empire, invaded so by strange nations, as it was not onely dismembred into diuerse parts, but euen Rome was spoyled and sacked by Attilie King of Goths. Amidst these confusions, the French Monarchie had her beginning vpon the ruines of the Empire. The French inuited by them of Treues, for the aboue named occasion, first seized on the Cittie, and from thence extended themselves to the neighbour countries; they name *Tyngrie* for their first possession, which the learned hold to be the countie of *Brabant*, and about *Lige*. This conquest was not made at one instant, but augmented by degrees, and the neereſt prouinces were first surprized. The French coming from beyond the *Rhin*, it seemes they did first seize on that part which then lay neereſt vnto them, as the Countries betwixt the *Rhin*, the *Eſant*, and the *Meuse*; and from thence extended themselves euen to the river of *Loyre*. They hold for certaine, that this happie exploit of the French, was vnder the name and authoritie of *Pharamond* their King, who departed not from his native countie, but sending forth this troope, as a ſwarme of Bees, he reaped the honour and fruit of the conquest, as the Soueraigne head. Hee is commended to haue established good lawes, to haue framed and inured the French to a ciuil and well governed kind of life, and to haue laid the first stone of the foundation of this great Monarchie in *Gaule*: he reduced into one body, and expounded more plainly, the ancient lawes of the French, called *Saliques*: augmented them, and shewed the vse, as well for the government of the estate, as for

The fundamētall date of the French Monarchie, in the yeare of grace, 420.

Establisse of the Empire at the beginning of it.

His policies.

B

private

422.

The time of
his raigne.
422.

private persons. And therefore he is called the author of those Lawes, although he received them from his Ancestors. He raigned xi. yeares, leauing *Clodion* his sonne for his successor, with a good taste of his integritie noted in his name: for *Pharamond* or *Pharamond* (according to the common pronounciation) in the old *French* language (that is to say) in *Germaine*, signifies a true mouth: a vertue in truth worthe of a Prince, and necessary for the conduct of humane societie.

This is all that may be certainly written of the originall of the *French* Monarchie: yet *Gregorie* of *Tours* (a very ancient author) makes no mention of *Pharamond*, and sets downe the beginning of this estate in grosse, as a thing vncertaine. What certaintie then may we looke for of more ancient times? We find in the *Romaine* histories, some apparent steps to guide vs to the knowledge of our beginning. These goodly Prouinces of *Gaulle*, were courted by all their neighbours: the *Romaines* vnder colour of conueniencie, seized on that which lay neere vnto them; by meanes whereof, they fought to become masters of the rest, but they wanted no competitors. The *Helvetians* (since called *Suisses*), & likewise the *Almaignes* would haue lodged there, if *Cesar* had not withstood them. His successors were incurred with the like difficulties, but in the end they prevailed to whom God had determined the possession, that is to the *French*, issued doubtlesse out of *Germanie*, and gouerned by Kings. We read in the liues of the last Emperours, the names of *Melchaudes*, *Richimer*, *Marcomir*, *Berther*, *Sunno*, *Pharabert*, *Theodemer* and *Dagobert*: but hereof wee cannot with reason beleue all that the Registers of *Hunibauld* & *Tribemius* do comment, touching these ancient Kings. Let vs therefore leaue these subtilties to such as haue leisure to refine their wittes, & lay before our eyes the light of a more sound and profitable truth: let vs obserue the estate of the Church, when as this Monarchie began to appeare, for hereafter the Church shall be her principall gemme, although the *French* Kings were infidels in their first beginnings.

The estate of
the Church.

S. Ierome, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose* and *Augustine*, liued in those times, spectators of the dissipation of the Empire, wherein the Church suffered much. *Damasus*, *Siricius*, *Anastasi*, *Innocentius*, *Sofonus*, and *Bonifacius*, Bishops of *Rome* liued there, one after another (often renowned for their pietie, learning, and dexteritie,) amidst the confusions of the Empire, & euen at *Rome*, whereas the Emperours were seldome scene; so as the absence of the Emperours (troubled to withstand the *Barbarians*, and the miserable estate of the time, which forced Christians to flie to their Bishop, for counsell and comfort in their confused afflictions) laid the foundation of their authoritie, then small, being tyed to their charges, and subiect to the Emperours command: but it grew by degrees, vntill it came to the heigh of this soueraigne and absolute power, so as in the end they haue prescribed lawes to the Emperours, Kings, and Christian Princes. A necessary obseruation, both for the truth and order of this Historie, to vnderstand rightly both the times, and meanes of their rising. In the first age, the Bishops of *Rome* durst not shew themselves (being persecuted, imprisoned, & martyred by the Emperours). Since *Constantine* the great, their authoritie began: in the dissipation of the Empire, it increased, and this Realme did fortifie and augment it. Our first Kings knew them not: their next successors maintained & advanced them as, *Charles Martell*, *Pepin*, *Charlemaigne*, to whom they are indebted for the greatest support and increase of their cheefe authoritie.

Funda-

423.

Fundamentall Rules or Maximes of the State of France.



But before we proceed any further in this Theater, reason and order commands vs to set downe the soueraigne Maximes of our Monarchie, as goodly pillars in the first fronte of this great building: to the end we may not dispute, either of the ancient forme of gouernment in the first age of our Ancestors, or of the Fundamentall lawes of the estate. It is necessary that our mindes (euen in our infancie) be seasoned with this common beliefe, being the bond and vnion of the naturall obedience we owe vnto our Kings. Without doubt, it is neither true, nor likely, that our Predecessors, (taking possession of this goodly inheritance) made any question of that which had bene concluded amongst them from father to sonne. The most ancient histories (whose authority is without controll,) testifie, that the *French* nation was gouerned by Kings: and experience ioyned with reason doth shew, that the *French* cannot be otherwise commanded, then by a royaltie. Whereto then serues this question amongst the *French*, touching the forme of gouernment, when as *Gaulle* was first possessed by them? And to what end should these goodly painted speeches be vttered by our ancient warriors, who made so great profession to do well, as they neglected eloquent words.

This Maxime thus layde, as the ground of the Estate of *France*, the truth of that which hath passed in ancient times, doth plainly shew, what the forme of this royaltie hath bene: for who doth not see, by the names of the Kings of *France*, (as they haue commanded in this realme, amidst so many alterations of the State, in the change of the three Races, where wee may note the succession from father to sonne, from brother to brother, & from cousin to the nearest kinsman of the bloud Royall), that it was hereditary from all antiquity? This is the law, the vse whereof is so worthily regarded in all commands, the force whereof defends the State amidst the strangest confusions, yea sucking babes haue enjoyed it without any dispute or contradiction. At the very name of an infant King, Armies haue marched vnder the command of a woman (otherwise very odious, by reason of her vices) and yet so respected (being the Kings mother) as the *French* haue growne desperate in most perillous batailles, returning with bloody victories, thrust forward with this onely resolution, to preferue the estate of their yong King, lying in his swadling clothes. By the force of this law, the *French* (after the decease of their lawfull Kings, leauing their wiues with childe) haue reuerenced the wombe of their Queene, expecting her deliury: being a sonne, hee was nourished, bred vp, and honoured as their King: And if he dyed in his first infancie, they haue performed his obsequies, with the like respect and reuerence, as to a King in his maturity.

To conclude: reason, authority, and experience, doe plainly shew, that a succeeding royaltie is better, then that which depends vpon the peoples choise and election: For what is a Royaltie, but the image of a fathers command: the loue, honour and obedience which children beare towards their parents, bee the effects of the lawe of nature figured in their hearts. A father commands ouer many children, who although they bee planted in diuers parts (as wee see in the peopling of great families,) yet all returne to the chiefe stock or stemme: all acknowledge and honour the father, all obey him while he liues, by a more voluntary obedience, for that it is meere nature. Behold the pattern of a ciuill gouernement. To apply it to our subiect: it appeares, the first man had this naturall authoritie, euen as wee see it at this day. As mankind multiplied into diuers families, so this multitude had neede of a greater gouernement. Man cannot liue alone: society consists in commandement and obedi-

B 2

ence.

ence. From this fountaine a royaltie springs. Looke what is done in a family, the like is in a state, by the same force of nature: one commands and is obeyed. There, this naturall respect is that bond of lawfull obedience. So here in like sort, whereas the commandement of one giues lawe to all, for that the lawe of nature hath power ouer all, it doth authorize this respect in the hearts of subiects, by a voluntary obedience to their Kings as to their fathers. And as wee neede not to be taught to honour father and mother: So, who is so vnkind that will make any question to honour the Prince vnder whom hee is borne. It is that which the originall of the first truth doth teach vs, *Honour father and mother*, not onely to tie vs to them that gaue vs life, but to those that make vs to liue happily in the common societie of mankind: that is, to the father in the house, and to the King in the state, as the father of our fathers. Thus a Royaltie is the most antient and best forme of government, when as the King is Father of his people, according to the ordinance of nature, as we shal shew else where at better leisure. I hope this final digression shal be excused for the necessity of the subiect. A Royaltie then is the Image of a fathers authoritie. How can a father then (whom God hath giuen by the course of nature) be chosen by his children? If to liue well according to nature, and by consequence, that which proceeds from nature, be the best, who doubts, but a Royaltie (the which God hath giuen vs by the law of nature, the soueraigne law of societie, wherein wee are borne,) is without doubt better then that which depends on the tumultuous factions of people: Thus much for reason. Now let vs see what Authority saies, which speaks plainly, & in the goodliest estate of the world, which was the common weale of *Israel*, wherein God had planted his church, as his most precious iewel. Truly, the lawfull Royaltie of the house of *Dauid*, hath bin hereditarie, & successiue from father to sonne, and from Cousin to the nearest kinsman. A parente whereby to frame a perfect estate, farre better then the common weale of *Plato*: who notwithstanding hath respected the bloud Royall in the race of Kings, with great prerogative, moued thereunto by the force of nature, to acknowledge the best forme of government in an hereditary succession, whereas one is borne to commaund, another to obey.

I will dilate no more of so rich and ample a subiect, hauing onely coated that which is necessarie for the circumstance of my purpose. But what shall wee say of Experience, the mistres of fooles? What is hee, but may thereby feeble the visible proofs of this truth? Doubtles those Countries and States, which haue kept this libertie to chooseth their Kings, do often feeble (to their costs) the tumultuous fruites of their elections, struing with much paine to maintaine this privilege against the lawes of nature, posting from nation to nation, with much toyle, and small profit, searching for that a farre off, which they might easily finde at home: and for the avoiding of tumults (which might growe among equall Competitors) they procure vnto themselves infinite troubles, the which they might auoide, in receiuing of him willingly whome God should cause to be borne among them, with a lawfull authority. But some will object, that which we cannot deny to haue bene practised in two Races, That the *French* had in former times authority to place and displace their Kings: as appears as well by the Kings Chosen by Parliament, which were borne vpon targets: as also by the famous examples of *Peppin*, and *Hughe Capet*. Wherevnto the answer is true and plaine, that this consent was but the teale of the naturall prerogative due to the race of our lawfull Kings: and their disallowing, a declaration of their base foolishness, vnworthy of that naturall prerogative, wherewith they were honored in their birth, and from the which they did degenerate in liuing ill. And as we see in the succession of Kings, the nearest allied holds the other by the hand: so in these two alterations, when as necessitie forced the *French* to change their King, (as when the like necessitie constraineth the children to giue their furious father a tutor) wee may obserue, that they haue alwayes made choise of men nearest to the blood royall, preferring vertue before a maske of Authoritie corrupted with vice, the publique good before

In old time at the reception of a new king they used to carrie him vpon a target in a publike assemblie.

A successiue Royaltie is the best.

By authority.

By experience

B

C

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E

F

A the priuate interest of a vicious man, receiuing nothing but the name of his noble race. They haue preferred (as much as they could) their naturall respect to the bloud royall. The lawe made the King: that is his birth. But the law of nature, followed by the law of nations, and the free consent of the people, hath not bene the cause, but the very effect of this naturall authoritie. So this royall authoritie is limited and ruled by the souereigne law of State: which doth so aduance the head about all the members of the bodie, as they may not be separated. For, what is a King without subiects, but a head without members? the King preserves his estate, as the head doth the bodie. But, as the head (from whence life proceeds to the bodie) liues with the bodie, so the King (who preserves the estate by his authoritie) is preferred in the estate, by the consent of his subiects.

In this inseparable vnion, hee doth fortifie his power by theirs, and his commaund with their voluntaty obedience. *Plato* sayes, that *Authoritie not subiect to controulment, is pernicious to him that commaunds, and to them that are commaunded*. It is a lawfull and profitable restraint for Kings, and the necessary counterpoyle of their authoritie. This lawe will haue euery member to hold his place, in the bodie of a State: And by consequence, that the subiects consent, (who offer their goods and liues to their King) be held in due degree. This hinders no more the hereditarie prerogative of a Royaltie, then the diuerse ministerie of the members, do the soueraigne authoritie of the head, ouer the whole bodie. And as in the beginning, or in the rising, or infancie of an estate, vertue ministers occasion for the people to chooseth such as should commaund ouer them successiue, (leaving as it were in sacred gard, in the hands of their best men, what they hold most pretious, and so to their successors, who by all reasonable coniecture, must be good and vertuous, being borne of good parents) euen so, in the end, vice makes them to hate such as abuse this prerogative: and in like manner, the same vertue makes them flie to others, whome they hold more worthy to commaund, in that they are obedient vnto reason. This *Maxime* then stands firme, that the authority of the states not being incompatible with the souerainety of a king, the royaltie of *France* is, and hath alwayes bene merely hereditary, without any exception, nor can it otherwise subsist and stand (all well considered). And who so thinks or speaks otherwise, imaginyng popular common-weales in *France*, he is ignorant of the disposition of the *French*, and feeds himselfe with a dangerous vanity.

But this lawe of a succeeding royaltie is limited by a third *Maxime*: That the right of the Crowne is tied to the heires male: whereas in many nations, for want of males, the soueraigne Authority of a royaltie falls to the females of the royall race. And this lawe, receiued by the approbation of the subiect people, is happily put in practise. The president is very memorable and remarkable in the Realme of *England*, whereas *Queene Elizabeth* alone, hath surpassed the happinesse of the greatest Kings her predecessors, ruling a long time with great Authority in peace: So as hauing gotten most famous victories ouer her enemies, shee hath erected, through peace, the goodliest trophies that euer king of *England* could haue planted there. So great is the force of the lawe in the society of mankind, the which God will haue inuolable vnder the gage of faith and publique order. But the royaltie of *France* is wholly restrained to the males, the fundamentall lawe of state (being called the *Salique* lawe) not admitting the females. For this soueraigne lawe is set downe in these words: *In the Saliqueland, let no portion of the inheritance come to the female: but let the male haue the possession*. That is to say, the males onely are capable of the Crowne of *France*: the females being wholly excluded, and by consequence their issue, the which can pretend no more interest then their mothers, neither haue they any portion in the renewes of the Crowne, which cannot be alienated. So as it is giuen them but for terme of life, by assignation of dowrie at the Kings good pleasure.

This fundamentall lawe is called *Salique*, by excellency, although the *Salique* lawes containe the rights of priuate men: but amongst them, that which concerne the maiesty of the prince, is the principall, and for this cause is knowne by this worthy

The prerogative of a King is nothing impaired by the peoples consent as is last receiuen.

The third. The male onely capable of the Crowne, the female excluded in *France*.

The *French* were often called *Saliques*, of the ruler *Salin Franco*, and the *French* lawes termed *Salique* lawes.

The fundamentall lawe called *Salique*.

428.
The practise
thereof.

observation. The practise of this fundamentall law is apparent, in the first race, where A the cheefe prooffe of antiquitie must be made in the daughters of *Childbert*, sonne to the first *Clouis*: In the daughters of *Cherbert* sonne to *Clotaire* the first, in the daughters of *Contran*, son of the same *Clotaire*, all which were excluded from the Crowne, and in their places the neereft Princes of the blood admitted, by the consent of all the *French*. The second race hath no examples of this law in the particular circumstance of women. The third hath very notable ones: *Edward* King of *England* was excluded by iudgment of the States, from the right he pretended to this Crowne, being sonne to one of the daughters of *France*, the onely daughter of *Philip le bell*. *Philip of Valois*, was preferred before his Neece, daughter to *Lewis Hutin*. And of late memory, *Francis* the first of that name, Duke of *Angoulesme*, before the two daughters of *Lewis* the B twelfth, without any controuersie.

Here the Au-
thor would
have a tained
his position
to be taken
for an vn-
doubted truth

This law was obserued among the *French* before *Pharamond* was borne: and by vertue of this law he reigned as Successor to his Ancestors, *Marcomir*, *Sunno*, *Melobaudes*, and others. And as he was appointed by the wise providence of God, to bee the first Architect of this Monarchie, so was hee indued with singular graces fit for so excellent a worke, in the which the law should fortifie the valour of this fierce & warlike nation. Thus *Pharamond* is renowned for his wisdom and iudgment, who did countenance & authorize the *Salique* lawes, and that especially which was the chief, to take away all future debate from his Successors. And for the better strengthening of his lawes, he assembled his captaines, whereof the Countessors of our ancient Kings C were chosen. They name among the chiefe of them *Widogast*, *Sabogast*, *Wifogast*, and *Besogast*: the which our fabulous curiosities do transforme into some great Orators, without any apprehension of truth. These were good warriors, & yet wise men, and iudicious. But who can beleue they were great Rhetoricians? So *Pharamond* was not the Author, but the bewtifier of the *SALIQUE* lawes, as *Iustinian* of the ciuill lawes of the *Romaines*.

Of the word
Salique.

What the
Salique were.

To search out the originall of the word, neither my style, nor my humor will suffer me to dispute thereof: every one hath his iudgement free. But this is my opinion: as words be the images of things, so are they inuented to represent the nature of the thing whereunto they are applied. It appeares, that among the *French*, the *Salians* were those D that held the cheefe degrees, and gaue the name to the whole Nation. So as all *Frenchmen* are oftentimes called *Salians*. The *SALIQUE* lawes therefore are the *French* lawes appointed to rule, and gouerne the *French*. It was the ancient name continued with the most ancient lawes, the which, the honour of the Nation, and the reuerence of so sacred a thing, hath forbidden in any sort to alter. So the *SALIQUE* lawe hath continued time out of mind the Soueraigne law of State, vnder the which the *French* haue liued: and so haue continued from father to sonne, without any alteration, either in the substance, or the word, maifesticall in the heartes and tongues of all *French* men. What apparence is there then, that *Phillip of Valois* hath borrowed the name of *Pharamond*, in the inuention of this law, to make it serue his turne? How much unlikely E is it, that so important a law, being the ground of the Estate, should bee vnknewe to the *French*? What a drowlines had it beene in so wise & circumspect a nation, to suffer themselves to be abused by a new-come Prince, and by so grosse a pollicie, to drawe themselves into apparent combustion, which hung ouer their heads, in preferring the *French* before the *English*, who had then so good a portion in *France*, where hee possessed the goodliest, and richest prouinces? How vnfound is this policy, to imagine, that a poore Prince, Count of *Valois*, hauing to do with a rich King of *England*, who encountered the *Frenchmens* minds with an intestine force, by the golden vertue of his Angels, could haue abused such as were kept in their obedience, by the force of right and reason, for the preferuation of the Crowne of *France*, their Countie? Who sees F not, but it had beene the ouerthrowe of *Philip of Valois* cause, to say that hee had forged a law at his pleasure, to exclude the lawfull heire, and her offspring, from her right? Truly the good cause of *Philip of Valois* made him victorious against the forces of

A of *Edward* King of *England*; and the auncient reuerence to him, authorized by a continuall vse, and receiued by the common consent of the *French*, reiected gold, to respect the order of right, for the benefit of the lawfull heire. 430.

These *French* lawes were called *Saliques*, of the river *Sal* which is in *Franconia*, or East *France*: it ioynes with *Mein*, and is not yet dried vp. It is neyther new, nor extraordinary, for people to deriue their names from Mountains, or Rivers: and to shewe an example, springing from the same thing, by noting the Rivers. The Country where the City of *Paris* is seated (not onely the chiefe of this great realme, but the Theatre of the whole world, if by a happy peace she may recouer her ancient beauty) is called the Isle of *France*, for the concurse of diuerse rivers, which ioyne with *Seine*: and to this B end, the ship (the armes of our chiefe Cittie) shewes the oportunitie of these goodly rivers. Who can with reason reiect the apparency of this likely-hood? That as our ancestors remayning alongst the riuer of *Sal*, were called *Salians*, so the name hath continued to posteritie: the which for the like reason are called *Ripuares*, as made for the commodity and vse of the dwellers vpon that banck, the which they likewise called *Ripuares*, or *Ribberots*. Truly long time after, *Conrad* of *Franconie*, the Emperour, was called *Salique*, to marke his beginning in that Country, by the ancient name. Thus much for the word. But the inuolable Maximes and Principles of the State of *France*, the consent of all the true & ancient writers, the prescription of so many ages, the generall approbation of all the *French* nation, should make vs hold this *Salique* lawe, for C certaine, without seeking for new opinions, not onely weake and vnprofitable, but insupportable in the State, where the olde prouerb must stand for an oracle, *Remoue not the stone well layed*. Thus hauing briefly set downe the principall lawes of the State of *France*, I will retorne to the course of my history.

Thus hee raigned, thus he liued, and thus died *Pharamond*, the first King of *France*, leauing for hereditary successor of his Realme, his sonne *Clodion*, according to the right of lawe: and King in effect, by consent of the *French*. This age was the sincke of Babarous nations, by whome God would iustly punish the vniust pride of the *Romains*. The greatest parte came out of *Asia*, staying first in *Germany*, and from D thence like Caterpillers or Grasshoppers, read themselves ouer *Gaule*, *Italie*, and *Spain*: that is to say, the *Goths*, or *Getes*, *Alans*, *Hunnes*, *Sueues*, & others: & from the North the *Bourguignons*, *Normans* and *Lombards*. We must know the Change of these nations, for the vse of his history. But it sufficeth to touch them briefly in their places, without cloying our chiefe subiect with a cumbersome discourse.

B4.

CLODION



CLODION, or CLOION the hairy, 2. King of France.



The first at-
temp. of
Clodion.

CLODION, the sonne of Pharamond, succeeded his father in the yeare 431. and reigned one and twenty yeares. He laboured to follow his fathers counsell, and to settle himselfe in *Gaul*: but having transported certaine troupes, which made a happy beginning, passing to the countries of *Cambresie* and *Tournay*, betwixt the rivers of *Somme* and *Esout*, beheld a furious multitude of diuers nations assembled to the chace, of *Sindales*, *Alans*, *Sueues*, and *Burgundians* (jealous to see this great and warlike people follow their steps, in the conquest of a land not onely set to sale, but abandoned in the disorders of the *Romaine* Empire,) opposed themselves against them. The *French* not able to withstand so great united forces, retired themselves into their Country of *Franconia*. To this ialousie, was added the practise of *Stillicio*, Lieutenant **B** generall to *Honorius* Emperour of the West, who easily engaged these Nations, (seeking for worke) against the *French*, laboured by all meanes to crossie them, and to possess himselfe of *Gaul*: yet the successe did not suite his desire: for being prevented by *Honorius* his maister, he was slaine, with his sonne *Eucherius*, whom he had appointed absolute heire of that goodly portion. But the providence of God had left it in prey to these great and victorious Nations, being come from diuers parts of the world to diuide the Empire. Thus confusion preuailed by his authority, who had most interest in the practises of *Stillicio*, who in taking *Gaul* for himselfe, retained still the *Romaine* name, being ouerthrowne by *Honorius*. The deluge of these barbarous nations overflew all *Gaul*, which from yeare to yeare was replenished with new guests. **C** The *Burgundians* had already seized on a great part, with the title of a kingdom, where-

2. King of France.

A whereof *Arles* was the chiefe City. The *Goths* possessed *Gaul* *Narbonne*, euen by the Emperours consent, who granted what he could not take from them: with promise to passe no further. So this victorious nation, dispersed in diuerse places in *Italy*, *Gaul* and *Spain*, were called by sundry names, *Wisigoths*, and *Ostrogoths*, according to the place where they were planted, by their great multitudes and valour. Such was the disorder of the *Romains*, who in their seasons had subdued the whole world, by their victorious armes. Their tempests and stormes reigned during the Empires of the two brethren, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the one commanding in the East, and the other in the West: of *Theodosius* the second, sonne to *Arcadius*: and in the beginning of *Valentinian* the third, a vicious and unhappy Prince. The raigne of *Clodion* fell out in those times not greatly memorable, but to obserue his resolutions and manly endeavours, to settle and increase the conquests of his father, but with no successe. Thus great and heroicall enterprizes haue often staves and lets in the beginning, or such difficult crosses, as they seeme quite suppressed.

Aetius a *Romaine* borne, succeeded *Stillicio* for the Emperour, in that which remained in *Gaul*: he opposed himselfe violently against the *French*, who at diuerse times endeououred to passe the *Rhin*, and to returne into *France*. *Clodion* fortifying himselfe courageously against this storme, fainted not for all these first difficulties. In the end, hee resolved to hazard all vpon this last cast: and to this effect hee rayled a mighty army, with an intent to go in person to the conquest of this goodly kingdom. But God had **C** resolved to giue it to the *French*: yet by an other hand then that of *Clodion*, for he dyed in this voyage, being on the banks of *Rhin*, with an intent to passe it, in the yeare of grace 451. leauing *Merovee* heire of his desseigne and valour.

He was called *Le Cheneu*, or hayrie, for that he made a lawe, that none but Kings and their children, with the Princes of the blood, should weare long hayre, in token of command: after the *Romaine* maner, who shaued the heads of their slaues and seruants, and left the Periwig onely to the *Patricians*, and the head bare. This custome, confirmed by the law of *Clodion*, hath bene long time obserued in *France*: so as by this make, *Clodamyr* the sonne of *Clouis* (being slaine in a battaile by the *Burgundians*) was knowne among the dead: and in token of a degrading or dishonouring, **D** they shaued such as they degraded from the royall dignity: as it appears by infinite examples: amongst the which our History makes mention of one very memorable, of *Queene Clotilde*, who chose rather to cut off the heads of her young sonnes, then to haue their hayre sold or shauen: that is to say, she preferred an honest death before the dishonour of her children: for in cutting off their hayre (the marke of their naturall dignity) they were deprived of all hope to enioy their degree, and were confined into a base estate, unworthy of their greatnesse, to dye continually with heart-breaking, reproche and infamie.

Geneseric King of the *Vandales*, at that time seized vpon *Affricke*, and euen when as he besieged *Hippone* (which at this day they call *Bonne*, famous for the fishing of corall) **E** *S. Augustine* dyed the third moneth of the siege, the fourth yeare of his ministry, in that City, and the 76. of his age, hauing both scene and felt those tragicall desolations, in the desolate estate of the Church, afflicted then in diuers parts of the world by these *Barbarians*. *Theodosius* the second, the sonne of *Arcadius*, a good and a wise Prince, did his best endeour to stop the course of this last shipwrack, but hee preuailed not. The insolencie of *Valentinian* the third (a Prince extremely vicious) thrust it headlong, and the ill government of his seruants, namely of *Bonifacius* gouernour of *Affricke*, and of *Aetius* gouernour of *Gaul* (called in the *Barbarians*, to the subuersion of the Empire: who to be reuenged one of another, (being capitall enemies, for the ialousie of their greatnesse) did what they could to ruine their maister.

MEROVEE

MEROVEE the third King of France,
who gaue the name and
greatest grace to this first race.



451.



Meroovee fees
footing into
France.

Meroovee, sonne, or the nearest kinsman to Clodion, succeeded to the Crowne, as well by vertue of the fundamentall lawe of state, as by the free Election of the French, in the yeare 451.

He was farre more happy then Clodion: for he not onely effected his desire in passing the Rhin, and taking footing in Gaule: but did happily extend the limits of his new kingdom further. And the same Ætius which crossed Clodion, made the way easie for Meroovee vna-uares, for the execution of his enterprise, by this occasion: Ætius fell in disgrace with Honorius his maister, being greued to see the great successe of the Goths, Vandales and other barbarous nations in the Empire, imputing the fault vnto his seruants and officers. Thus growing iealous, hee calles him from his government of Gaule, and sends Castinus in his place, who was not onely vnaacquainted with the estate of the Gaules, but was also discontented with Bonifacius gouernour of Affricke, with whome he had commandement to ioyne his forces, to oppose against the common enemies of the Romaines. During those actions, Honorius died, leaving Theodosius in the East, and Valentinian in the West, two yong princes of diuers humors.

Meroovee imbracing this occasion with great dexterity, founds the hearts of his neighbors the Gaulois, and finds them disposed to his denotion. He rayseth an army, passeth the Rhine, takes Treues at the first comming, and then Argentin, (which is now called Strasbogh) with the Countries adioyning to it. Hee extends euen vnto Cambresie and Tournay, and proceeding farther into Gaule, hee seised on the best Cities of Champagne, with so great expedition, as no Romaine appeared to stop the course of his victory.

3 King of France.

11

A victory. Valentinian aduertised of this successe, called back Ætius, to quench this fire, sending him into Gaule with an armie against the French: but there was other worke prepared for him, for Attila King of the Huns, (who named himselfe the Scourge of God, to chastise the Empire) hauing assembled an incredible number of men in the desarts of Asia, (being five hundred thousand souldiars) fallies downe like a furious deluge, spoiling all the countries where he passed: and hauing crossed through Poland into Germanie, and passed the Rhin, he threatened to invade France, a country desired by all these nations, for her fertilitie and beauty. Ætius had no shorter course, nor better meates to auoyde this storme, then to become friends with the French, and with all the other possessors of Gaule, who were threatened by this common storme: so as in steed of warre, he made a peace with Meroovee, vpon this extremitie.

Attila entred Gaule, and aduanced so farre, that hee besieged Orleans, (where Auian liued then, a most famous Bishop, who did greatly comfort the besieged by his piety and wisdom) whilst that the forces of their confederate friends assembled, by the meanes of Ætius, the Romaines, French, Gothes, and Bourguignons. Orleans being at the point to yeeld, Thierry King of the Goths arriues so happily, as he forceth Attila to raise his siege, & to take another course. Attila marching away with this vaste body of an armie, he was pursued speedily by Ætius and his confederates, who ouertooke him in the fields of Catalauna, the which is diuersly taken, either for the country about Chalons, or about Tholouse. The battaile was giuen, and the combate was furious, but the check fell vpon the Huns, who lost (as it is constantly written) 180000. fighting men, and the victorie remained in commun to the Romaines, French, and Goths: but the triumph and honour to Meroovee and his men, who fought very valiantly. Thierry King of the Goths, was slaine very happily, to make the way easie for Meroovee.

It was propounded in counsell, to pursue Attila, but Ætius would not yeeld thereto, so as Attila saued himselfe, being beaten, but not vanquished: for with the same forces he seized vpon a great part of Pannonia the happy, whence in the end came the name of Hongarie, although after the death of Attila, who did but lay the leuain, and his posterity finished what he had begun. A question is made, what moued Ætius to leaue Attila halfe vanquished. The reliques of his discomfited army were not small, after so great a losse: so as it seemed best not to force him to despaire, seeing there is but one onely helpe for the vanquished, not to hope for helpe. Ætius might also haue giuen this aduise, by reason of his realousie against the French, who should haue reaped an ouerplus of greatnesse by the absolute ouerthrow of this Barbarian. But with what intention soeuer he did it, it succeded ill for himselfe, for Valentinian his maister was so discontented with him, as he caused him to be slaine, depriving himselfe of a sufficient and faithfull seruant: and (as one reproched it vnto him) hee had cut off his right hand with his left. In the meane time Meroovees affaires succeeded well in all places: hee had wonne much reputation: hee was feared of the Romaines, honoured of the Gaules, and respected and beloued of all men. Thierry King of the Goths, gaue him place by his death, with whom the Romaines might haue ioynd: and his greatest opposition, was the wisdom and valour of Ætius, the which did no more check him.

Thus the prouidence of God (which meant to vse him for the building of this Monarchie,) made way for him euery where. Hee likewise knew how to imbrace all these opportunities with such dexterity, that taking hold of all occasions, hee entred the country, taking possession of Paris, Sens, Orleans, and the neigbour Prouinces, with the consent of the inhabitants; and ioyning these with the rest, hee wonne the Gaules, with so good vsage, as he was held worthy to command ouer them: & so without any contention, he began to frame the body of an Estate, calling France (by the name of his ancient country) the country of Gaules, being newly brought vnder his obedience. Hereby we may see, whether it be likely that Valentinian gaue the French their libertie, for recompence of this notable seruice: and that from thence they began to be called Frenchmen, that is to say, Franc and free, as some writes, not well obseruing the Romaine History, whence these Romaine obseruations should wish reason be drawne.

Such

460.
The happy
raigne of
Merouee.

The estate of
the Empire &
the Church.

Such was the valour, wisdom and happinesse of this great and worthy Prince, who with great reason gaue his name to this first race, called *Merouingiens*, to aduow him the principall pillar of their establishment. He began to raigne the yeare 451. and ruled ten yeares onely, not omitting one houre to do well. In his time there chanced notable accidents in the Church. As on the one side the *Barbarians* dismembred the State, so the heretikes troubled the Church by their monstrous innouations, sprung vp against the truth of the ancient & Catholike doctrine: and their chiefe practises were against the sonne of God. *Nestorius* diuided the Natures: *Eutiches* did confound them: *Theodosius* the second, assembled a generall Councell at *Ephesus*, against *Nestorius* and *Masarian* his successor: another at *Chalcedon* against *Eutiches*. There were likewise Synods at *Orange*, *Valence*, *Carpantras*, *Arles*, *Tours*, and *Venise*, for diuers necessities of the Church, the which order and discipline might remedy. *Cyrillus* and *Theodoret* liued in those times, great personages, and worthy defenders of the truth.

CHILDERIC, or CHILPERIC, first King
of that name, the 4. King of France,
In some Copies *HISPERIC*.



THe French and the *Gaules* being thus vnitd, they choose *Chilperic* the sonne of *Merouee* for their King, with great solemnitie, being the first assembly of this new people, consisting of two nations, and installed him, according to their ancient maner (raising him vpon a Targer) they carried him about the assembly. Hee began to rule in the yeare 461. and raigned xxx. yeares. A Prince noted in diuerse examples, both in his life and gouernment: for in the beginning he was vicious and vnfortunate, but being reclaimed by affliction (hauing changed his life) good hap did accompany him in the end of his dayes. At his coming to

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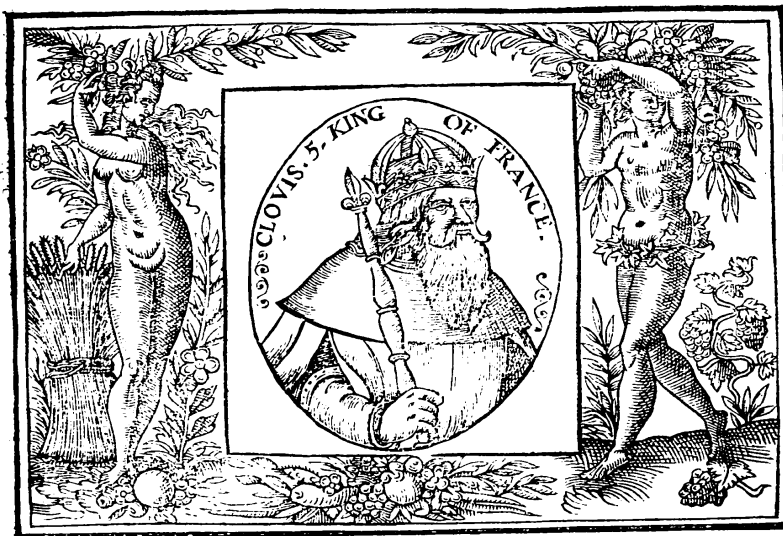
A to the Crowne, he did greatly abuse his authoritie, in oppressing of his subiects, with excessiue taxes, rauishing the wiues, and daughters of the *French*: who seeing themselves ill intreated in their goods and honours, they assemble, and resolute to expell *Chilperic*, as vnworthy to reigne, and to call in *Gillon a Romaine* for their King, who gouerned in *Gaulle* for the *Romaines*, and held his seate at *Soissons*. The hate and contempt of the subiects against their Kings, is a great meanes to blemish their authoritie. The vices of *Chilperic* bred this discontent in the *French*, and the scourge was readie to chastice him, though not to ruine him.

Chilperic (not able to oppose himselfe against this common consent) giues place, by the Councell of *Guyemans* a man of great account, who promised him to bee his true friend in his affliction, and to vse his best endeouours to pacifie the *French*, being incensed against him, and to cause him to bee recalled. To this end, hee takes a token from *Guyemans*, for the more secret treating in his absence. The token was a peece of a gold ring, whereof either of them tooke a moitie. This done *Chilperic*, retires himselfe into *Turinge*, to King *Basin* his deere friend and kinsman, expecting better fortune. *Guyemans* proceeds with such dexteritie, as creeping into fauour with this new King, and keeping his credit with the *French*, hee makes himselfe fit to effect his purpose, both by the one and the other. The issue answereth the proicct. Hauing plausible audience with *Gillon*, hee aduiseeth him, that to get authoritie among his subiects, hee must inure them to obedience: and therefore hee must not forbear to lay publike charges vpon them, else they would contemne him, and in the end insult ouer him, if in time hee did not accustome them to beare the yoke of his new authoritie. According to this aduise, the King (vnacquainted with the humour of the *French*,) imposeth taxes contrary to custome, and doubles charge vpon charge. The same fire which had inflamed the *French* against *Chilperic*, incensed them presently against *Gillon*. For (say they,) to what end should this newe maister become a tyrant? We can dispossesse him with the like facilitie that we haue made him. Thus they generally complaine, euerie one (according to the credit hee hath with the people) cries out, that they must preuent this mischief. Such as were the motiues and instruments to expell *Chilperic*, are not the last to complaine. *Guyemans* doth secretly aduertise *Gillon*, that the meanes to auoid the danger which *Chilperic* fell into, was to preuent this practise in the breeding, and to put the principall authors thereof to death, as the ringleaders of rebellion. *Gillon* entertaines this aduise: he puts them to death that were the instruments of *Chilperics* disgrace. And so with one stone giues two stroakes. He take them away that might frustrate his desseine, and disposeth the *Frenchmens* hearts to desire their ancient King. And thus he makes the way for *Chilperics* returne, by a very happie dexteritie, and the client was answerable. *Gillon* (hauing put these aforenamed to death) became very odious to the *French*. *Guyemans* abandons *Gillon*, and cunningly embraceth this occasion, in fauour of *Chilperic*. He blames the *French* for their lightnes, to haue expelled their naturall Lord, and recuiet a stranger farre more insupportable. Thus he makes them resolute to call home *Chilperic*: who vnderstanding their desire, and seeing the peece of gold (the token of his returne) sent by his faithfull friend, returnes confidently into *France*: he is received by the *French*, and by their ayd forceth *Gillon* to resigne him the place, and to retire himselfe to *Soissons*. Such was the first part of *Chilperics* life. The last was of another temper: for being taught by himselfe, he was so addicted to do good, as he got the good will of the *French*, of whome he was beloued, honoured, and obeyed all the rest of his life. So as to good minds capable of reason, affliction serues as a chastisement, and not for a ruine: for an instruction, and not a destruction. Hee did fight happily against *Odoacre* King of the *Saxons*, subdued the *Germans*, woon a great coutry along the *Rhin*. He added to this State the Country of *Aniou*, hauing forced the citie of *Angiers*: and to make absolute his happines, hee had one sonne, who augmented and assured his Realme. They only obserue one notable error committed after his returne, in taking *Basine* to wife, being the wife of *Basin* King of *Turinge*, who had courteously entertained him in his distresse, violating the sacred lawes of hospitalitie, suffering himselfe

Chilperic called home
chastised by
affliction.

585. selfe to be abused with the loue of a woman, accounted a witch: for they say, this woman (who had forsaken her husband for him) was a witch, causing him to see a vision the first night of their vnlawfull marriage, the which did represent the state of the succeeding kingdome, by lions, vnicornes, leopards, the which appeared first in this vision, then by beares, and wolues: And lastly by catter, dogges, and other small beasts, the which did teare one another in sunder. You must pardon these fables of antiquity, (bred as it seemes long after) by the which she would represent the estate of the three races, according to their diuerse occurrents. *Chilperie* hauing liued thus, and reigned thirtie yeares, he left *Clouis* his sonne for successor and heire of one of the goodliest and bewtifullest pyllers of the *French* Monarchie as shall appeare by the following discourse.

CLouis the 1. the 5. King of France. and the first Christian King.



CLOVIS, succeeding his father *Chilperie*, was installed in the Royaltie, by the *French*, according to their ancient custome, borne vpon a target in open assembly. Hee began to reigne the yeare 485. and reigned thirtie yeares. Hee had scarce attained to the age of fiftene yeares, when as he mounted to the royall throne. A yong man of great hope, borne for the stablishment of this monarchie. His forefathers had layed the foundation, but he did build vpon these goodly beginnings with to great valour, wisdom, and good fortune, as he is to be held for one of the greatest Architects of this estate, hauing had the honour to be the first King of *France* that receiued the Christian religion, the greatest beautie of this Crowne: and a priuilege so carefully planted by his successors, as they haue purchased the title of most Christian, as a marke of their chiefest greameffe. The progresse of the Historie will shew both his vertues, and vices. But at this entrie, his mind being guided to so great a worke, (whereunto the wise prouidence of almighty God had appointed him) fortifieth

A fortifies it selfe, the first fve yeares of his raigne, (being the time of his apprenticeship) 485. before he vndertooke any thing, the which hee did manage so discreetly, embracing all occasions that were offered, as in the end hee thought himselfe able to subdue all *Gaule*, if God had not stayed the ambitious course of his vnmearurable desires, to shew vnto great personages, that hee reserues a Soueraigne prerogatiue ouer all their enterprises.

We haue said before, that in the dissipation of the Empire, the *Gauls* had many vsurpers, *Bourguignons*, *Goths*, and *Frenchmen*: the *Romains* had the least part, for hardly could they keepe *Soissons*, *Compiene*, *Senlis*, and other small townes thereabouts. The *Bourguignons* enioyed a great countrie, the two *Bourgongnes*, the *Duchie* and the *Earledome*, *Sauoy*, *Lyonnois*, *Forests*, *Beauuolais*, *Daulphiné*, and *Prouence*, *Arles* being the Metropolitan City of the Realme. The *Goths* possessed all *Gaule Narbonnoise*, to the which they gaue the name, and all *Guyenne* with the appertenance. The *French* had the best part, from the *Rhin* vnto *Loire*, embracing all the rich Provinces of the Lowe countries vnto the Ocean, the countries of *Heynault*, *Cambre*, *Picardie*, *Normandie*, the *Ile of France*, *Maine*, *Antou*, *Touraine*, *Vandenois*, the province of *Orleans*, *Beauue*, *Hurepois*, *Gastinois*, *Soigone*, *Berry*, and the neighbour countries, although these great and large territories had particular Lords, amongst the which the King was acknowledged for Soueraigne. Such was the state of *Gaule*, when as *Clouis* vndertooke the helme of this *French* monarchie.

C To become absolute Maister of this goodly country, which was set to sale to the mightiest: he begins with the weakest, the neerest, and him with whom hee had the most apparent shew of quarrell: which was the *Romane*, who held nothing of this great name, but the shew and pride, in a weaknesse altogether contemptible. *Siagrius* sonne to that *Gyles* of whom we haue spoken, commanded at *Soissons* for the *Romans*. *Clouis* had an hereditarie quarrell against him, hauing sought to viurpe his estate, irreconcilable quarrels among Princes. Hauing so goodly a shew to demand reason for so notable a wrong, he defies him. They assemble their forces: *Clouis* calles to his aide *Ragnachaire*, the petty King of *Cambray*, and *Chararic* of *Amyens*: the first assists him, the other excuseth, being desirous to keepe the stakes, and to be a looker on, and then **D** to toyne with the stronger. *Siagrius* is overcome in battell. In this ouerthrow he leaues his estate to *Clouis*, and flies to *Alarie* King of the *Goths*, being at *Tholouze*. *Clouis* not content with *Siagrius* goods, demands his person of *Alarie*, and obtaines it. *Siagrius* is sent vnto him, his hands and feet bound. Hauing him in his power, he makes him taste the griefe of his misery, reproching him that he had basely lost his gouernment, & deserved capitall punishment, and so he cuts off his head: afterwards he suppressed *Chararic*, and *Ragnachaire*, vpon diuerse occasions. Hauing seized vpon all that be'onged to the *Romane* name, he turned his resolutions against the *Bourguignons* and the *Goths*, but with an industry fitting so politike a head, seeking some colour of iustice, he makes a league of peace with the two nations, to pick a caule of quarrell, hauing some controuersie with their Kings, for some title in shew lawfull. The issue is answerable to his desseigne, for he knew so well how to obserue times, watch for occurrences, & creepe so cunningly into their affaires, as in the end hee dispossessed them both.

In the house of *Bourgondie* there were foure brethren, *Gondebault*, *Gondegesil*, *Chilperie* and *Gothemar*, the children of *Gondioch*. The iealousie of their portions thrusts them into choller, and the fury of couetousnesse polluted the hands of *Gondebault* the elder with the parricide of his yonger brother *Chilperie*, and of his wife, but God preferred *Clotilde* from the crueltie of this man, being the daughter of *Chilperie*, to be the meanes of this murderers misery. She was exceeding faire: this qualitie bred a desire in *Clouis*, but especially to get footing in *Bourgondie*, and some interest to deale with the affaires of that state. And for that reason *Gondebault* would by no meanes like of that alliance: yet not daring to shew the true cause, he made the pretext of his resuall to be the diuersity of religion, which could not agree with these vnequall mariages. *Clouis* preuented it with great policy, for hauing promised *Clotilde* that she should haue liber-

Clouis assisted to the most chief of all *Gauls*.

The first root of the *Romane*.

490.

tie of Conscience, he remoues the lee wherewith *Gondebault* did crosse him: so as the marriage was concluded. And although *Clouis* were a *Pagan* by profession, yet was he no enemy to the Christians, sitting himselfe to the humour of the *Gauls*, who generally followed the Christian religion. He suffred his wife likewise to baptise her children: and she a wife Princeesse insinuating with her husband, desired nothing more then to vntune him vnto God, the which chaunced in this sort. *Clouis* did succore the *Sicambrians* his allies, (which bee the inhabitants of *Guedres* and *Iuliers*) against the *Germanes*. Being in the battell, he found himselfe engaged in the midst of his enemies troupes and in great danger of his life. He then makes a vowe vnto God, that if he would giue him the victory, hee would presently submit himselfe to the Christian Church, and be baptised. God heard him. He obtains the victory, and being returned, he resolues to performe his vowe. His wife *Clotilde* infinitely glad of this holy resolution, sends for *Saint Remy* Bishop of *Rheims*, (a man of great pietie and eloquence) to instruct him in the true doctrine, wherein he was very ignorant, as a man that had made profession of armes all his life, borne and bred in superstition, and neuer had discomfited of Christian religion, but like a souldiar. It was necessary he should be instructed by a discrete man, that in leauing the vanity of *Pagans*, he were not infected with the errors of *Arrians*, which then were dispersed in diuerse places. And euen his owne sister *Lantilde* was infected therewith.

Clouis becomes a Christian.

The preaching of *Saint Remy* had great efficacy with *Clouis*: and the example of *Clouis* with all his men of warre. In this action, the good sayings are worthy to be noted. Bend thy neck to the yoke in mildenes. (saith *Saint Remy* to *Clouis*) worship that which thou hast burnt, and burne that which thou hast worshipped. And hee answereth, I worship the true God which is the father, the sonne and the holy ghost, the Creator of heauen and earth. So, being baptised, he exhorts his men to the same beleefe. They cry alioynly: We leaue our morall Gods, and are ready to follow the immortal. So *Clouis* was baptised at *Rheims* by *Saint Remy*, with great solemnity, and with him 3000. of his souldiars, to the incredible ioy of the *Gauls*, greatly affected to Christ an religion: hoping by this conuersion to haue better vltage in time to come.

This acte is very remarkable, hauing consecrated our Kings to Christian religion, the which hath preiudiced this Realme vnto this day from most horrible confusions. *Amatus* saith, that a dove brought a viall full of oile in her bill, at that instant, with the which our Kings are annoynted, when they are installed. But *Gregory* of *Tours*, a more ancient Author, writes onely, that *Clouis* was baptised. They likewise hold, that *Clouis* did at that time chaunge the royall armes, and that for three toades, or as the learned say, three diademes guenies, in a field at ge, he tooke the flowers de-lis without number. Many monuments of our Kings in the first and second race, iustifie this chaunge of Armories, made by *Clouis*, as we see them in the most ancient Temple. Without dilating any more therof, *Charles* the 6. in the Scutcheon of *France*, reduced the flowers de-lis to three.

Religion the only true bond of Citidians.

Gauls called *France*.

Humility mercifullous.

This publique profession of Christianity won the hearts of all the *Gauls* vnto *Clouis*, and did perfect the vnion betwixt them and the *French*, making their yoke easie, and then tractable. He fortified his commaunde with this bond of religion, and layed a foundation for the absolute greatnesse of this Monarchie, which euen then beganne to take place, through out all *Gauls*. Thus *Gauls* (with more solemnity then vnder *Merouee*) was called *France*, by the common consent of all nations: the *Gauls* were no more grieued to serue the *French*, being victors: hauing willingly suffred themselves to be conquered, & hauing one faith & one lawe, they could not but wish the good of their common Country: so much may religion preuaile to vntune mens hearts in a common weale. In this beginning *Clouis* shewed an excellent fruite of his baptisme, exceeding all his conquests. By his last victory he had subdued the *Germanes*, & to accustome them to obedience, had imposed great & rigorous burthens. But now he doth relieue them, sends home their hostages, & moderates their yoke, shewing thereby that he is growne milder. This humanity was approued as a second victory, & more honorable then the first.

Truely

503.

A Truly it is as great a victory in a great Prince, to conquer by clemencie, as it is a profitable policie to winne mens hearts by reason. The Conquerour that pardons, beautifies his triumph, adding to their conquered bodies their hearts, admiring his vertue no lesse victorious then his forces.

Clouis was ill affected to the *Visigoths*, who held a great and large Countrie in *Gauls*, obscuring the *French* Monarchie, the which hee desired to establish: but hee must finde some honest pretext to make warre. Although in effect the right of conuencencie was his greatest interest, as it is often the most lawfull title of Princes: yet hee seekes a quarell against *Alaric* King of the *Visigoths*, vpon the alliance he had made with him, the which (he sayes) had bene broken, for that the banished men and male-

B factors of *France*, had found a free and assured refuge in his dominions: wherevnto he added a complaint of their bounds, in the diuision whereof he would resolutely haue the aduantage. But to giue a better colour to this quarrell of State, hee ioynes religion: For (saith he to his people) to what end should these *Arrians* haue so good a part among the Christians. Yet before he would come to open force, he talks of a friendly conference. The two Kings appoint a day and a place for an enterview, to parlee of their affaires. But this meeting increased their hatred: for being both vpon the place, some confident seruants to *Clouis*, gaue him notice, that *Alaric* had laide an Ambuscadoe, to surprize him in their parle. *Clouis* was much moued with this, and resolues to make warre against *Alaric*: hee raiseth an armie, and beeing ready to marche towards *Guyenne*, behold a new occasion, which makes him turne his forces towards *Bourgogne*.

Warre against the *Visigoths*.

We haue shewed, how that *Gondebault* King of *Bourgogne*, slue his brother *Chilperic*, father to *Clotilde*, vpon the first diuision of their portions, after their fathers death. Hee had two bretheren remaining, *Gondemar* and *Gondegisil*, of whom he desired infinitely to bee freed, hauing too many bretheren, and too little land, according to his vnfatiable desire. Their debate was for *Prouence* and *Daulphiné*, which they demanded for their portions. *Gondebault* enioyed the chiefe Cities, except *Vienne*, which the bretheren held. *Clouis* his Armie ouercomes that of *Gondebault*, marching victoriously through the Countrie of *Venaïson*, where the battell was fought. *Gondebault* saues D himselfe with great difficultie in *Auignon*, and is presently besieged by *Clouis*, who yet grants him an honourable composition, and labours to reconcile him with his bretheren: which done, he returnes into *France*, and *Gondemar* and *Gondegisil* retire into *Vienne*, dreaming of nothing lesse then to haue their elder brother for an enemy. But *Vienne* must be the pitte-fall of their misery, to swallow them both vp, one after another: for behold, *Gondebault* is with a strong armie at the gates of *Vienne*: and his bretheren are reduced to that extremitie, as hauing no meanes to defend themselves, nor to get reliefe from their friends, the City is easily taken, and euery man seekes to saue himselfe as he can. *Gondemar* flies into a Tower, where he is besieged, assailed, and burnt, with all his troupe. *Gondegisil*, is taken aliue after this tragick feare, but being alone, he slippes away, and flies to *Clouis*, whome hee found in Armes ready to march vpon this new accident.

Warres in *Bourgogne*, and why.

Clouis takes new aduise. The ancient hatred he bare to *Gondebault*: (who had crossefied him in his marriage,) the iniustice and more then barbarous crueltie: the complaint of this poore Prince his ally, who cast himselfe into his armes, had much power to perswade him to the voyage of *Bourgogne*. But that which made him resolute, was for that *Gondebault* prepared to succour *Alaric*, against whom *Clouis* did now march with his forces. Thus the iust iudgement of God provided a scourge for this murderer, who adds rashnesse and insolencie to his first disorders. *Clouis* enters with an armie into *Bourgogne*. Feare doth not onely surprize the countrie, but also the peoples iust hatred of this tyrant, being infamous with so many parricides: so as in few dayes the principall Cities yeeld vnto *Clouis*, and the rest are ready to submit themselves into his hands, as to their deliuerer.

Gondebault pursued by God and men, faintes, being insolent in prosperitie, and daunted

507.
Clouis con-
questes in
Bourgogne.

daunted in aduersitie. All things conspired to his ruine. But as God doth not alwaies A
take sinners at the rebound, hee stayed the blow by meanes of *Clotilde*, who grieuing
to see her house decay, to the overthrowe of the state of *Bourgogne*, makes intercession
to her husband, for her vnkle and his Countrie, and preuailes so with him, through
her intercession, as shee perswades him to passe no further, but to leaue the rest to her
vnkle *Gondebault*, with a reasonable peace, whereof she drew the articles. Thus *Clouis*
dismisseth his armie, hauing onely provided for the gard of *Vienne*, *Mascon*, *Chaa-
lon* and other Townes taken from *Gondebault*; and hee giues the charge of them
to *Gondegisil*.

A treache-
rous attempt
of Gondebault.

This is all that *Gondebault* could hope for in so great a danger; but he would needes B
perish, when as he sees himselfe without any enemy. By *Clouis* departure, he marcheth
so secretly with his forces, as in one night he surpriseth *Vienne*, by the Conduit heads,
guided by him that had them in charge, being cast out of the Citie, with the scumme
of vnprofitable people. *Vienne* must bee the Sepulchre of *Gondegisil*, as it was of *Gon-
demar*: for in this vnexpected surpris, as he and the Bishop sought meanes to saue
themselves in the temple of *Saint Mary*, amazement giues an easie entrie vnto *Gon-
debault*, who being master thereof, doth massacre both *Gondegisil* his brother, and the
Bishop, without any respect.

A iust puni-
shment of the
murderer
Gondebault.

Clouis moued with this treacherous attempt, returnes with his armie, and besiege-
th *Gondebault*, who vnable to resist, escapeth by night, and saues himselfe in *Italie*,
with *Thierry*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, his friend and confederate. They being tor- C
mented in conscience, without all hope of releefe, hee falls into horrible dispaire,
and dyes, hatefull euen to those that had receiued him: leauing a notable example
to all men, that man is the cause of his owne miserie, that hee deceiueth himselfe,
when as ouerruled by his owne passion, hee thinks to mocke God freely, who
sleepes not, when as men are most secure in their wickednesse. But after a long
patience, God payes both the principall, and the interest, and hee that seekes an
other mans goods, doth often loose his owne, the halfe being better then the
whole, for to liue quietly with content. This was the end of *Gondebault*, and the
beginning of the title which the Kings of *France* pretended to *Bourgogne*. The D
States of *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, and *Sauoy* were dependances on this Crowne. *Clouis*
reueyning *Dauphiné* and the Countreies adioyning vnto *Bourgogne*, he left *Sauoy*, and
Provence to *Sigismond* and *Gondemar* the children of *Gondebault*, ioyning equitie and
mildnes to his iust victorie.

The first win-
ning of Ben-
gale, Dauph-
nisme, and
Provence.

Hauing thus settled the affaires of *Bourgogne*, he marcheth presently with his vi-
ctorious armie into *Languedoc*, against *Alarie* King of the *Visigoths*, who held not
onely that goodly Prouince, but all the Countrie from the *Pirenee* mountaines, euen
to the banks of *Rosne* and *Loire*, as wee haue sayd. *Clouis* hauing assembled his ar-
mie at *Tours*, marcheth into *Poitou*, where *Alarie* attends him with his forces,
meaning to fight with him at his entrie. The battaile is giuen, and much blood E
shed on either side, but the absolute victorie remaines to *Clouis*: as the bodies, the
field, and the head of *Alarie*, whome hee slew with his owne hand: an accident
very remarkable, that one Prince should kill another with his sword in hand in the
fury of the fight. This happened in the yeare 509.

Alarie slaine
by the hand
of Clouis.

The fruit of this notable victorie was so great, as all yielded to *Clouis*, where hee
marched. Those of *Argoulaine* made shew of resistance: but a great parte of the
wall being fallen, (as it were miraculously) not onely the Citie yielded, but all the
Countrie, being terrified, offered their voluntarie obedience vnto *Clouis*: as if God
(holding him by the hand) had put him in possession of all that Prouince, as the
lawfull heire. *Auvergne* makes some shew to resist, but in the end it yeelds with
all the Citie of the Prouince. In this generall reuolt against the *Visigoths*, *Al-
maric* the sonne of *Alarie* gathers a new head in the Countreies of his obedience,
with wonderfull speed. *Clouis* seekes him out, and finds him nere to *Bordeaux*. The
battaile is fought, and the slaughter great on either side: the one armie fights for ho-
nour,

504.

A nour, and the other for life, and goods. But *Clouis* remains conquerour, who in
detestation of his enemy, calles the place the *Arrien* field; which name continues vn-
to this day. *Almaric* flies to *Thierry* his confederate, King of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*,
with an intent to returne speedily to be reuenged of *Clouis*. All the countrie remains
peaceable to *Clouis*: yea *Tholouse* the capitall Citie of the *Goths* kingdome. And thus
he returnes, leauing a part of his army in garrison in the Citie of his new conquest,
vnder his sonnes command: and in his Standard (as a trophie,) he carried for a deuote,
Veni, vidi, vici, I came, and saw, and ouercame, like vnto *Cesar*. This great conquest
gotten with incredible celeritie, and admirable successe, is a worthy prooffe of Gods
providence, who disposeth of States according to his wife and iust pleasure, pulling
B downe one, and raising vp another.

Thus *Clouis* hauing expelled the remainder of the *Romaines*, seized on the *Bourgog-
nons* estate, and the *Visigoths*: remaining in a maner absolute Lord of the *Gaules*, vnder
the title of the Realme of *France*. Hee desired much to liue at *Tours*, (as indeed it is
the goodly garden of *France*;) but seeking to giue a perfect forme to this new estate,
(as one head hath but one body) hee chooseth *Paris* for his capitall Citie, being sear-
ted in the Ile of *France*, and the true mansion of Kings, as well for the fertile beauty
of the Countrie thereabout, as for the concourse of Riuer, which bring infinite com-
modities from all parts, by the channell of the Riuer of *Seine*, into the which all the rest
fall, as the common store-house of all commodities. Thus *Paris* from small beginnings
C (as may be noted by the lowe buildings and narrow streetes of the Ile, being the
first plotte) is growne to a wonderfull greatnesse, being the head Citie of all the
Realme.

The brute of *Clouis* force, spread ouer all, with a great renoune of his valour, mo-
ued *Anastasijs* Emperour of the East, to desire his friendship: although hee had more
reason to be his enemy, hauing dispossessed him of his ancient inheritance. Thus the
Empire declined, flitting his most dangerous enemies, against whom he should op-
pose himselfe. Hee salutes him with a very honourable Ambassage, sends him a Se-
nators robe, the priuilege of a Patrician and Cittizen of *Rome*, and the dignity of a
Consull: in signe of the honour his successours should haue, to bee Emperours, and
D to preferue the reliques of the Empire from a generall shipwrack. *Clouis* entertained
Anastasijs Ambassadors with honour and bounty, desirous to ouercome them with
civilitie, as well as by the valour of his victorious armes.

The Empe-
rour sends
Ambassadors
to Clouis.

The violent course of *Clouis* victories seemed vnresistible: but behold an vnexpec-
ted enemy, not onely stayes him suddenly, but takes from him the greatest part of his
new conquests, defeats his Armie, and drawes him into danger neuer to performe
any thing worthily. The nation of the *Gothes* was then very great, being dispersed in
diuerse parts: in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spaine*, so as one people issued from the same begin-
ning (as we haue sayd) was distinguished by diuerse names, to marke the places of
their severall abodes. The *Visigoths* or rather *Westgoths*, were they that dwelt in the
E West, that is to say in *Gaul*, vnto *Italy*: the *Ostrogoths* or *Eastgoths* possessed *Italy*,
by consequence East to *Gaul*. These *Eastgoths* had done great and notable exploits
in *Italy*, taken and sackt *Rome*, and hauing seized on the goodlyest Countreies of *Italy*,
had there established a Kingdome vnder their name, the which was ruined by the
Lombards, and the *Lombards* by the *French*, as wee shall see in the continuance of
this history.

Clouis being
conquerour
is conquered.

These *Goths* (named *Getes* by the *Greekes*) an ancient people of *Asia*, scattered
themselves first along the riuer of *Danubie*, entring the Countrie nere to *Constanti-
nople*, as well on the maine land, as in the *Taurique Chersonese*, nere to this quarter.
And so extending their limits, did possesse *Valachie* and *Hongarie*, and in the end
F *Scandina*, and the Countrie which lies nere the Riuer of *Vistula*, in the Countrie of
Sueden towards the *Baltique* Sea: where they made their last retreat, after many los-
ses, receiued in many places, in seeking of their fortunes. The Realme of *Gothie*
carries

510. carries their name euen vnto this day. I thought good by the way, to note the estate A of the *Goths* fit for this subiect. Thus the successe of the *French* forces, and the alliance so carefully sought by the Emperour, (a capitall enemy to the *Gothike* name,) did easily moue *Thierry* king of the *East-goths*, to succour his kinsman *Almarick*, a prince spoiled of his possessions: whose example did sollicite all the *Goths* to preuent the danger, which did threaten them very neere. So as from *Italie*, *Sicile*, *Sclauonia*, and *Dalmatia*, by his owne meanes, and the credit of his friends, he gathers together fourescore thousand fighting men, the which he giues to *Ibba* to leade, against *Clouis*: and he himselfe remains in *Italie*, to make head against the Emperours desseins, least hee should cause some diuision in fauour of *Clouis* his confederate. The *Gothike* armie enters by *Piedmont*, takes *Grace* and *Antibou*, and in short time, all *Prouence* obeyes him.

A great losse both of Provinces and men.

The people of *Languedoc* (louing their old maisters, and not able to indure the infolencie of a new) yeeld easily to the stronger. *Prouence* remains thus to the *East-goths*, and *Languedoc* returns to the *Vuisgoths*: *Clouis* being brought a sleepe with the imagination of a generall triumphe, awakes at this brute: hee armes, and marcheth speedily against the enemy: hee is beaten, and loofeth 30000. men, at this encounter: whereby it appeared, that he held not victoires at his girdle, nor they proceeded not from his valour. *Clouis* who vanquished euery where, finding himselfe beaten, and not able presently to make head against a victorious enemy, returns into *France*, rather mad then transported with furious choller, tossing in his braynes how to be reuenged of so notable a disgrace. The *Goths* giue him leaue to runne and take cold, being content to haue recovered their owne. After this he attempted no more against them, and the greatest part of *Bourgogne* returned to the children of *Gondebauld*. But in the end, both *Prouence* and *Bourgogne* shall bee incorporated to the Crowne, by diuerse accidents, the which we will note in diuerse places.

Clouis: cruell practises to become great

Clouis suruiued fise yeares after all these losses, remaining commonly at *Paris*, hauing no heroicke mind, to attempt any great conquests, yet of a cruell disposition, which made him die with desire of other mens goods. Hee employed all his wits to put his kinsmen to death, hauing some teigneuries included within the compasse of his great monarchie, with an imagination to leaue his children a great estate vnted. In this desseine, he puts to death *Chararic*, to haue *Amyens*: *Ragnachaire*, to become maister of *Cambray*: and *Sigibert*, to haue no companion at *Mets*, although he were acknowledged in all these places for foueraigne. This ranshing of other mens goods was vnexcusable, but his tragickall proceedings to haue it, was more detestable. I tremble to present the horror of these execrable crimes: you may reade them in the originall of *Gregorie* of *Tours*. The truth of the historie requires they should bee registred, but reason would haue the memory of so dangerous examples buried in obliuion. I desire to be dispensed withall, if I discourtie not of these monstrous enormities. A modest tragedie goares not the scafold with the blood of *Iphigenia*, being content to report by a messenger, that she was slaine by her fathers comand, drawing a curtaine to hide the blood. But if any one will vrge me with the debt which a historie doth owe, E I will say that *Clouis* caused *Chararic* to be slaine, hauing seized on him and his sonne, and condemned them to monastery. As they were cutting of their haire, the sonne seeing his father weepe bitterly, said: *These greene branches will grow againe*: (meaning, the haire they cut off) *for the stocke is not dead: but God will suffer him to pe- rish that causeth them to be cut off*. *Clouis* aduertised of this free speech. *They com- plainne for the losse of their haire*: (sayes hee) *let their heads bee cut off*. And so they were both put to death. To get *Ragnachaire* (who had faithfully serued him both against *Siagrius*, and in all his other enterprises) hee corrupted some of his domestickall seruaunts, with promise of great rewards, in token wherof he sent them bracelets of lat- ten guilt. These traitors bring him *Ranachaire* and his brother with their hands and feete bound. Hee beholding them: *Outcasts* (sayth hee) *of our race, unworthie of the blood of Merouee, are you not ashamed to suffer your selues to be thus bound? you are un- worthy to liue: repay the dishonour you haue done to our blood with your bloods*: and so gaue

Horrible murders com- mitted by Clouis.

A gaue to cyther of them great blowes with a Battell Axe which he held in his hand, and slue them both, in the presence of his Captaines and Councell. But when the Traytors demanded their reward, and complained of his Bracelets: *Auant* (sayth he) *Traitors, is it not enough that I suffer you to liue? I loue the treason, but I hate Traytors*. But the last exceeds the rest. Hee perswades the sonne of *Sigibert* to kill his father. This infamous parricide murders him, and returns to *Clouis*, to put him in possession of his treasures, whom he had thus massacred: who being in the chamber, and bend- ing downe into a Chest, to draw forth bagges full of gold, hee caused his bracelets to be beaten out, and being the stronger, seized on *Mets*, making a good thew to the peo- ple, as ignorant of this murder.

514.

B Thus *Clouis* liued: thus he reigned, and thus he dyed, in the yeare of our Lord 514. of the age of 45. the thirtieth yeare of his reigne, in the flower of his enterprises, in the City of *Paris*. A Prince whom we must put in ballance, to counterpeise his vertues with his vices: valiant, politick, colde, wise, temperate, diligent in execution, of admit- table authoritie, and indued with excellent politicke vertues, fit for an estate. Con- trarywise, hee was extremely couetous, ambitious, wilfull, cruell, bloody, infinitely giuen to the world, immortalizing his good hap in this mortall life, by his many en- terprises, the which hee feared not to execute with the losse of other mens goods and liues. We must not wonder, if we read of confusions in the following reignes: wherein we shall first see blood for blood, and the robber robbed, spoiled, dispo- sed, according to the trueth of Oracles. *Woe to thee that robbest, for thou shalt bee rob- bed: that killest, for thou shalt be killed: the same measure thou measurest, shall be mea- sured to thee againe*.

The death of Clouis.

His vertues & his vices.

Vnder his reigne the *Romane* Empire vanished quite into the West, *Spaine*, *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, were seized on by strange nations, retaining no markes of the *Romane* name. The East had yet some shewes of the Empire, whereof *Constantinople* was the seate. *Leo*, *Zeno*, *Anastasius* Emperours liued in those dayes, with many ene- mies, shame and losse. The Pope of *Rome* thrust himselfe forward amidst these The estate of the Church, confusions and ruines, recouering that which the Emperours had lost.

Leo, *Hilarie*, *Simplicius*, *Felix*, *Gelasius*, liued in those times, learned men. The Councell was held againe at *Chalcedone*, against *Eutiches* and *Dioscorus*.

D

THE



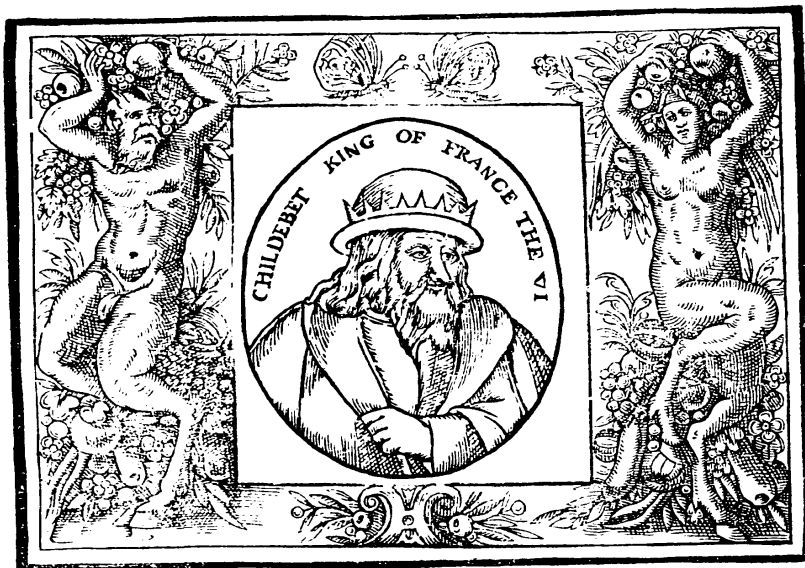
The 6. raigne vnder the foure sonnes of CLOVIS.

Childebert. Clotaire.
Clodamir. Thierry.

Who raigned together forty and two yeares, as Kings of France, yet with a particular title vnder this generall. but in the end Clotaire remayned King alone. And therefore their raignes are distinguished.

To this Coniunction of foure brethren some giue the sixt degree in the number of Kings, and Childebert as the eldest, beares the title.

C H I L D E B E R T the 6.
King of France



CLOVIS, his deffine was to rule alone in a great vnited Kingdome, A but he sees his resolutions fristrate: for this vaste bodie compounded of many peeces, is scarce vnited, but it is disioyned againe, yea in his lifetime. and the rest is diuided into foure parts to his children, according to the lawes of nature, but to the visible preiudice of the Estate, incompatible of so many maisters, as the following discourse will shewe. A lesson both for great and small, and a notable president of the vanity of humane enterprises: where the end is not alwaies answerable to the beginning. They take great paines to settle a firme estate, which shalbe soone dismembered, either by lawe or force, and that shalbe dispersed sodeinly, which was gathered together too hastily.

Let

6. King of France.

A Let euery one consider, what hee leaues to his Children, for the which there is no warrantable caution, but a good title. These foure sonnes diuide the realme into foure Kingdomes. Childebert was King of *Paris*, and vnder this realme was comprehended the Prouinces of *Poitou Maine, Touraine, Champagne, Anjou, Guyenne* and *Auvergne*. Clotaire King of *Soissons*: and the dependances of this realme were *Flemandois, Picardie, Flaunders, and Normandie*. Clodamir King of *Orleans*: and the estates of this realme, were, all the Duchie of *Orleans, Bourgogne, Lionois, Dauphiné, and Prouence*. Thierry was King of *Metz*: and to his realme were subiect, the Countie of *Lorraine*, and all the Countiees from *Rheims* vnto the *Rhin*, and beyond it all *Germany*, which was the auncient patrimony of the Kings of *France*. Hee was receiued in this royall portion with his bretheren, although hee were a bastard, the which hath bene likewise practized by others in the first line. And as euery one of these foure Kings called himselfe King of *France*, so they also added the name of their principall City where they held their Court. Thus they called them by speciall title, Kings of the Citie where they had their residence. And in truth euery one caried himselfe as King in the Countiees vnder his obedience, nor acknowledging the elder, but by mouth onely.

As the plurality of Masters is a plague in an estate, so is it miraculous that the realme had not bene ruined by so many Kings: especially amidst such monstrous confusions, which then reigned, full of treacheries, cruelties, and parricides. I tremble to enter into this labyrinth, the which I will but passe ouer, measuring the Readers sorrowe by my griefe, in reading and writing these tragical confusions. But let vs observe things by order. After these foure brethren had peaceably made their diuisions, and taken lawes of their owne accord (in the yeare 511. according to the most approved calculation) they marry their sister Clotilde to Almaric, sonne to Alaric, King of the *Vuisgoths*, who had recovered a good part of *Languedoc*, the which Clouis had taken from his father, and by this marriage they yeld vnto him the Cittie of *Toulouse*. But this alliance was the cause of great diuisions, and ruine. Ambition and Couetousnes (good Counsellors of state) made euery one to conceiue as great a kingdome for himselfe as that of his father, perswading them to attempt any thing to bee great. **D** Bourgogne was quietly returned into the possession of Gondebaulds children, Sigismund had the name of King, as the elder, and Gondemar a portion.

Clodamir King of *Orleans*, as nearest neighbour, castes his eyes vpon this goodly Country, although hee had no cause of pretension, but onely conueniency. Yet hee findes a colour to beginne this quarrell. The rights pretended by his mother Clotilde, issued from the house of *Bourgogne*, and the zeale of Iustice, to chastise Sigismund, for that he had slaine his eldest sonne, to please his second wife and her Children. He enters into *Bourgogne* with a mighty army, seizeth on Sigismund, his wife and children, brings them to *Orleans*, and there castes them all into a well. Thus God punished the cruelty of Sigismund, an vnkinde father, by a cruell and disloyall hand. Clodamir presumed, that he had conquered all, hauing slayne the King of *Bourgogne*. But the *Bourguignons*, incensed with this crueltie, confirme Gondemar in his brothers seate, and leauy an army to defend him against Clodamir.

The armies ioyne. Clodamir putt vp with this first successe, promysing vnto himselfe a second triumph, thrusting himselfe rashely into his enemies troups, is slayne with a Lance, and is knowne by his long haire: the marke of Kings and Princes of the bloud, as wee haue said. The *Bourguignons* cut off his head, perch it on the top of a Lance, and make shewe thereof to the *French*, in derision: who retire themselues after the death of their Generall. But Childebert & Clotaire his brethren, returne into *Bourgogne* with a strong army, & force Gondemar to flie into *Spaine*, leauing them free possession of the realme, the which was their proiect, rather then the reuēge of their brothers death. *Bourgogne* was diuided among the brethren, as a cōmon prey: all the realme of *Bourgogne* was therein comprehended. Thierry King of *Metz* had his part, but the poore children of Clodamir are not only excluded, but two of them are barbarously slaine by the cruel commande-

Horrible confusion among brethren.

Clodamir takes, and is taken.

Cruelty of brethren.

CLOTAIRE the first, the seventh King of France.



552.



CLOTAIRE remained alone King of France by the death of his brethren: for their children were dead, and *Childebert* the eldest dyed without issue. Behold the frute of so great pames, after their diuisions, to build great Monarchies. *Clotaire* reigned five yeares alone: he had by two wiues, five sonnes and one daughter, that is, *Cherebert*, *Chilperic*, *Sigebert*, *Gontran*, *Gautier*, and *Clofide*: not reckoning *Gratus*, whom he had by a Concubine. His raigne was short and wretched. He sought to extort the thids of all Ecclesiasticall liuings for his private affaires: but the Clergie opposed themselves against him, so as his threats preuailed not. In the beginning he subdued the *Saxons*, subiects to the *French*: but the *Turingiens* being vp in armes, and he about to suppress them, the *Saxons* ioyne with them, to withstand him with their common forces. Yet these mutinous nations (seeing themselves encountred by too strong a party) craue pardon, and promise him obedience. *Clotaire* refusing to accept it, forceth them to make defence: the which they performed so desperately, as they defeated the *French*: and *Clotaire* with great difficulty, saued himselfe.

It is an indiscretion for a Prince to thrust his subiects into despair.

An example for Princes, not to thrust their subiects into despair: but to embrace all occasions wisely, that may purchase a willing obedience, and not to seeke it by extremities. After this defeat, he returnes into France, and being at *Compiègne*, hee desires to go a hunting. Being old and decayed, he heats himselfe, falls into a quotidian and dies, the yeare 567. He was much grieued in his sicknes, for hauing liued too too ill: but he protested, that he hoped in the mercies of GOD. As our histories report.

Before

8. King of France.

26

- A** Before that he ruled as King alone, he erected the little realme of *Tuetot*, vpon this occasion. On a good Friday hee slewe *Gawier* of *Tuetot* his seruant, in the Chappell whereas he heard seruice. They report the cause diuersely. The greatest part hold, that the King had rauished his wife, lodging in his house, so as he that was beaten suffered the punishment. Pope *Eugenius* displeased with this infamous murder, condemned him to repaire the fault, vpon payne of excommunication. *Clotaire* for satisfaction ordeynes that from thenceforth the Lords of *Tuetot* should bee free from all homage, seruice, and obedience due to the King, for the land of *Tuetot* in the Countrey of *Normandy*. And so this small seigneury hath continued long with the title and prerogatiue of a Realme, vntill that this title of a realme was chaunged into a Principality, the which the house of *Bellay* doth now inioye. This was the life and raigne of *Clotaire* the first of that name, vicious, and vnfortunate, followed with a confused and horrible tragedy in his children, whom we must marke distinctly in the front of this tumultuous reigne, therby to tread more safely the blinde maze of these obscure governments.

Clotaire the first of that name, had four sonnes.

- C** *Cherebert* King of France.
Chilperic King of *Soissons*.
Gontran King of *Orleans*, or *Bourgaugne*.
Sigebert King of *Metz*, or *Austrase*.

All which reigned together fiftene yeares: but in this eight raigne they giue the ranke and name of King to *Cherebert*, as to the eldest, although each of them called himselfe King of France, and commanded absolutely ouer the Countreies vnder their obedience.

CHEREVERT, the eight King of France.



567.



Division of
port of sea-
son a division
of nature.

VE haue seen the Strange government of the foure sonnes of great **A** **Clouis**: let vs now view the rest of this tale, in the children of **Clouis**: who suruiuing his brethren, & their children, obtained the realme alone: but presently to be diuided into 4. parts. Of 5. sons lawfully begotten, 4. suruiued him: **Cherebert** the eldest, **Chilperic**, **Sigebert**, & **Gontran**. His bodie was scarce interred, when as the fire of diuision kindled among the brethren, about the diuiding of the Realme. **Chilperic**, a craftie and proud man, finds meanes to seize on his fathers treasure, and labours to become master of the Citie of **Paris**. But not able to effect it, he was forced by his brethren (supported by the chief Noblemen of the Court) to come to a diuision, euery one according to his order. **Cherebert**, as the eldest of the house of **France**, hath **Paris** for his part. **Gontran**, **Orleans**, and **Bourgogne**. **Chilperic**, **Soissons**: **Sigebert**, **Metz**, or **Austrasia**: euery portion with his dependances. After this diuision of parts, their wills were so diuided, as it is wonderfull, the realme had not bene utterly ruined amidst these horrible confusions, in so feeble beginnings.

Prouence, by consent of the brethren, was given to **Gontran** King of **Orleans**, and **Bourgogne**. But notwithstanding this accord, **Sigebert** King of one part of **Bourgogne**, and of **Austrasia**, contends for it with his brother, and lowes diuision among the **Prouençals**, doubtfull to whome they should yeeld obedience in this contention. I had bene woon and lost by **Clouis**, (as wee haue shewed) but soone after the death of **Clouis**, **Thierry** the **Ostrogothe** (who had woon it,) looser it againe through the inclination of the **Prouençals**, who willingly come to the ancient obedience of the Crowne of **France**. And the Emperour **Iustin** the second, liking it better in the **Frenchmens** hands, then in the **Ostrogoths**, leaues them that which he cannot take for them. In this respect, he added his content by his deed onely.

Horrible con-
fusions be-
tweene the
brethren.

Be their
wines.

After the death of **Cherebert**, his brethren contend for his spoyle, with irreconcilable hatred. **Gontran** was the most temperate and tractable, desiring that this discord for parts, might bee determined by the **French** Clergie, as iudges competent, and without passion. But his aduise was not allowed. **Chilperic** and **Sigebert**, ambitious and turbulent men, would carrie it by force, yet was it agreed by common consent, that none of them should enter **Paris**, before this Question were decided, touching their portions. But there fell out other accidents vppon this theater, whereas cunning, malice, impudencie, and furie haue caused both men and women to play along and make scene, being the Authors and enders of these miseries. I tremble at those confusions, whereas **Brunehault** and **Fredegond** two renowned women in our **France**, for their notable wickednesse, shall appeare in diuerse scenes of this tragedie.

One branch
makes warr
as many
then.

Brunehault was daughter to **Anathagilde** King of **Visigoths**, the wife of **Sigebert** King of **Metz**, or of **Austrasia**. **Fredegond** first was concubine, and after wife to **Chilperic** King of **Soissons**. By the policies and impudencie of these furious heads, it cannot bee spoken, how much miserie **France** suffered during their reignes. But let vs view euery thing in order, if any order may bee found in the most horrible **Chaos** of innumerable confusions. **Sigebert** was much troubled in his territories of **Germanie**, to see them against the **Hunnes**. **Chilperic** embracing this occasion against his brother, enters his countie, with a great armie, & takes from him the Citie of **Rheims**. This surprise awakes **Sigebert**: and for that he would not loose the principall to keepe the access, he leaues **Germanie**, and speeds into **France**, wonderfully greeued with the wrong he had receiued from his brother: pursuing his reuenge with such vehemencie, that hee takes **Soissons** the capitall citie of his Realme, with his sonne **Theodebert**, forcing him to retire with **Fredegond** to **Tournay**, being ashamed of his cowardly desecine.

Thus **Sigebert** comes a Conqueror to **Paris**, where he is receiued by common consent: and so all the cities belonging vnto **Cherebert**, yeeld him obedience. But as he thought himselfe a peaceable King, mounted to the toppe of his desires, hauing nothing to trouble him, but wallowing in his delights, behold two yong fouldiours (suborned by **Fredegond**) came to his Court, enter freely into the hall, and approch so neere him, and

A and with such oportunity, as cyther of them stabs him with his dagger, and he falls downe dead in the place. These murtheiers were sodenly torne in peeces, so as they could not be knowne, nor declare by whose commandement they had committed this murder: yet was it generally thought, that this was the practise of **Fredegond**, to free her husband, and to make the way more easie for her affaires, by the death of this brother who crossed her most. In truth, the death of **Sigebert** changed the countenance of the Court: euery one runnes after **Chilperics** fortune, who was receiued King of **France** in the place of his elder brother, and he entertaines all those with fauour that offer him seruice,

CHILPERIC the first, the ninth King of France.



Chus **Chilperic** began to reigne in the yeare 578. and raigned 14. yeares at **Paris** and **Soissons**, while that **Childebert** the sonne of **Sigebert** reigned in **Austrasia**, and **Gontran** at **Orleans** and **Bourgogne**. He found **Brunehault** the widow of **Sigebert** at **Paris**, a woman of a subtil and audacious spirit: so as fearing least she should animate his sonne against him, hee confined her to **Rouan**, whether he likewise sent his sonne **Merouee**, to take possession of the Citie: but in steed of taking the Citie, hee was surprized by the beauty of **Brunehault**, who could so conningly gaine the loue of the inhabitants, as the Bishop himselfe allowed of this marriage, although she were his Aunt. **Chilperic** moued with the same of this loue, which proceeded vnto marriage, came to **Rouan**, and according to the Ecclesiasticall discipline, degraded and banished this Bishop: and by his absolute authority, puts **Merouee** into a Cloyster. But he stayed not long there: for after the departure of **Chilperic**, a certaine friend of his called **Bosson**, drew him forth, being set on by **Fredegond**, hauing brought with him three hundred men (too small a

578. number to fight, and too many to flee.) And so it happened to *Merouee*: for being A pursued and taken by his father *Chilperic*, hee was slaine by his commandement. And least *Audouere* his mother, (a vertuous Princess) and *Clouis* her other sonne, should seeke meanes of reuenge, hee rejects his wife, and causeth *Clouis* his other sonne to be secretly slaine, being brother germaine to *Merouee*. These disorders could not be done without the complaint of the Nobility against *Fredegonde*, who held not yet the degree of a wife with *Chilperic*, although she had free access both to his Court and bed, from the which she had dispossessed his lawfull wife. *Chilperic* (to pacifie these complaints) pretends some reasons for this diuorfe: and disguising the murders cunningly, he takes *Galsonde* to wife, the daughter of *Athanagilde* king of *Spaine*. But the impatiencie of *Fredegonde*, doth soone dissolve the bonds of this bashfull respect, thrusting B *Chilperic* into such a fury against this second wife, as he strangles her, and maries *Fredegonde* publicly: who possessed her husband so absolutely, as she commanded imperiously, vnder the cloake of his authority.

The father
kill his sons
by the practi-
ces of a wo-
man.

The husband
puts away one
wife and kills
another.

He oppresseth
his subjects.

The punish-
ment of these
crimes.

From these domestical crimes, insolvency rageth against the poore people, by taxes, impositions, and insupportable exactions: and report imputes all to the cruelties of the same workewoman. Complaints found out in all places: but absolute authority had so preuailed, as they could find no remedy: the people being weak, & such as else might haue had means to countenance the ancient *French* liberty, were either terrified or in- charmed by this *Proserpina*. But *Chilperic* must beare the punishment of his execrable wickednesse, by the malice of her, who had made him an instrument to massacre brother, children, & wife, & to contume by degrees his poore subjects. Whilest that *Chilperic* loued her exceedingly: she affected a nobleman in Court called *Landri de la Tour* (who by her fauour had obtained two of the greatest offices of the Crowne, of Duke of *France*, and Mair of the Pallace: to whom she most vildly afforded the best place in the Kings bed. This villanous & detestable loue, was cunningly cloaked with the deuises of this strumpet: who hauing a sonne by *Chilperic*, as a new gage of loue, she purchased daily more credit with him. But this was a short comfort for *Chilperic*, for foure moneths after the birth of this sonne, whom he named *Clotaire*, he was vn hapily slaine by her and *Landri*, when he least expected death: this was the occasion. One morning as *Chilperic* (ready to go to hunting) came booted into his wifes chamber to salute D her, he found her combing of her head, with her haire ouer her face: drawing neere vnto her without speaking, he toucheth her in iest, with his riding wand on the hinder part of the head: she supposing it to be her adulterer *Landri*, accustomed to come secretly vnto her at all houres, saith vnto him: *In my iudgment Landri, a good Knight should alwaies strike before, and not behind.* The King vnderstanding by halfe a word, more then he desired to know, departs amazed, takes horse & goes a hunting, not with any intent to kill the beast, but deuising how he might be freed of *Fredegonde* & *Landri*. But he had to do with a woman of too subtil & wily a spirit, who hauing passed her apprenticeship in so many other murders, could soone resolute to deprive her husband of his life, to saue her owne. Without any further delay she sends for *Landri*, reports to him the history, concludes with him to kill the King her husband in his coming from hunting, & findes ministers to execute this desseigne: the which succeeded as they had plotted against *Chilperic*, suffering in the end (by the same hand, which he had caused to shed so much blood, the horrible paine of his miserable massacres: for as he came melancholike to the chafe, accompanied onely with one page, he was sodenly set vpon by these murderers, who slew him with his page, so commodiously, as they returned vndercried to the troope, as if they had neuer dreamed of it.

The King is found dead: euery one cries out, euery one runs vp and downe, and those first of all that had done the deed. But it was giuen out, that the murderers were fled into *Lorraine*, from whence assuredly they were come by *Childeberts* command. The Court is filled with teares, especially *Fredegonds* chamber, who continued in passions with her *Landri*, and could not be comforted: the one calling for her good husband, the other for his good maister: but the quick sighted held them for Crocodiles teares. Thus

Thus

A Thus liued, and thus died *Chilperic*, hated and detested euen then, and of the posteritie: for prooue that a wicked life will haue a wicked end: and that God ruins the wicked by themselves, euen when they promise themselves all impunitie. They add impunitie to his execrable wickednes: for hee denied the truth of the three persons in one Deitie, and the incarnation of the sonne of God: wherein consists the hope of our saluation. But admonished by the *French* Church, hee protested to leaue his error. A monstrous Reigne, vnder a monstrous King: where Potentates may see, that misery is the true reward of sinne: And that horrible crimes, are punished with extraordinarie paines euen in this life. This Tragical end of *Chilperic*, a wicked and vnfortunate Prince, happened in the ycare. 588.

Immitie the
spring of euil.

CLOTAIRE the second, the tenth King of France.

A memorable raigne in confusion.



C He beginning, middle, & end of this reigne is remarkable for it is apparent, that God is the true gardian of this Realme, without whome it must needs haue perished in these strange confusions. *Clotaire* a young child of foure moneths, gouerned by his mother, a most wicked woman, being come to yeares, hee finds himselfe incumbered with many warres, yea ciuill warres against his owne kinsmen, and bloud. Who will not then confesse the issue of his reigne, (being peaceable and well gouerned,) to bee a singular testimonie of the prouidence of God, towards this estate. This young child, the sonne of bad parents, was notwithstanding receiued for lawfull King by the *French*, by vertue of the fundamentall law, which had appointed this Realme to be hereditary. Whereby is shewed, how farre the election of our Kings extend euen in this first race.

Efficacie of
the law of
state.

But to conceiue well the diuerse occurrents of this reigne, wee must remember, that *Clotaire* the 1. had 4. sons, *Cherebert* king of *Paris*, who is reckoned the 8. King of *France*, and

588. and died without children: *Sigebert* King of *Metz*, slaine by *Fredegonde*: and *Gontran* A King of *Orleans*, who furnished all his brethren, a good and a wife Prince, and died without children. *Sigebert* King of *Metz* left for heire *Childebert* his sonne, with his wife *Brunchault*, a subtilie, and a wicked woman. This ground being laid, I will returne to the course of my historie. *Gontran* King of *Orleans*, vnckle by the father to this yong King, was his nearest, and most assured kinsman, so as by a generall consent of all the *French*, he was called to be Regent of the King, and realme. And now they talked of an assemblie: *Fredegonde* (flying the light and libertie of publique assemblies, fearing not onely to be reiectd from the gouernment, but to be accused for the murder of her husband) preuents the States from the calling of *Gontran*, the first Prince of the blood, and the kings vnckle: as they should haue done, if leisure had suffered them to assemble, and to speake in an vnited bodie, with publike authoritie. B

Norab!e' sub-
detic of a
woman.

Thus shee gaines time, beseeching the cheefe of the Councell, to prouide for the Conuocation of the Estates: and in the meane time, to giue order, that *Gontran* may come to *Paris*, both to informe of the execrable murder, and also to take vpon him the charge of her sonne, and the gouernment of the common weale. This discourse was far from her thoughts, but shee supposed to make an euasion by this goodly shew. And in the meane time shee practised to kill *Gontran*. Shee did write vnto him in all humilitie, holding him as a father to the King her sonne, and the support of her widowhood. *Gontran* foreseeing the policie of *Fredegonde*: prouided so wisely, that being arriued at *Paris*, he was receiued by a generall consent, Regent of the Realme. He made C no shew of discontent to *Fredegonde*, who notwithstanding (hauing a guiltie conscience) packs vp her baggage, being readie to flie vpon the least shew that *Gontran* would call her into question. But it was not his meaning: his onely proiect was to bring vp his yong nephew, and to preferue him in his realme wherein hee was borne, supposing this mild manner of proceeding to bee the best, both for the King and the Realme.

Thus without any alteration, he wisely dissembles all the actions of *Fredegonde*, hee respects her as the Kings mother, and imployes her in the education of her son. And knowing how much the preience of the Prince workes in the subjects, to haue him acknowledged for King: He makes a progresse throughout the Realme, leading with him D this yong infant, with the mother, receiuing in all places, the oath of fidelitie, and obedience. Being returned to *Paris*, he giues him in gard to the mother, and applied himselfe wholly to the gouernment of the Realme. As the affaires were managed with this good order, two great difficulties crosse *Gontran*, almost at one instant: for *Childebert* King of *Metz*, (iealous of his vnckles Authoritie,) requires to be associated in the Regencie, the which he pretended to appertaine vnto him, with the same right it did to *Gontran* and *Fredegonde*: for the punishing of whome hee complained much, both of the foulness of the fact, which should not remaine unpunished, and of *Gontrons* sufferance, which was too palpable. For the which *Gontran* prouided, stopping *Childeberts* entrance into *Paris*, and causing *Fredegonde* to retire herselfe quietly to *Rouan*, by reason of the peoples hatred, reuiued by *Childeberts* complaint. And for that hee would not seeme to haue altogether neglected the punishing of *Chilperics* murder, he caused information to be made against a Chamberlaine of the Kings, called *Chermphie*, who being found guiltie, he caused him to be slaine in the Temple, whether hee was fled. And so proceeded no farther in this search, least *Fredegonde* should be found too farre engaged. Besides this crosse, there happened a second: for one named *Gondenault*, ha- An imagine-
rie King.
uing termed himselfe a long time to bee the sonne of the great *Clotaire*, and kept in a Cloyster: in the end he escaped, and was openly maintained by *Childebert*, who fought both a colour of trouble, and inuocation. He is followed by a parte of the Nobilitie, and Clergie, and seizeth on many good Townes, in *Guienne*. And hauing written his letters F to all the Prouinces, hee carries himselfe for lawfull heire of the Realme, with better right (said hee) then this yong child, the sonne of a strumpet: And by consequence a doubtfull heire to the Crowne.

That

A That which was most to be feared in this newe accident, was the spirit and force of *Childebert*: but *Gontran* preuented it with iudgement. For seeing himselfe olde, and without Children, and knowing his Nephewes humour, hee doth institute him his heir, and by that meanes makes him to abandon *Gondenault*. So this supposed King left by *Childebert*, was soone abandoned by all the rest, and by them was deliuered into the hands of *Gontran*, who presently put him to death. And hauing assembled the Clergy of the realme, hee caused the Bishoppes to bee condemned, who had so rashly followed the frensie of this bold Impostor. *Gontran* hauing with such dexterity preuented these dangerous difficulties, and performed those good turnes to the King his Nephewe, in his infancie: he retires himselfe to *Chalons*, where soone after he died without Children, leauing his estate to *Childebert*, and the realme of his poore pupill (who had scarce attained the age of ten yeares) to the mercy of the waues & tempests of all sorts of miseries incident vnto states.

Gontran was no sooner dead, but the ambitious desire of *Childebert*, growne great by the new estates of *Orleans* and *Bourgongne*, inflamed him against yong *Clotaire*, conceiuing an assured victory in his ouerweening brayne, imagining soone to suppress a yong Childe and a woman ill beloued. But the God of victories had otherwise disposed: for *Childebert* hauing brought a mighty army to field, and entred into the heart of *France*: behold *Fredegonde* (armed with more then a manly courage and wisdom, encounters him with an other army, being fortified more by her exhortations, and the presence of the yong King, (whome shee shewed openly to the *French*), then by the number of men of warre. The battell was giuen, and the imagined Conquerour was vanquished by a Childe and a woman, being surprised with so happie a celeritie by *Fredegonde*, as he could hardly beleue she had bene parted from *Paris*, when as he sees his whole army defeated. He lost in this conflict 20000. men, his honour, and his life: for hauing recovered his Country with much ado, hee died of melancholy, leauing a memorable example to Princes, neuer to attempt a warre to take from another without iust occasion.

He left two sonnes, *Theodebert* and *Thierry*. The first had for his portion the realme of *Austrasia*: the second had *Bourgongne*. *Brunchault* his mother furnished him, and kept at *Metz* with the eldest: she presently stirred vp these two Princes, (ouer whome shee D had great authority as their grandmother,) to pursue *Clotaire*, for the shame and death of their father. Behold suddenly an army of *Austrasians* and *Bourguignons*, marcheth into *France*, led by these two yong Princes. *Clotaire* accustomed to these sports, opposeth himselfe in person, and gettes the victory, with such successe, (as they say) the course of the river of *Aurance* (where the battaill was fought) was stayed by the dead bodies of the conquered. *Fredegonde* leapt for ioye of this second triumph, by reason of *Brunchault*, who was her chiefe obiect: but her ioye was presently conuer- F into her owne funerall, for shee died soone after: to teach reuenging spirits, that their hatreds which they would haue perpetuall, are mortall, and at the least wise ende with their deaths.

Thus *Fredegonde* died in her bed, and was interred neare to *Chilperic*, whom she had caused to be slaine: so as in this peaceable death, we may consider the patience of God, which doth often attend those it referres to his last iudgement. But *Brunchault* (who thought her selfe a conqueresse, by the death of *Fredegonde* her capital enemy,) incensed *Theodebert* & *Thierry* her grand-children anew against *Clotaire*. They raise another army, vnder the conduct of *Beroald*, not willing any more to hazard their persons, being taught by the successe of two great defeats. *Beroald* is slaine in this battaile, and yet the victory remaines to his men, with great losse to the *French*: so as it seemed, the warre would grow more violent betwixt these Princes, who nowe beganne to see a part of their reuenge against their Cousine *Clotaire*. But the malice of *Brunchault*, who had F banded the Cousins, must nowe diuide the brethren.

This old bitch, euen in the fury of war, found stil meanes to follow her beastly lechery: & then had she got a yong courtier called *Protade*, for a stallion: whom she entertained

in

599.

in view and knowledge of the whole Court, and aduanced him beyond dutie or desert. A The dislike of this vnchast conuersation (offensiueto the whole world) doth in the end force *Theodebert* to find a meanes to withdrawe his mother from the view of the multitude, who were eye witnesses of the filthinesse of this shamelesse old woman, and of the ignominie of his house. He supposed to send her away with pollicie: perswading her she should doe best to retyre her selfe into some goodly monasterie, there to lead a godly life, and to seeke for rest befitting her age. This admonition caused her partly to leaue the Court, and State of *Theodebert*, but not to change her mind. She retyres then from *Metz*, and comes into *Bourgongne* to her other sonne, full of choller: and finding *Thierry* ill affected against his brother, shee presently kindles the vnfortunate fire of dissention betwixt them, which consumed them both, and finally her selfe. B That posterities may note in this tragedie, the examples of Gods iust iudgement, who punisheth one sinne by another, and the sinner by his owne sinne.

Bruneault in
censeth ore
brother
against the
other.

This lewd woman perswades *Thierry*, that *Theodebert* was a bastard, the sonne of a Gardiner, and that he had lawfull cause to make warre against him, as an vsurper of that which belonged vnto him by right. *Thierry* being exceeding couetous, embraceth this occasion, prepares an armie against *Theodebert*, and imployes this Protade in the principall charge, who was a kindler of warre in the spirit of this yong Prince. The cheefe Noblemen of *Bourgongne* infinitely grieued with these disorders, not daring directly to charge *Bruneault*, they set vpon her Minion & kill him. By this meanes they drawe *Thierry* to an accord with his brother *Theodebert*: and so either of them sends backe his troupes. Thus this fire seemed to be wholly quenched, the which kindled soone after in another place, & by the practises of the same workwoman, *Thierry* had remayned long vnmarried, entertayning change of women, by the counsell of this birche, who daily prouided him store of this stuffe: but solicited by the continuall perswasions, & prayers of his Council, he takes to wife, *Membergue* the daughter of *Datarie*, King of *Spaine*, louing her with that honest affectio, that a man ought to loue his wife. *Bruneault* ialous of this lawfull loue, fearing to be dispossessed of her authoritie and credit, if a lawfull wife possessed her husbands hart, she workes by her charmes, reducing *Thierry* to that extremitie, that hee was not able to accompany with his wife: and for a bait to his adulterie, she furniseth other women (whome he might freely vse) as shee loathed him of this poore Princeesse, causing him to send her home to her father *Datarie*, as vnable to beare children: who infinitely greued with this disgrace, done him in the person of his daughter, resolues to reuenge. Hee complaynes of this iniurie, both to *Clotaire*, and *Theodebert*, whome he knew to be enemies to *Thierry*, and all together resolue to make warre against him.

The husband
against the
wife.

Bruneault seeing this great storme ready to fall vpon *Thierry*, she perswades him to compound with his brother *Theodebert*, at what price soeuer, whose humour she knew wel. This accord was sold by *Theodebert* to *Thierry* at a deere rate: (for he had the Counties of *Champaigne*, *Touraine*, *Artois*, and many other places) but it cost him selfe much dearer: for by this composition, all the armie was dispersed, and euery one retyred home. *Thierry* (who by the aduise of his mother, stood vpon his guard) surpriseth his brother *Theodebert*, with such aduantage, that not onely he recouers all that he had giuen him, but by the Councell of this *Proserpina*, he embrewes his hands in his blood, murdering him most barbarously. *Theodebert* had but one onely daughter, whome *Thierry* would take to wife, to haue some honest pretext to seize vpon all his Estates. But *Bruneault*, (who desired greatly to see him maister, but not to haue a companion in this absolute authoritie,) dissuades him from this marriage, inferring (to couer her hidden intent) that it was not lawfull to marrie his neece. *Thierry* blinded with passion (who by a iust iudgement of God, sought to die by poyson of this viper, by whose meanes hee had done so much mischief) replies, that the daughter of *Theodebert* was none of his neece, seeing that *Theodebert* was not his brother, being begotten by another father: reproching *Bruneault*, that he knew no more then she had taught him. And that vpon this occasion, shee had encouraged him to kill him. And as they grew hot in

The brother
kills the
brother.

wordes,

A wordes, hee threatened to kill her. *Bruneault* (seeing her selfe taken by the nose, and measured by the same measure she had measured to others,) resolues to preuent *Thierry*, and to murder him. She therefore giues him a morrell mixte with a languishing poyson, which caused him to consume of a bloody fluxe: that as he had spilt the blood of others, so hee might die in blood: and that the same wretched counsell which had bin the sepulchre of his brother, should likewise be his owne, for a memorable example to posterity, that God suffreth nothing unpunished, and doth often punish the wicked by themselves, and by their owne practises. Such was the tragick end of the troublesome life of *Thierry*. But what shall become of *Bruneault*? The Iustice of God goes slowly, but he recompenceth the slownes with the grievousnesse of the punishment. B Let vs then heare the continuance of our history. *Bruneault* carries a good countenance after the death of *Thierry*. She makes him a stately funeral like a rounney: and of foure bastard sonnes which *Thierry* had left, she chooseth him that pleaseth her best, to install him King in his fathers place: and in the meane time she continewes the gouernment of the reame, and callies herselfe *Regent*. To conclude: she doth promise vnto herselfe, in all her courses, faire better successe then *Fredegonde*, presuming that she exceeded her in iudgement and experience, no man remaying to controule her actions: but her discourtes were vaine imaginations, and her foolish hopes the snarcs of her owne ruine. The Nobility of *Bourgongne* (infinitely grieued with the horrible wickednes of this woman, resolue not to endure the new tyranny which she practised,) had recourse vnto *Clotaire*, as to their true and lawful Lord. *Bruneault* plays the resolute: she prepares to war, sendes diuerse Ambassadors into *Germanie*: the chiefe was *Varnare Mayre* of the Pallace of *Austrasia*, a man of great authority both at home and with strangers. Hauing sent him for succors to some Princes of *Germany*, shee growes ialous of him without cause, and sends a trustie seruant of hers named *Albon*, to finde meanes to kill him. *Albon* hauing read those deadly letters, teares them: but vnwares he lets fall the peeces of this letter, the which are gathered vp and caried to *Varnare*: who vpon this new accident, takes a new aduise. He resolues to crosse the practises of this murderesse, (so well knowne and hatefull to all men,) who likewise would make away her best seruants, who had bene too faithfull vnto her, in the execution of

She herselfe
kills her son.

D her wicked desseines. *Varnare* doth treat so politickly in *Germany*, as hee with-drawes their hearts and forces from *Bruneault*, and winnes them vnto *Clotaire*. This Counterbattery thus made, hee returnes into *Bourgongne*. His returne bred an vnexpected change, for she, who had alwaies deceiued, was deceiued, & in the end fell into the pittefall. *Varnare* did not seeme to knowe what she had deffined: whereby hee had meanes to countermine all *Bruneaults* policies, with so wise a dissimulation, by his great authority, as he gaines all the chiefe men for *Clotaire*: deliueres into his hands the children aforesaide, pretended to be heires, and by this means giues him an easie victory ouer *Bruneaults* troupes: who yeelding vnto *Clotaire*, deliuer vp this wicked woman, the cause of all their miseryes. So at length the Wolfe is taken vnwares. *Clotaire* a victor, was receiued by common consent of the *Austrasians* and *Bourguignons*, and by that meanes, beeing absolute maister of that great inheritance of *Clotaire* his grand-father, beganne his reigne by a worthy act of memorable Iustice. Hauing in his power the chiefe motiue of all these mischiefes, hee caused *Bruneaults* proceesse to be made by the greatest personages he could choose in all his dominions: that in so notable an assembly, the sentence might be irreprochable.

By their censures, *Bruneault* was found culpable of infinite and horrible crimes, and was condemned to die, by a terrible and extraordinary punishment: for she was tied to the tayle of a wild mare, and drawne through a stony and rough Country, so as (being torne into diuerse peeces) she died at diuerse times most iustly, as shee had cruelly caused many others to die. A notable example, to shewe, that the greatest cannot auoid the soueraigne Iustice of God, who punisheth in this world, when it pleaseth him: & when he spareth them, it is a signe, that hee reserues the punishment to his last Iudgement.

Bruneault
put to a hor-
rible death.

Thus

Thus died *Bruneault*, onely commended in histories, to haue built many temples, & giuen great reuenues for the mainteynance thereof, whilest that she wallowed in her pleasures. Saint *Gregorie* hath set downe certaine letters of his to *Bruneault*, wherein hee commends her highly for her piety and singular wisdom. *Clotaire* seeing himselfe King of so great a monarchy, after a long and horrible confusion of intestine warres, imployed all his care to pacifie the realme, leauing notable examples to princes to cure the wounds of an Estate, after ciuill warres, by mildenes. Hee doth publicly proclaim pardon of all iniuries both generall and particular: to abolish the memory to come, making his example a lawe of perpetuall forgetfullnesse. This moderation, more victorious then any great and seuerer chastisement, wonne him the loue and obedience of his subiects, and confirmed a true and no counterfiet concord amongest the subiects themselves. He gouerned them after their owne humours, vsing his authority with mildenes. And for that they had liued in the Court of Kings, from whence they received aduancements and honours, the which they could not do by their annuall offices, (as then the gouernments were), hee erected perpetuall magistrates, with such authority, as it might well bee termed, the true pattern of a royaltie.

Stillesse
pro remedie
to cure a de-
cayed estate.

He then augmented the great authority of the *Maires* of the Palace, who controlled Kings, and in the end viurped the royaltie, whereas before they were but controllers of the Kings house, and not of the realme. A notable president for Princes, in the settling of an estate, not so to communicate their authority to their seruants, whome they desire to gratifie, as they may haue meanes to become maisters. *Clotaire* layed the first stone in the chaunge which shall happen to his posterity. He had one onely sonne, whose name was *Dagobert*. It was his greatest care to haue him well instructed, committing him to *Arnoul* Bishop of *Metz*, a learned man, and of a good life, and likewise to *Sadragejule* his gouernour. But *Dagobert* discovered euen then his bad disposition, intreating his gouernour *Sadragejule* vnworthily. Wherewith *Clotaire* the King was wonderfully moued against his sonne, who shewed afterwards that this was but a preparatiue to that he would attempt against his owne father, forcing him in his life time to giue him the realme of *Austrasia* for his portion. This kinde of rebellion was the fruite of *Clotaires* too great lenity: as also priuate quarells which bred great disorders in the Court.

To great fa-
cility hurtfull
to an estate.

Thus wee see, there is nothing absolutely perfect in this world. *Clotaire* dies in the yeare of Christ 631. hauing gouerned 44. yeares, from his Cradle, and passed happily through many perillous difficulties. A happy and a wise Prince. But as humane things are subiect vnto variety: so we may say, that the French Monarchie reuiued and died in him. And at his death sprong vp the soueraigne authority of the *Maires* of the Palace, the which grewe to that greatnesse, as they dispossessed this race of the Crowne. It was *Clotaires* intent to gratifie his subiects, and to ease the succeeding Kings, but in effect it was a meane to haue many Kings, and to make the lawfull contentible, setting the seruant in the maisters place. In truth, as it is most dangerous in an estate, to giue too much authority to a seruant, so is it most certaine, that the slothfullnesse and dissolutenes of these last Kings, was a ladder whereby our *Maires* mounted to this greatnesse, & to their ruines. The which succeeded by degrees, vnder the respect of the Kings name, for from that time of *Clotaire*, vnto the last King of this race, are 120. yeares. *Pepin* grandfather to that *Pepin*, who was the first King of the second race, was *Maire* of the Palace, and began first to deale absolutely in the gouernment of the realme.

The lenity of *Clotaire* is also noted by another error: for hee tooke so great liberty to do what he list without order, as his subiects wold do the like. And by this contempt of the lawe, the King grew contemptible, being not well obeyed in his age: the which bred great quarrels betwixt great and small, who shewed no great respect, neither to King nor Iustice. In this Estate died *Clotaire*, leauing *Dagobert* for his successor, the yeare .632.

DAGOBERT

DAGOBERT the first, the
xi. King of France.



DAGOBERT the first of that name, tooke possession of this great Monarchie, without any controuersie. Some write, that he had a brother called *Aribert*, to whome he gaue for his portion all the Countie on this side *Loire*: but dying without children, it returned to him againe. At his coming to the Crowne, he found great difficulties amongst his Subiects, being bred vp without Iustice, vnder the long libertie of ciuill warres, and the lenitie of *Clotaire*: whereto he prouided wisely, reducing Iustice, fortifying it by his authoritie, with so good a moderation, as no man was offended at his too great seueritie, neither durst any man attempt against the lawes, seeing both the reine and the rod in the hands of their lawfull Prince. Thus hee purchased the commendation of a good and wise King, and peace to his people, by their obedience to iustice. To this good order he added profession to loue holy things: and the better to confirme this opinion in his subiects minds, hee built and enriched many Temples, especially that of Saint *Denis*, the which since hath bin the sepulchre of our Kings.

There were great numbers of Iewes in France, the which were hurtful to the Realme: he banished them by a perpetual Edict, out off the territories vnder his obedience. But this zeale of religion, was polluted with the foule blot of Adulterie, which made him infamous both to subiects and strangers. *Amand* Bishop of *Paris* admonished him of his fault: but *Dagobert* impatient thereof, banished him. *Pepin* his *Maire* continued so in this reprehension, that although *Dagobert* were moued, and threatened to banish him, yet in the end hee yeilded to reason, by the vertuous constancie of *Pepin*: and hauing dismissed many of his lewd followers, he calls home *Amand*. An example for Princes & seruants: for the one to continue firme in their duties, for the other to yeeld to reason.

E

Dagobert

645 Dagobert subdued the *Gaſcons* that were revolted: brought the *Britons* to obedience, suppressed the *Sclavons*, established the Realme of *Austrasia*, and gave reasonable succours to the King of *Spain* against the *Saracens*. This is the sum of his armes led by *Peppin*; whilest that he lived at his pleasure, in his chamber, amongst his women, or in his monasterie at his deuotion. He had two sons, *Sigibert* and *Clouis*. Having assembled the Estates in great solemnitie, he declared, that he had ordered *Sigibert* to be king of *Austrasia*, and *Clouis* King of *France*, preferring the younger before the elder without any controuersie. He gaue them likewise gouernours, by reason of their yong ages. And so he died in the yeare of grace 645. hauing reigned 14. yeares without any trouble. A Prince to be numbred amongst the most worthy, but for this blemish of incontinencie. B

Thus vpon the facilitie of *Clotaire*, the voluptuousnes of *Dagobert* layed another dangerous stone in the foundation of a new royaltie, the which vnadvisedly they built for their seruants, to their Childrens cost.

CLAVIS the second, the 12. King of France.

The first of the idle Kings.



Now wee take the declining of the hill, to seeke the last of these Kings beneath in the valley, who had nothing royall but the race, the name, and the habiliments, hauing resigned their Maiestie, authoritie, and power into the hands of their *Mares*. It shall bee sufficient to set downe their names, the dates of their reignes, and the continuance of their race, vntill a more vigorous royaltie come to take his turne.

Hereafter in this first race, you shall see our Kings but once a yeare, the first day of May, in their Chariots deckt with flowers, & greene, and drawne by foure oxen. Who hath occasion to treat with them, let him seeke them in their chambers, amidst their delights. Let him take of any matters of state, he shall be sent to the *Maire*, who deales with al that cocernes the state: he opens packets, makes answers without any counsel, but

The manners
of these idle
Kings.

A but his owne. He heares the complaints of subiects, and giues audience to Ambassadors of foraine Princes. Hee ordereth all as it pleaseth him. Hee giues, reuokes, discharge, contracts, ordeines, makes Edicts, and disanulls them. To conclude, hee frees his master from all trouble, to impose it on himselfe. But we shall see to what end he labours thus, and why hee hath taken on him the authoritie and purse of his master. Let vs now speake something of our *Clouis*.

Clouis then remains in *France*, a peaceable King: and *Sigibert* his elder brother retires himselfe to his Realme of *Austrasia*, according to *Dagobert* their fathers decree. This accord was embraced by two brethren of a good and mild disposition, and was maintained wisely by their mother *Nantilde*, and their Tutors. A notable example of rare loue betwixt two brethren, especially in great diuisions: and the iealousie of mothers, who do often support one child against another.

Clouis had married a gentlewoman of *Saxony*, named *Baudour*, a woman of a good and holy life, and much giuen to deuotion, as the Abbate of *Shelles*, *S. Baudour*, with other foundations do witnes. Whilest that she busied her selfe in her deuotion, and to build monasteries, *Clouis* laboured to confound his mind, drowning it in the flood of his voluptuousnes. Yet they obserue one thing in him, which shewes that hee was not wholly deprived of iudgement: the which happened in a time of a great dearth. To releue the poore people, he suffered them to take the silver, wherewith the Temple of *S. Denis* had bene couered by *Dagobert*. Doublesse, the care of the poore, is a worke worthie of a great Prince. Bountie is better then sacrifice: and Christian soules be the true stones of a spirituall Temple, where God dwels, as in his proper mansion. So as to nourish and support the poore, the precious members of the Church, is to build a goodly Temple.

Sigibert King of *Austrasia* (hauing no children, nor hope of any) was so sollicit by *Grimoald* Maior of his pallace, as hee adopted his sonne *Childebert*, and sone after hee himselfe had a sonne: and died, leauing him heire generall of all his realme. But *Grimoald*, vnder colour of this adoption, desirous to establish his son in the possession of *Sigiberts* estate, takes his yong sonne, and sends him to be brought vp in a monasterie of *Scotland*. In effect, he had seized on all the realme, if *Ersembault*, Maior of the Pallace of *France*, had not valiantly opposed himselfe against this his cruell vsurpation, hauing defeated and taken both him and his sonne, and punished them both by a sollemne sentence at *Paris*. A notable example for many considerations: but especially a singular prooffe, that God is the Protector of Orphelines, and a iudge of the vsurpers of an others right. *Clouis* had three sonnes by *Baudour*, *Clotaire*, *Childebert* and *Thierry*. All three shall be Kings succeffiuely: but *Childebert* was presently King of *Austrasia*, left without any lawfull heire, after the death of the sonne of *Sigibert*. Hee reigned sixteene yeares, and died in the yeare 692. hauing left his Realme in great peace, without any enemy.

CLOTAIRE the third, the 13. King
of France.



CLOTAIRE, the eldest sonne of *Clouis*, was King of *France*, first vnder the government of *Erich*, and then of *Ebroin* Mayre of the Palace: a wicked and cruell man, who shall minister occasion to take of his life, in the succession of these latter Kings. Vnder his reigne, he made great exactions vpon all the people, who (as he said) liued too plentifully, and forgot themselves by the inioying of too happy a peace. *Clotaire* reigned foure yeares, and died without name and without children, in the yeere 666. of whom we may say, as of the rest that succeeded him: That they haue left nothing memorable, but that they left no memory.

CHIL-

CHILDERIC or CHILPERIC
the second, the foureteenth
King of France



A **C**HILDERIC the second son of *Clouis* was already in possession of the realme of *Austrasia*: but a greater drawes him into *France*, where he findes important difficulties, for *Ebroin* doubting (if *Childeric* should raigne) he would take from him the dignity of Maior, and giue it vnto *Froald* Maior of *Austrasia*, who was his trustie seruant; perswades *Thierri*, the yonger sonne of *France*, to seize vpon the realme: and causeth him to be Crowned King. But *Childeric* comes with a strong army, being fauored by the *French*, who hated *Ebroin*, and (in respect of him *Thierri*,) and were well affected to the elder: so as he seizeth vpon *Thierri* and *Ebroin*. Hee did onely shauie *Thierri* & put him into the Monasterie of Saint *Denis*: and he sent *Ebroin* to *Lusson* in *Bourgogne*. To small a punishment for so foule a fact: may rather, a perpetuall pryson, and insupportable torments had bene more meete for his ambitious spirit.

Childeric then was receiued of all the *French*, to whome soone after he made a slender recompence: for he grew so proud and cruell, as there appeared in all places signes of his tyranny and cruelty. One amongst the rest cost him deere: for hauing caued a Gentleman called *Bodille* to bee whipped, hee gaue him a iust occasion to seeke his ruine. The *French*, wearied with his insolencies, take this barbarous act very disdainfully. so as *Bodille* had an easie meanes for reuenge vpon *Childeric*, although hee were a King: he resolues to kill him, and wants no friends to accompanie him in this execution. The match is made, to surprise him a hunting, at their best advantage. *Childeric* being there, he is eniured by *Bodille* and his Companions, who increate still: and

67 8. he being ill attended by his followers, is slaine by *Eodille*: who followed by his confederates, goes presently to a neere Castle, whereas *Blisilde* the Queene remained great with child: being entered, he slew her with her child, leauing a memorable example to Princes; neuer to thrust their subiects into dispaire; nor to abuse their authority to the dishonour and contempt of their Nobility, which is their right arme.

Thus died *Childeric*, hauing reigned but two yeares. Leauing an odious memory to his posterity, to haue begun well, and ended ill: cleane contrary to *Childeric* the first, his Predecessor, who began ill and ended well.

THIERRI the first, the 15. King of France.



C *Hilderic* being thus slaine, the *French* (not able to liue without a king, B and desiring none, but one of the bloud royall) post to *S. Denis*, draw forth *Thierry*, and establish him in the Realme, from the which they had deposed him, for his elder brother: and make *Landregesil* the Son of *Archembault* Maior of the Pallace, with whom they were well pleased, during his Mairalty. A notable example, both of the peoples consent gouerned by reason, and the efficacy of the Soueraigne law, the which is the Ioule of an Estate, and the ground of a lawfull Empire.

The Realme was very peacefull in this beginning, when as *Ebroin* (perswaded by some discontented Noblemen) leaues his Cloister and raiseth an armie, in the beginning but small, but it so increased, by the kings contempt and his Mayors; as he remanins a Victor, with an incredible celerity. *Ebroin* seizeth on the Kings person, intreats him with all reverence and respect, and protests to require nothing, but to bee held his most faithfull seruant, as he had beene in his first reigne. *Landregesil* was then absent: who seeing the King taken, and all the fauour of the *French* turned to *Ebroin*, being

A being victor, hee willingly giues care vnto him, and ypon his faith and promise of good vsage, pates himselfe into his hands, by whome he is treacherously and cruelly name. *Ebroin* hauing begun this course, continues his cruelty, to satissie his reuenging minde, vntill that he himselfe (after that he had murdered many good men, contrary to his oath, amongst the rest *Leger Bishop* of *Autun*, hauing admonished him of his dutie, and *Martin* Maior of the Palace of *Austrasia*, to whome hee had giuen his faith with a sollemne oath) in the ende he thrust himselfe vnadvisedly into the hands of *Ermanfroy*, a *French* gentleman, his capitall enemy, who slue him when he least feared it, hauing nowe an imagination to bee mounted to the toppe of his greatnes, and to tast the sweete Liquor of his insatiable reuenge.

B A notable obseruation for treacherous and reuenging spirits, who are then vanquished, when they thinke to bee Conquerors. *Thierry* a King in shewe, is a spectator of these Tragedies, as of a game at tables, of his diuers Maiors, which play at leuell coyle, vntill that *Pepin* gets it, and enioyes it onely, with the Soueraigne gouernment of the *French* Monarchie.

Pepin during the confusions of these reigns had beene in *Austrasia*, and purchased great credit with all men: so as he was held worthy of this great charge, the which he gouerned with so great wisdom and valour, as hauing settled *France* in a peacefull Estate, he had purchased more credit & authority among the *French*, then the King himselfe. In the ende *Thierry* dies, in the yeare 693. hauing reigned 19. yeares

C leauing *Clouis* and *Childebert*, his Children, for a witnessse that he had liued: but in effect *Pepin* and his for the true heires of the Realme.

CLOVIS.



CLOVIS the third, the 16.
King of France.



693 B EING the eldest sonne of *Thierri*; he raigned foure yeares, and dyes without name,
and without children: to whom succeeds his brother

CHILDE-

CHILDEBERT the second, the
17. King of France.



WHO raigned 17. yeares, and dies in the yeare 718. hauing left two 700.
Sonnnes, *Dagobert* and *Closaire*, of like humour to himselfe.

DAGOBERT

D A G O B E R T the second, the 18. King of France.



718.

HE reigned foure yeares, and left two Children, *Chilperic* and *Thierri*, with no better memorie then the rest. So there passed fortie and foure yeares, during which time *Pepin* had good meanes to fortifie his authority, the which was in effect absolute, by the negligence, or rather idlenesse of these Kings, who made a necessary way to newe desseins, by their voluntary suffrance to incroach vpon their authority. *Pepin* well acquainted with the humour of the *French*, (naturally bent to love their Princes) did not openly despise his matters: but excused their weake dispositions, not capable of much pame, representing the heauie burthen of a great Estate, and that the honour to gouerne it, is a trouble which costes deere. He settled an impression in the *Frenchmens* mindes: That those onely were worthie to bee Kings, that knewe howe to gouerne.

So without any insinuating speech, the ordinarie seruices hee did to the realme, maintayning t^e peace, his great profession to loue religion, Iustice and the people, (whose ease hee was wonderfull carefull of) did recommend him to all men: and the good turnes hee did to all persons, by reason of his charge, did daylie purchase him many friends and seruants. Doubtlesse, as it is as great policie to bee a good man, so is there no small dexterity in the king of Cities and Countries by the hearts of men. Thus *Pepin* layed the foundation, and his successors finished the perfect building of a newe gouernment.

A lesson for our Kings, to haue a care howe they referre the charge of affaires to their seruants, and to whome they trust, and howe. This example doth verifie, that they were better to be more careful, and take more paines, then to disrobe themselves of this great authority, the which makes them not only eminent aboue all men, but

Read and
Iudge O yee
Kings.

A carries as it were a tipe of the Maie^{ty} of God, in the gouernment of the world, whereof they must yeeld him an account, and not loote that by base cowardinesse, which they should mainteine by vertue. But let vs returne to *Pepin*, hee made great shewe to loue religion, and vpon this cause he makes warre against *Rabod* Duke of *Frisse* a pagan, whom hee conquered and forced to receiue the Christian religion with all his subiects. He restored *Lambert* Bishop of *Traict* to his dignity, being expelled by *Abbrin*, and confined into a Monastery: finally, he infinitely fauored all that tended to the seruice of God: and one of his chiefest cares was to aduance them that had charge ouer the Church, whose loues he had so purchased by this good vsage, as they soone requited him, causing the people to loue him, with whom such as rule their consciences

B haue great authority.

This was a point of state, as much as of deuotion. He also made prooue of his valour in diuers sorts, reducing the people of *Germany* on either side the *Rhin*, to the obedience of the *French*, who began to mutine, and to restore the beautie of the realme of *Austrasia*. He was carefull to maintaine Iustice, and imbraced the people, no waies oppressing them with any new impositions. In the meane time he was not carelesse of himselfe and his Children. He commaunded absolutely, being armed with the authority of his Soueraigne, neither was there any appeale from him vnto the King. Hee had two sonnes by *Plectrude*, *Drogon* and *Grimold*: he gaue *Champagne* to *Drogon*, and after his death hee caused his sonne to succede him with the title of a Duke.

C In the beginning he gaue the offices of great Master, and generall of the Treasure, to *Nordbert* his deere friend: but after his death he inuested his owne sonne *Grimold* in those places. But as the vanitie of man transports it selfe beyond the limyts of respect, it chanced in the end, that *Pepin* forgot himselfe in his prosperity: for not satisfi-
Pepin incor-
uinent,
ed with *Plectrude* his lawfull wife, hee fell in loue with a gentlewoman named *Alpaide*, by whom he had one Bastard, (which shalbe verie famous in the course of this historie, vnder the name of *Charles Martel*): and as the mischief encreased, hee puts away *Plectrude* and marries *Alpaide*. *Lambert* Bishop of *Traict* admonished him of this fault: but he suffered *Alpaide* to cause him to be slaine by her brother *Dodon*, who soone after felt the punishment of this bloud: for being strooke with a disease of wormes, not
D able to endure his owne stench, he cast himselfe headlong into the riuer of *Meuse*. *Grimold* the sonne of *Pepin*, following his fathers example, abandoned himselfe to strange women, disdayning his wife. But this adultery was decreed to them both: for *Grimold* (too familiar with one named *Kangare*, sonne in lawe to *Rabod* Duke of *Frisse*), was slaine with him, by a iust iudgement of God, hauing taught him so filthy a trade, to abandon himselfe to strumpets, and to reiect his wife. *Pepin* was so perplexed for the death of his sonne, as hee died for grieue and choller against *Rabod* the author of this murder. Thus both he and his sonne reaped the fruits of their adultery.

Vpon his deathbed he ordained *Charles* his Bastard to succede him in the gouernment of the realme: but *Plectrude* imbracing this occasion, vpon the death of her husband, and well supported by her kinsfolkes, causeth *Charles* to be taken and put in prison at *Cologne*, and aduanceth *Thibault* the sonne of *Drogon*, her owne sonne and *Pepins*, to the gouernment, although in effect she vnder his name gouerned all the affaires of state. This gouernment of a woman (which is vsually imperious and without reason) offended the most resolute among the *French*: so as weary to be commanded by a distaste (*Dagobert* dying during these alterations) they tooke a Prince of the bloud called *Daniel*, forth of a cloister, who had bin a Monke the greatest part of his youth. Him they crowne King, vnder the name of *Chilperic* the second, to haue a royall name to counterbalance his actions: and they giue him a Nobleman of *France* called *Rainfroy*, to be his Master: who hauing leued an army, defeated *Thibault* & his grand-mother *Plectrude* with small fight. But when as *Rainfroy* thought himselfe voide of all enemies, hee findes a strong Competitor: for *Charles Martell* being freed from prison, could potently imbrace the occasion, and get authority by the perplexity of *Plectrude*, to whom hee offers himselfe with all his meanes. The decree of *Pepin* did import much:

Charles Martell
Bastard to
Pepin.

much: but the dexterity and valour of *Charles* could bee no more concealed, then a
 724. goodly light in darkenesse. Hee entertaynes such as were affected to *Plectrude* and
 her sonne, in such sort as (seeing themselves abandoned) they receive him: for Maior,
 according to the will of *Pepin*, whose image *Charles* did carrie in his forehead, and his
 memory liued yet in the hearts of the *French*.

Charles being received and installed Maior of *France*, first assured himselfe of the
 Children of King *Dagobert*, causing them to bee gently brought vp in a Monastery,
 and afterwards (not pursuing his reuenges as *Ebroin* had done) he made a publike de-
 claration, that his onely intention was, to free the Realme from the confusions which
 were so visible to all men, and restore it to the ancient dignity: neither would hee at-
 tempt any thing, but by the consent and aduice of the *French*. And in deed, hee be-
 gan to manage the affaires, to the great content of all men. Hee established an olde
 Prince of the bloud, named *Clotaire*, with a Counsell of state, vnder whose name and
 authority hee gouerned as Maior and chiefe of the Counsell: and therefore some wri-
 ters reckon this *Clotaire* among the Kings of *France*, although he were no King. *Rain-
 froy* with his *Chilperic* (finding himselfe too weake for such an enemy) had recourse to
Rabod Duke of *Frise*, a capitall enemy to the house of *Pepin*, with whose aide hee leues
 an army, incounters *Charles*, and ouerthrowes him at the first charge. But *Charles* no-
 thing amazed at this checke, rallies his forces, and knowing that the enemy pult vp
 with this victory marched in disorder, hee charged their confused troups with such
 aduantage, as hee defeats them quite, neere vnto *Cambray*: so as *Chilperic* and *Rain-
 froy* could hardly escape with a small trayne. And so *Charles* proceeds with his victo-
 ry: for beeing aduertised that *Plectrude* was at *Cologne*, and ment to disturbe the
 quiet of *Austrasia*, hee approacheth neere vnto *Cologne*, where he is receiued by the In-
 habitants, and hauing *Plectrude* and her sonne *Thibauld* in his power, hee inflicts no o-
 ther punishment, but inioynes them to liue in quiet, and to attempt nothing without
 his liking. A worthie reuenge of a generous minde to pardon the vanquished. *Endon*
 succors him: but being vanquished by *Charles*, hee submits himselfe with the preten-
 ded *Chilperic*, to his discretion: and so did *Rainfroy*, relying vpon the Conquerors
 faith: *Charles* vseth the victory modestly, pardons *Rainfroy*, and giues him the gouern-
 ment of *Aniou*, and suffers *Endon* to enioye his liuing, vnder the obedience of the
 Crowne. And to settle the Realme in good order, he degrades *Chilperic*, being ad-
 uanced against Lawe, and causeth the eldest sonne of *Dagobert* to be cho-
 sen King, named *Chilperic*, as the true and lawfull heire.

So hee reigned vnder the gouernment
 of his Maior.

CHILPERIC

It is a second
 victory to vic-
 it well and
 mildly.

CHILPERIC the third, the
 19. King of France.

A Prince of no valour, simple and voluptuous. In his time the
Sueues, *Saxons*, and *Bauariens* (disdaining to liue vnder a sim-
 ple and effeminate King) fought to withdrawe themselves
 from the *French* obedience: but *Charles* reduced them to the
 yoke, reaping repentance for their rebellion. *Plectrude* was
 wearie of ease: who abusing the mildnesse of *Charles*, retires
 to *Vimes*, with her daughter *Sanichilde*, the lawfull childe of
Pepin, and seekes to draw the people of *Danubie* into rebellion
 against *Charles*: who hauing intelligence of her practises,
 posts thither with a running Campe, pacifies the *Germanes*, and puts her in prison:
 B but wee read not how hee disposed of her, nor of her sonne *Thibauld*. Thus hee con-
 firmed his authoritie in all places. In the meane time *Chilperic* dyes, hauing reigned
 fuyeyare, and in his place his Brother was Crowned King.

It is a great
 gaine to loose
 him that trou-
 bles a State.

F

THIERRI

THIERRI the second, the 20
King of France.



729.



He reigned ten yeares, and dying, left his sonne *Chideric* the last King of this first race of *Merovingiens*. This is all that is memorable in these two reignes, whilst that the second race prepares to come in place, and to take possession of the Crowne, and scepter of the French Monarchie.

Charles Martel, from Maior of the Palace is chosen Duke or Prince of the French. He laies the foundations of a newe raigue for his posterity, and in this respect is numbred among the Kings, the 22.

Now our discourse must be of that great *Charles* surnamed *Martel*, by reason of the force both of his body and minde: shewing breefely according to our stile, what meanes he had to raise his race to the royall Throane.

As things succeeded in this sort, *Charles Martel*, who knewe what force an interest purchased by good order hath in an Estate, informs his friends privately (which were many) howe much it did import (considering the apparent weaknesse of their King, and the necessity of the realme) to haue one Commander, whome all the rest might obey: for when the King speaks not, euery one (holding himselfe as great as his Companion) will play the King, and so by consequence many mischiefs growe daylie, a multitude of matters beeing a ruine to an Estate. That the authority of a Maior was not great enough to that effect: and although it might be extended vpon necessity, yet was it not convenient: seeing that which concerns the good and quiet of all, ought to be approved by all and settled by a free and generall consent.

Having thus disposed the mindes of such as might rule in matters of great import,

Multiplicity
of matters is
a ruine to an
Estate.

vnder Charles Martel.

51

A hee makes a conuocation, which hee calls a Parliament, in the which it is concluded: That seeing *Charles Martel* had by many proofs shewed himselfe wortheie of a great command, having well vied his authoritie of Maior, and that vrgent necessitie required a speedie and conuenient remedie: therefore the absolute government should be deliuered into his hands. And to the end his authoritie should be knowne, and obeyed with more respect, hereafter hee should be called Prince, or Duke of *Frenchmen*. This decree did greatly countenance the authoritie of *Charles Martel*, being confirmed by such an assemblie, and by so affectionate a consent: but his vertues made him to be held as most wortheie of so honorable a charge: occasion made prooffe of his vertue, and the successfe was a foretelling that the Realme was appointed to his posteritie. Soone after there fell out this notable occasion.

We haue made mention of *Eudon* the pretended Duke of *Guienne*, *Martel* having vanquished him, suffered him to enioy his liuing, vnder the obedience of the Crowne. This accord pleased not *Eudon*, who not able to bee reuenged of *Martel*, practised such meanes as ambition and couetousnes did prescribe him. The *Sarazins* (a Turkish nation) had passed out of *Asia* into *Affrike* and *Spaine*, and had possessed those goodly and great Prouinces vnder the command of their King *Abderame*. *Eudon* sollicitis them to come into *France*, and promisseth a free passage. The *Sarazins* willingly imbrace the offer of so easie an entrie, and resolved to people *France* with a great Colonie of their nation. They enter *Guienne* with an armie of foure hundred thousand fighting men. A fearefull number at this day, but plainly set downe by the common consent of all writers. *Charles Martel* seeing this great storme readie to fall vpon *France*, resolves first to take away the cause of their coming: and as *Eudon*'s discontent had drawne them in, he labours to be reconciled vnto him.

The *Sarazins*
inuide *France*
with 400000
men.

He concludes a peace with *Eudon*, taught by the horrible spoile of *Guienne*, what it is to set such to worke. In the end hee disposeth all things to stop the violence of so rauishing an enemy, assembling all the forces he could, to make a bodie able to encounter them: but he armed himselfe cheefly with resolution and courage, fit instruments in necessitie, vnder the prouidence of the God of armes and victories. The *Sarazin* was alreadye aduanced as far as *Touraine*, within view of *Tours*, neere to the river of *Loire*, where *Martel* resolved to attend him, as well to ingage him in a Countrie far from retreat, and to make *Eudon* and his men more resolute, in whose Countrie it was, to be tried, as also to haue *France* readie in case of necessitie. *Abderame* trusting in the multitude of his souldiars both of horse and foot, resolves to compass in the French: and to this end had dispersed his battaillons, euery one apart making shew of a great armie, appointing his horse mingled with Camels, and furnished with sundry newe kinds of armes, to toyne the battaillons one to another. The order and countenance of this armie was fearefull to men neuer wonted to behold such an huge inundation of Strangers.

The *Sarazin*
multitude
of his men.

Martel (who fought more with courage and valour in a good cause, then with numbers) having assembled the bodie of his armie, hee confirms their resolutions before the combat, wishing them to haue no hope but in God, and in themselves, shewing, that they had their enemies before, and the river of *Loire* behind: that he had commanded them of *Tours* not to open the gates, but to the Conqueror, and had appointed troupes of horse vpon the wings of his armie, to kill such as fled, as enemies. To conclude they had no other *France*, but where they were, in the which they must either conquer or die. *Eudon* with his *Guennois* made their armie apart, not farre from *Martel*, and with his consent.

The battailes being aranged, and euery Commander having perswaded his men to do their best endeouours, the *Sarazin* giues the charge, supposing to compass in the French easily, as with a net: but on all sides he finds men couragious in their defence. The encounter was great, & the combat furious: In the heat of the conflict *Eudon* disbands, & violently chargeth the *Sarazins* campe, being full of women, children, & baggage, & with a small gard forceth the defences, & enters it, cuts in peeces, & kills all he encounters.

F 2

73 2. encounters without difference of age or sexe. The *Barbarians* not accustomed to the readines of the *French*, who encountred his sundrie Battaillons in grosse, as they presented themselves, turning after the manner of their discipline: seeing many of his men slaine, and for a second mischeete, hearing the cries and shriekings of women, and children, massacred in the campe, began to bee amazed, and to wauer. *Martel* (discouraging their countenance, and that their battayllons grew thin) cries out mainly to his souldiars. Courage my friends. God hath set vp his banner, hee fights for vs: let vs charge these miscreants. The souldiars (encouraged at this voice, and at the visible successe of their armes,) cry victory, victory. The *Sarazins* not knowing which way to turne him, being charged on all sides, breakes his battaillons, abandons his ranks, and casts away his armes. All are disperfed, the multitude oppresseth them.

Hereupon *Martel* and *Eudon* ioyned together, after the spoyle of the campe: vpon this disorder they charge valiantly through these dismen-bred troupes, as into a thicke hartest, without any resistance: all ouerflowes with bloud, they are wearie with killing. The remainder which fled is small, the prisoners lesse: all die by the sword, or are beaten downe with battleaxes: the victorious *French* (inraged with the sight of these vanquished *Barbarians*, seeking to dispossesse them, their wiues and children, of their habitations) made them the subiects of their cholier. King *Abderame* is found dead, in a heape of carcases, not wounded, but smothered by the multitude that fled. Histories assure, there were slaine vpon the place three hundred seuentie five thousand men, and of the *French* fiftene hundred, amongst the which were many of the Nobilitie and men of account. Thus God did ouerthrowe the greater number by the lesse, and by his force the multitude was an incumber to the enemy. But about all this deliuerance was remarkable, for that God not onely freed *France* from the slavery of Infidels, but also the rest of *Europe*, the which this deluge had almost ouerflowne, as it had done *Asia* and *Affrike* alreadie. So thankes were giuen vnto God, in all Christian Kingdoms, and the name of *Martel* generally renowned, as a cheefe instrument of the singular deliuerance of all Christendome. After this defeat, hee diuided the spoyle among the souldiars, and the better to reward the Nobilitie, he remitted them the tenthes and tithes for certaine yeares, with the consent of the Clergie, to whome he promised satisfaction.

This memorable defeat was a seale of the new dignitie granted vnto *Martel* by the fauour of the *French*, confirmed by his owne valour, or rather by the bountie of God, the essentiall cause of his happinesse. This battaile was called the Battail of *Tours*: it happened in the yeare 730. but the end of this warre was the beginning of another, and almost from the same spring, and by the same current. We haue shewed *Eudon*s deeds at the battaile of *Tours*. For this great seruice he expected some notable recompence: But *Martel* excusing himselfe, that he could not alienate the reuenues of the Crowne, nor doe any thing to the prejudice of his Master, left *Eudon* no more aduanced then before the warres, and very ill satisfied: but he died soone after, leauing *Hunault* and *Ieffroy* his children, heires of his discontent.

After their fathers decease, they seeke all possible meanes to trouble the quiet of *France*. Their cheefe strength was in *Guienne*: they had leuies some in *Prouence*, through the fauour of *Maurice*, Gouvernour of the Countie, and Earle of *Marquilles*, but especially in *Languedoc*, whence they were issued, as I haue said, being descended from the *Fisigoths*, whose memorie with their name liues still throughout all that Prouince, although they all depend vpon the Crowne of *France*. Thus they assemble all the people they can, either by friends or credit, and fortifie good Townes against the *French*, attending to make warre with al violence. But finding all these meanes too feeble for so great a proiect, they proceed farther. The *Sarazins* remayning in *Spain* were much grieved at so great a losse of their men, being a general dishonour to all their nation. They are easily drawne into this League, to be reuenged of the *French*: & the better to further their partie, they ioyned with the *Vandales*, *Ostrogoths*, & *Alans*, which remained yet in *Spain*, not friends among themselves, yet common enemies to the *French*.

King

A King *Athin* led the *Sarazin* troupes: *Hunault* and *Ieffroy* brethren commanded those that were assembled in the Prouinces on this side *Loire*. Besides their forces they had intelligence within *Lions*, and the best Citties of *Bourgogne*, assuming themselves to seize vpon *Daulphiné*, as well for the neernesse of *Languedoc*, (where they had a great partie) as also by meanes of *Maurice* the Prouenfall, and the credit they had with the principall of the Country.

Thus they make a great party, to vndermine and ruine the state of *France*, and did manage their practises with such secrecie, as their army was sooner in field then *Martell* could haue intelligence of their preparations. The bodie of this armie assembled in *Languedoc*, passeth the *Rosne*, entrench into *Daulphiné*, and goes through it with such celerity and ease, as (the Citties of *Pierrelate*, *Saint Pol*, *Montlimar*, *Liron*, *Valence*, *Romans*, & other Townes bordering vpon the *Rosne*, (hauing yeelded at the first brute) they surprise the Cittie of *Lions*, by meanes of their intelligence. *Vienne* alone held firme for the Kings seruice, in this deluge of *Goths* and *Sarazins*. They passed from *Lions* by *Sauoye* and the Countries on either side of the mount *Iura*, and in the ende seized on many of the best Citties of *Bourgogne*, *Chaalon*, *Maison*, *Dijon*, and *Auxerre*, by meanes of their intelligences and the generall amazement. *Martel* slept not in this confusion: but to prevent this vexpected storme, he assureth the Citties, and leues men with all expedition. The towne of *Sens* (through the resolute counsell of their bishop *Otho*) sallies forth so fitly vpon the *Sarazin* army, as (hauing slaine a great number)

The fidelity of the Vienneois.

The courage of a Bishop.

C they force them to raise the seage with shame. Other townes by their example growe resolute, vnder the assurance of their Commander, whom they finde carefull of their preferuation. Thus this army halfe victorious, (fearing a second kirmish of *Tours*, by the waighty blowes of *Martel*, loth to ingage themselves farther in *France*) retires into the Countries of their allies, leauing garrisons in the townes they had surprised. One part passeth into *Languedoc*, and lodgeth in friend townes: another seizes on *Auignon* (then a Cittie of *Prouence*) by the meanes of *Maurice* gouernour of the Country: *Arles* holds firme for the Kings seruice, amidst these confusions and the treachery of *Maurice*. *Hunault* and *Ieffroy* retorne into their Country of *Guienne*, to prevent the desseins of *Martel*, and to retaine their townes in obedience. Hauing thus disposed of their affaires, they send ioynly into *Spain* for newe forces, whilst that *Martel* labors to settle that which they had disordered in many places. And in truth they had provided worke for him, the which he preuented in this sort.

Newscumprits of the League.

He sends *Childebert* presently into *Prouence* with a meane army, as well to assure the townes that stood firme, as to keepe the enemy at a bay, and to crosse their desseins. Hee himselfe remains in *Bourgogne* with a great army, to recouer such townes as were held by the enemy. Both worke according to their proiects, but not with like successe. *Childebert* beseegeth *Auignon*, but with much toyle, losse of time, and small hope of successe, so as he was shamefully forced to raise the seage: but then comes *Martel* with his army, hauing recovered the Citties of *Bourgogne*, *Lions* and the rest of *Daulphiné*, with the like facility as they had bin lost: punishing the rebels in all places. Being incamped before *Auignon*, he so presseth the seage, as in fewe daies he takes the towne and cuts the *Sarazins* in peeces: yet their King *Athin* saued himselfe in *Languedoc*, by the riuier of *Rosne*, and retired to *Narbonne* to his other troupes. *Martel* (hauing releued the Cittie of *Arles* with a newe garrison) passeth into *Languedoc*, and beseegeth *Narbonne*, being then a very strong Cittie and of great importance for the whole Prouince. And as this seage grewe long, behold a newe armie of *Sarazins* comes out of *Spain*, vnder the conduct of *Amoré*, an other petty *Sarazin* King. *Martel* fearing least they of *Guienne* should come, and those within the Cittie issue forth, and all being vnted make one bodie of an army: he resolues to fight with them apart, vsing this stratagem which succeeded happily. He leaues a part of his army before the Cittie, with the same countenance as if it had beene whole, rising without sound of drum or trumpet: and surpriseth this newe army of *Sarazins* with such celerity, as he defeats them.

A new army of Sarazins in France.

F 3

Athin

739. *Arhin* frustrate of hope of any succors, saues him selfe by sea, with a small troupe, and abandons *Narbonne*, and the whole Country, to the mercy of *Charles Martel*, then a Conqueror. This was the ende of that perillous warre bred by *Hunault* and *Ieffroy* the sonnes of *Eudon*: and the fruit of all these broyles in *Languedoc*, was that they brought those Cities which had followed them, to extremity, whome *Martel* punished seuerely for their rashnesse and rebellion. The histories name *Narbonne*, *Nismes*, *Beziers* and *Agde*, the which he caused to be sackt and burnt. It is likely that the ancient walls of *Nismes* were then pulled downe, whereof we now see the ruines of an admirable greatnesse, vndoubtfull signes of the ancient beauty and welth of that goodly Citie: the which in the time of the *Romaine* Empire, being free in *Gaule Narbonoise*, did enioye the privileges of *Italie*, hauing had the honour to furnish *Rome* with an Emperour.

Languedoc seuerely punished by *Martel*.

Hunault and *Ieffroy* (being authors of this warre) remayned yet unpunished. *Martel* was diuerted by the warre he made against the *Frisons*, whome he vanquished and forced to become Christians: and to that ende he sends them Doctors. A pardonable zeale in a warrior: for in truth mens soules cannot be wonne by the sword, nor religion forced, but must bee planted in the heart by reason. The punishment of these turbulent men, was referred vnto *Pepin*, who knewe well howe to effect it, as we shall see. At this time King *Thierri* died, hauing reigned fve and twenty, years in conceit: and left *Childeric* his sonne, not heire of the realme, but of his idlenes, to make the last release of the Crowne, and configne it into a better hande.

CHILDERIC the fift, the 21, King of France, and the last of the first race.



HEE

A **H**E was King in shewe nine yeares, fve vnder the authority of *Charles Martel*, and foure vnder *Pepin*, who dispossessed him, made him a Monke, and seated himselfe in his place, as wee shall see in order. 741.

But let vs obserue what remaines of *Martel*. The care and toyle of great affaires, with his old age, hauing toare broken him, hee resolves to dispose of things in time, and to leaue a peace to his Children. He had foure sonnes, *Caroloman*, *Pepin*, *Giles* and *Griffon*, all of diuers humours. *Caroloman* and *Giles* more modest, and of a milder spirit, *Pepin* and *Griffon*, more rough and ambitious. Whilest he liued, hee greatly honored the Kings person, neyther did he in open shewe meddle with that maine point of royaltie: but in effect, diuiding his authority to his Children with the title of gouernments. He purchased them an interest by his vertue, & in time the possession of the realme. To his eldest son *Caroloman* he left *Austrasia*, to *Pepin* (whom he knew to be of a more quicke and hardie spirit) *France*, as the bodie of the Estate. And seeing *Giles* vnfit for armes, and giuen to deuotion, hee made him Arch-bishop of *Rouan*. To bridle the turbulent spirit of *Griffon*: and to take from him all occasion of debate, he would not giue him any certaine portion, but the good will of his elder brethren: being taught by the experience of former raignes, that many commanding brethren are dangerous to an estate: the wing himselfe more wise and happy therein then *Clouis*.

C Thus *Charles Martel* (hauing liued fifty fve yeares) died in the yeare of grace 741. hauing commaunded absolutely in *France* twenty and fve yeares, as Maior or Prince of the *French*, vnder the raignes of *Chilperic*, *Thierri* and *Childeric*. One of the worthiest men that euer liued, either in this Monarchie or in any forraine Estate. He was religious, wise, iust, valiant, modest in prosperity, resolute in aduersity, temperate in authority, not passionate nor reuengefull, diligent and happie. By these excellent vertues hee did quietly purchase this goodly degree, whereby his posterity hath mounted to the royall throne, although he had but the payne to get it, and the honour to preserue the realme from ship-wrake in the weakenesse of these Kings, and the stormes of many confusions. His Children (according to the diuersity of their humours) had diuers euents. *Caroloman* wanted no valour, but hauing accompanied his Brother *Pepin* in diuers exploits, in the ende he resignes him all his authority, becomes a Monke, and dies so at *Vienne*. *Giles* full of ambitious heat, not pleased with the wife resolution of his father, did all he could to crosse his brother *Pepin*, although hee had giuen him a sufficient portion in *Normandie*. Transported with this spleene, hee stirres vp the *Saxons*, *Bauariens*, and those of *Guienne*, against him at diuers times. In the end (being oppressed in all places, he vndertakes a voiage into *Italie*, to attempt some thing against his brothers: but he was slaine by the way, by a gentleman of *Bourgogne*, as a man of no valour nor quality. This fire was thus quenched, and *Giles* died vnworthily, leauing this lesson to posterity, That ambition hastens ruine, and contrariwise, That the one halfe is better then the whole.

Forerunnings or preparatiues to the raigne of Pepin.

I **P**EPIN, seeing himselfe alone in great authority, vnderpropt by the merits of his Grand father and father, resolved so to behaue himselfe, as his owne deserts should not onely confirme this reputation left him by inheritance: but also perswade the *French* that hee was worthy of a greater command, and by their free consents, hold him capable of the Crowne. He knew the humor of the *French*, who loue and honour their King with an especial deuotion, and cannot bee induced to doe otherwise, but by great and vrgent reasons. Hee manageth this desseigne with

742. with such dexterity, as hee effects it, and the meanes (which the providence of God A did minister vnto him) did as it were guide him by the hand: for to him wee must attribute the principall cause of this notable change.

The *Sarazins* infinitely greeued with these two defeats, prepare an other armie: *Ieffroy* was also on this partie, and it seemed this third League did threaten *France* with a greater confusion. *Pepin* remembring that his father had bene surprised, tends forth his spies, and being speedily aduertised, he assembles all the forces he could, with an incredible celeritie: and finding himselfe first in armes, he enters into *Guyenne*, and scizeth on the passages of the *Pyrene* mountaines. *Ieffroy* being thus surprised, sets a good face on it, promising obedience to *Pepin*: and is a mediator for the *Sarrazins*, vnder-taking that they should renounce their interest, and neuer enter more into *France*. *Pepin* obtaining his desire, (being glad to haue prevented this storme, and forced to redoubted enemies to receiue a law from him) applied himselfe to the peoples humor, who loue peace better then a bloudie victorie. He dismisseth his armie, busying himselfe in repaying of the Churches which the *Sarazins* had ruined in diuers places: to ease the Citties that were spoiled, and in giuing them meanes to recouer themselves: to establish Iustice, to vnburthen the subjects of publike charges, and finally to let the *French* vnderstand that he was as fit for peace as warre.

Estate of the Church.

The Church of *Rome* was then in great reputation throughout all Christendome, and the Popes did onely busie themselves with the seruice of God, to maintaine Princes in concord, and subjects in their liberties, the which purchased them greater credit, C for the singular respect Christian people bare to religion. *Zacharie* held then the Pontificall seat, and had the *Lombards* for a cause of continuall feare, being his neere and irreconcilable enemies: against whome he could not haue more assured and speedie helpe then in *France*, and by *Pepins* meanes, who held the soueraigne authoritie. *Martel* had already auoided a most dangerous warre, through the amitie he had with *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards*, after whose death, *Rachise* Duke of *Friol*, chosen in his place, threatens the Pope openly: for all the *Lombards* faire shewes, and his large protestations of friendship, were but foretelings of the breach of his faith. For this reason *Zacharie* entertained *Pepin* carefully, the which did helpe him much to compass his desire. And although his ambitious humour made him sometimes to speake too D peremptorily of his victories and ordinarie defects, yet could he containe himselfe in greatest occasions: and behaved himselfe in such sort, as he seemed not to aspire vnto the Crowne, but that necessitie and the common consent of all the *French*, did (as it were) force him thereunto. The most remarkable thing in all the course of this history, is the order he held to compass a desseine of so great importance.

As he discoursed couertly of his intention, and openly of the vrgent necessitie to provide speedily for the estate of the Realme: hee had feed men to preach forth his prayes, and the disgraces of *Childeric*, being as visible in the one, as remarkable in the other: reason giuing due praise to vertue, and dishonour to vice. In the one they see a simple stupidity, in the other a wise viuacitie: in the one a foolish lightnes, in the other a stayed grauitie; in the one a brutish suite, and in the other a moderate and temperate spirit: in the one a beastly carelesnes, in the other an actiue diligence; in the one a dissolute intemperancie, and in the other a well gouerned continencie. So as in the one was all good, and in the other all bad; in the one all pleased, in the other all displeased; and their actions were the table of their contrary dispositions. *Childeric* loued no man, neither did any man loue him. *Pepin* loued all, and was beloued of all, tying all vnto him by all occasions and good turnes, and all to his masters losse. The common people loued *Pepin* intirely, as the Protector of their libertie: and hated *Childeric* as one that regarded not the common good, in respect of his foolish and beastly veltuoufines: being neither willing nor able to doe well.

So the one being contemned and hated, was held vnworthie to raigne: the other prayed and beloued, was esteemed most worthie to be a king. The friends of *Pepin* failed not to proclaime his merits in all places, and the people embraced it with all content.

A content. But there were many difficulties in the execution of this generall desire: religion (much respected by the *French*): the naturall reuerence and deuotion they bare to their Kings, and the remembrance of the merits of old *Clouis*, were strong lets to stay the violent desires of the most affectionate. But *Pepin* could well prevent all this by an admirable and happy dexterity. To the remembrance of *Clouis* vertues, he opposed the memory of horrible disgraces and infamies, wherewith his posterity had bene polluted: and withall, the carelesnes of these latter Kings, noating all in ranke from father to sonne. And contrarywise, hee did represent vnto them, the liuely remembrance of the great merits of *Pepin* his grand-father, of *Martell* his father, and his owne: and from experience past, hee concludes of the future hope. As B for the reuerence of the *French* to their Kings: hee shewed that it was vowed to true Kings, and not to Kings in imagination, painted and disguised: and that the oth of fidelitie tyed them to a religious King, being valiant, iust, mercifull, vpriight, diligent, practised in affaires, fite to withstand his enemies, to punish the wicked, to defend the good, and to protect the Christian lawe, according to the expresse wordes of the sollemne othe which the *French* giue their King at his Coronation. Why should they then be bound to a vicious King, negligent and carelesse of himselfe and his subjects, vnder the colour of a Crowne and Scepter? To conclude, the contract was limited, and the *French* were bound to obey that King that was a lawfull King, who (being C endued with royall vertues) performed the office of a true King. These reasons were plaine, and easilie receiued of all men, finding this change to be very necessary for the common good: neither was there any one but expected some profit in his owne particular, and sought to purchase the fauour of *Pepin*.

But yet there remained a scruple of religion, for the dispensing of their othe. This article must be decided at *Rome*, where *Pepin* (assuring himselfe of his good friends, who were necessarily to vse him) hoped for a good end, seeing the principall was determined by the consent of the *French*. He therefore sends *Bruchard* Bishop of *Bourges* and *Felrad* his Chaplaine vnto *Rome*, men pleasing to all, and faithfull to himselfe, to represent the Estate of *France*, and the generall desire of the *French*, to Pope *Zacharie*. The Pope (duly informed of the weaknesse of *Childeric* (being hated and D temned of all men, without any support,) and of the generall resolution of the *French* to receiue *Pepin*, but chiefly moued with hope, to draw great helpes from him against the *Lombards* his capitall enemies) dispensed the *French* from their oth of obedience to *Childeric*, and to all his race.

Now shall that race be dispossessed, and this decree shall be the last act of the Merouingiens Tragedie.



THE SECOND RACE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE.

called *Carolingiens*, either of *Charles Martel*, or of
Charlemagne, the chiefe pillars of this race.

Oracles to iudge rightly of the estate of this second race.

*God is Iudge, he puls downe one, and sets up another. Man walkes as a shadow: he strines in
vaine: he gathers goods, and knowes not who shall eniay them. O Lord what is man, that
thou shouldest be mindfull of him? or the sonne of man, that thou so regardest him?
Man is like unto nothing: his dayes are like a shadow that vanisheth, the sonnes of men
are as nothing: and great men are but as a lye. If they were all together put in a ballance,
they would be found more light then vanitie. It is hee notwithstanding, that preferueth
Kings.*

CHARLES MARTEL.



Apar-

Yeares Number
of grace. of Kings.

A particular Chronologie of the second Race, From the yeare 741. unto the yeare nine hundred eightie eight.

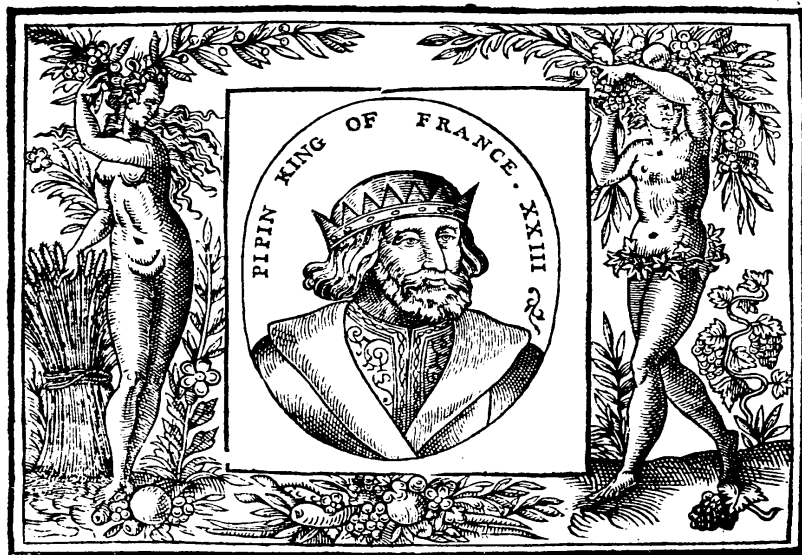
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CHARLES MARTEL OF

- | | | |
|------|-----|---|
| 741. | 22. | The stock or stem of this second Race, is numbred among the Kings, the 22. for he raigned in effect during the life of the Idic Kings, and so was buried among the Kings. After the royall gouernment of 25. yeares, he left it to his sonne. |
| 750. | 23. | <i>Pepin</i> , the brieft, or short, who was crowned King, <i>Chilperic 4.</i> being degraded in the yeare 750. & left the crowne peaceable to his sonne. |
| 814. | 24. | <i>Charlemagne</i> , great in name and in effect, who remaining absolute Monarke of the realme of <i>France & Austrasia</i> , with all the dependances Northward: he added to this great masse, all <i>Italy</i> , & the greatest part of <i>Spain</i> , & so possessing the territories of the Empire in the west, he was receiued & installed Emp. of the west, having raigned 40. y. |
| 840. | 25. | <i>Lewis his sonne</i> , surnamed the Gentle, succeeded him, and raigned King & Emperour 27. yeares, and to him succeeded: |
| 878. | 26. | <i>Charles the 2. called the Bald King and Emperour</i> , who raigned 33. yeares: and to <i>Charles the 2.</i> succeeded, |
| 879. | 27. | <i>Lewis the 2. his sonne</i> , called the Stuttering, King and Emperour, who raigned but a yeare and six months. |
| | | At his death he left his wife with child, who being borne, was acknowledged for lawfull King, and called <i>Charles the Simple</i> : his minority lasted 22. yeares. Many Tutors, & many confusions. These Regents are crowned Kings, and (acknowledged by that name) doe hold the ranke among Kings, and so we must diuide these 22. yeares, to euery Regent according to his raigne. |
| 881. | 28. | <i>Lewis the 3. and Caroloman</i> , bastard of <i>Lewis the Stuttering</i> , raigned as Regents five yeares. |
| 889. | 29. | <i>Charles the 3. a Prince of the blood</i> , called the grosse, as Regent, he raigned 7. yeares, being both King and Emperour: he was put from them both. |
| 896. | 30. | <i>Eudes or Odon sonne to Rob. Duke of Aniou</i> , as Regent he raigned 10. y. In the confusion of these last Maisters, the royall authority being greatly weakened, many Countreies freed themselves from the obedience of the French Monarchie. So fell out |
| | | THE ECLIPSE OF THE EMPIRE,
Both in <i>Germanie & Italy</i> . The body of the Empire remained in <i>Germanie</i> , being afterwards gouerned by an Emperour, chosen by the Princes Electors. And <i>Italy</i> was dismembred into diuers Principalities, vnder diuers Potentates. In the end, after this minority of 22. yeares, |
| 899. | 31. | <i>Charles the 4. called the Simple</i> , sonne to <i>Lewis the Stuttering</i> was crowned as lawfull King, & raigned 25. yeares. But <i>Raoul of Burgongne</i> , |
| 923. | 32. | A Prince of the blood, was called by the League, to put downe King <i>Charles</i> , called the Simple: being imprisoned by them, and forced to renounce the Crowne. <i>Charles</i> dying with griefe, <i>Raoul</i> raigned 13. yeares: but in the end was expelled from this vnjust usurpation. |
| 936. | 33. | <i>Lewis the 4. called d'Outremer</i> , or beyond the sea, sonne to <i>Charles the Simple</i> , being called out of England, (whether his Mother had carried him to preserve him from the League) was acknowledged King, and raigned twenty and nine yeares. |
| 954. | 34. | <i>Lothaire his sonne</i> succeeded him, who raigned thirtie and three yeares. |
| 986. | 35. | <i>Lewis the 5. sonne to Lothaire</i> , raigned about two years, and dying without issue, interred with him the race of <i>Charles Martel</i> as his Ancestors had of long time obscured his vertues, and that of the valiant <i>Charlemagne</i> , unfortunate in their successors. |

Thus the second race called *Carolingiens*, having raigned 230. yeares, ended in *Lewis the 5.* and gaue place to the third race, which begins at this day.

PEPIN the short, the 23. King
of France: and first of the
second race.



THE French thus freed by the Popes dispensation, from their oath of obedience, assemble their generall Estates: and to auoyde confusion in the Realme, apparently growen by the negligence of their Kings, they conclude to reiect *Childeric*, and to choose *Pepin*: the one vnworthie to raigne, by reason of his vices, and the other most worthie to be King, for his royall vertues.

And to the end, the fundamentall Law of state should not bee directly infringed in this new election, they bring *Pepin* from the race of great *Clouis*, of whome they sayd hee should be acknowledged for the next heire, seing that (vertue & his race being duely weighed) he approached narest to him in vertue. *Pepin* himselfe would not assit at this assemble: that the offer of this dignitie (being made without his apparēt seeking it) might be the more honorable. Being called to heare the general conclusion of the Parliament, and the common desire of all the French, hee presents himselfe, being pleasing to all men, in more then an ordinary sort: little of bodie, but shewing in his countenance the greatnes of his spirit: amiable by his mild and modest behaviour, and admirable for his graue pleasing Maiestie.

The Assembly lets him vnderstand by *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mayence* or *Mentz*, that the French (in regard of his vertues, and their future hope) had by a free and generall consent, chosen him King of *France*. And for execution of the said decree, hee was instantly (in the presence of them all) installed King, the royall Crowne was set vpon his head by the said Archbishop, and then he was raysed vpon a target, and carried about the assembly, after the ancient ceremonie of the French. And by vertue of

Pepin chosen King by the Parliament, and *Childeric* reiectod.

A the same decree, *Childeric* was chalenged as vnworthy of the Crowne, degraded, shaued, and confined into a Monastery, thereto passe the remainder of his daies. This notable change happened in the yeare 750. in the City of *Soissons*, but with to resolute a consent of all the French nation, as there appeared not any one that made them to dislike thereof. A most assured testimony, that God had so determined, hauing referred to himselfe the soueraigne authority ouer Kings, to place and displace, gird & ungird, raise and cast downe, according to his good pleasur, alwaies iust, & alwaies wise. To him we must ascribe the principall and soueraigne cause of all changes: For God is the gouernour, as hee is the Creator: It being a necessary consequence, that he gouernes that which he hath created and by his prouidence wateth especially ouer mankind, for whom he hath made the world. If we shall otherwise seeke the nearest causes of this alteration, we may iustly say, that vice dispossessed *Childeric*, & vertue set *Pepin* in possession of the Crowne: loue & the reuerence of his subjects, being the support of publike authority: hate and contempt the ruine thereof. To the end that Princes by so worthy an example, may learne to banish vice, (which making them hateful & contemptible) thrusts them from their Thrones: and to plant vertue, which causing them to be respected and honored, makes them to raigne ouer nations.

Now we begin a new government, vnder new Kings, and in a new race. In the beginning we shall see two great Princes, vnder whom good order shall make an alteration of affaires, with an abundance of all blessings, both spirituall & temporall: iustice, wisdom, policie, armes, valour, large limits of territories, abundance of peace, & the excellent knowledge of learning, to raise this estate to the greatest happines that euer it enioyed, & scarce any other kingdom whatsoeuer, let forraigne nations say what they please. But the happines of these two Kings shall not be hereditary in their posterity, who beginning soone to degenerate, shall decline by degrees, vntil that vice degrading them of the Crowne, vertue shall giue it to another, who shall shew himselfe a more lawfull successor, and righter heire to *Charlemagne*, hauing a better part in his vertues. This second race shall enioy the kingdom 237. yeares, beginning to raigne in the yeare 750. & ending in the yeare 987. hauing begun by vertue, and ended by vice. A goodly lesson for Potentates: that bounty, wisdom and valour, are no hereditarie possessions to be left vnto their children, but they are the gifts of God, the author of all good, and their soueraigne Prince, to whom they owe homage for their greatnesse, as to him of whom depends absolutely all the kingdoms of the earth, and whose prouidence is the infallible rule of the changes which wee see incident to mankind, the which the ignorant without reason, attribute to blind fortune.

Pepin seeing himselfe seated in the throne of the French Monarchie, by the honorable fauour of the French: he resolues to satisfie their hopes by the effects of his actions: and begins to confirme in their mindes the true and firme bond of obedience, the which is vnted with these two strings, loue, and the peoples respect to their superiours. No thing being more naturall, then to loue him from whom wee receiue or hope for good, and to respect him whom we hold sufficient to make vs to liue peaceably and in quiet, especially when he hath power and command in the commonweale, without the which the particular cannot subsist.

Thus *Pepin* assembles the generall estates, meaning to laye a good foundation in time for the affaires of the realme, by the aduice of such as had called him. and according to his Fathers stile, hee names this assembly a Parliament, whereto hee calles the Clergie, the Nobilitie, the Iudges of the land, and the common people: that with one consent they might resolue what was necessary for the whole estate, consisting of these goodly parts. During these alterations, the Saxons (as farthest from their Maisters) had shaken off the yoke of the French obedience: and by their example and practices, had drawne other people of *Germanie* (subject to this Crowne) to the like reuolt. *Pepin* armes presently, and goes with such expedition, as he ouerthrowes them at the passage of the riuer of *Vistula*: but the Popes distresse giues him presently a new cause to imploy his forces: for *Zacharie* being dead,

Soueraigne causes of this change.

The estate of this second race.

In trust for great men.

Pepin strives to win their loves by good deeds.

An assembly of the generall estates.

The Saxons rebeled and are subdued.

751

Stephen the second (a *Romaine* borne) succeeds both in place and troubles: being forced to defend himselfe against the *Lombardes*, the capitall enemies of the *Romaine* seat. *Astolpho* was then their King, who made great preparations against this new Pope, although he made no shew of open hatred. *Stephen* well informed of the *Lombards* humour and intent, resolves (not to attend the stroke) but to fortifie himselfe in time, & seeking first to *Constantine* Emperour of the East, without any successe, hee intreats *Pepin* to succour him: from whom having received a favourable answer, the better to obtaine the remedy he expected, he resolves to go into *France*: where being honourably entertained by *Pepin*, he doth againe Crowne him King of *France*, in *Saint Denis* Church, in a great and solemne assemblie, and makes miserable *Childerica* Monke, assigning him the Cloister for a perpetuall prison, & a Priars frock for an ignominious punishment, without any hope of returne. Then he employed all his wits to perswade *Pepin*, to undertake the voyage of *Italy* against the *Lombards*, and drew him easily therunto. But *Astolpho* (feeling the Pope,) employed *Caroloman* the brother of *Pepin* to divert him from this enterprise. This *Caroloman* was a Monke, and in great reputation of piety: but he could not dissuade *Pepin* from this desire: yet would he not attempt any thing rashly, but first trie mildnesse before force. Hee therefore sends his Ambassadors to the *Lombard*, to summon him to yeeld *Ravenna*, and all the Townes of the six gouernours to the Pope. *Astolpho* vsesh great temperance in his answers, to shew the reverence he bare to the Church of *Rome*, and to *Pepins* intercession: but he refused neuer to yeeld any thing. *Pepin* finding the *Lombards* evasions and policie, who sought but to auoid this storme, assembles a Parliament: and layes before them both dutye and necessity, to succour the Pope. To this end hee resolves to leane an Armie against the *Lombard*. Winter being spent in these treaties, and in the preparations for warre: in the Spring he enters *Italy* with a strong and mighty armie, which marcheth victoriously in all places, taking Townes, and spoiling the country of *Astolpho*, and then hee went to besiege *Pavia*, the capitall City of *Lombardie*. *Astolpho* foreseeing his ruine, flies to humble intreaties, both to the Pope and *Pepin*. The Pope lulled a sleepe with the *Lombards* faire promises, not greatly louing the *French*, but by constraint: suffers himselfe first to bee abused, and then hee perswades *Pepin* to returne backe into *France*.

Pepin pro-
mises to re-
store to the
Pope the
city of
Rome.

A wife pro-
creation of
Pepin and
recking a
warre.

Astolpho breaks
his oath and
besiegeth
Rome.

The *Lombard*
leueseth
home, and is
forced to re-
tire and confer
for a peace.

Astolpho promised to yeeld vp both *Ravenna*, and all that hee detained from the Church, the which he could not performe in so great a desolation of his country, being thus charged with such an enemy. *Stephen* was well satisfied with this promise, forgetting the *Lombards* humour, so well knowne vnto him. *Pepin* glad to see the Pope satisfi- ed having no other object but to giue him satisfaction, returns presently into *France*, to his owne affaires. But he had scarce passed the *Alpes*, when as *Astolpho* assembles all his subiects (being mad with rage for their great losses, and infinitely incensed against the Pope, who had drawne in the *French*) and enters the territories of the Church in hostile manner, sackes and spoiles all with a furious cruelty: & todenly besiegeth *Rome*, where the Pope was resident. *Stephen* amazed at this unexpected violence, sends back to *Pepin*, implores his aide, lamentes his credulity, and detests the treachery of the *Lombards*: he beseecheth him to make haste, if he will preferre his old age from the cruell hand of this disloyall, and the whole Church from a horrible desolation, exceeding that of the *Vandales* or *Ostrogoths*.

Pepin moued with the Popes intreaties, and the ancient danger: assembles his forces, with a wonderfull celerity: and although *Constantin* by a most affectionate message laboured to divert him, yet he brings back his army into *Italy*. The fruit of his returne was both sodaine & great: for *Astolpho* at the brute thereof raised the siege from before *Rome*, and retires to *Pavia*, the capitall City of his realme. *Pepin* besiegeth him on: & forceth him to accept of such conditions of peace, as hee would preferre. viz. *Astolpho* should presently deliuer up all that he held of the Church, and giue hostages: and *Pepin* should remaine in *Italy* at the *Lombards* charge, until hee had performed all things. *Astolpho* sends in forty hostages, yeelds *Ravenna*, with the Citties of the

754.

A the sixe Gouernours, and those hee held in *Romagnia*: but when there remained no more to deliuer vp, but the Citties of *Ferrara* and *Faenza*, the *Lombard* did cunningly delay the full accomplishment of his promise, to finde some meanes to send backe to rude an officer as the *French*, lying vpon his countrie in garrison, and spoiling it, and so to deceiue both the Pope and *Pepin*: but behold a strange accident befalls him. Being a hunting, chasing more after his fantasies then the beast, his horse casts him downe a rocke and breakes his neck.

Of an ill life
an vnhappy
end.

Thus the subtil *Lombard* thinking to deceiue, was deceiued: he ended his subtiltie with his life, and the warre begun by him without reason, by a iust death. The Pope recouers his places, and *Pepin* returns into *France*, taking nothing in *Italy*, but leaving the realme of *Lombardie* in the same estate he found it, without any alteration. This Kingdome ended not with *Astolpho*, for *Didier* Duke of *Hetruria* his neefe kinsman, seizeth presently thereon, by meanes of his intelligences: but *Rachise* brother to *Astolpho* (who was lately become a Monke) leaues his frock, to enioy his fathers kingdome: yet for that he was the weaker in this iust title, the Pope pacified this contro- uersie in fauour of *Didier*, who remained King of *Lombardie*, vpon condition that the Citties of *Ferrara* and *Faenza* should be yeelded to the Church. But let vs returne to *Pepin*. his absence, with two yeares continuall warres, had broken the vsuall custome to call a Parliament, and bred many disorders within the realme: so as being returned into *France*, he presently called a solemne Parliament, wherein he established lawes ac- cording to the inconueniences that were to be redrest: as good lawes doe commonly proceed from bad manners. In this assembly he gaue audience to the Ambassadors of the Emperour *Constantin*, who demanded a confirmation of the amitie and alliance which the Emperour had with the house of *France*: and receiues the new homage of *Tasillon* Duke of *Bauiere*. So referring all matters of importance to the iudgement of the Estates, honouring them that had honoured him, he doubled his subiects deuotion, and established good lawes within his realme. But knowing the humour of the *French*, impatient of rest, he found how difficult it was to retaine them long in peace, without some foraine imploiment: and necessity presents him two occasions, one in *Guienne*, and the other in *Saxonie*, Countries subiect to the Crowne of *France*, but both impatient of the *French* command. The *Saxons* began first with whom *Tasillon* Duke of *Bau- ere*, (who as we said did homage to the King) ioines, contrary to his oth. This warre seemed of some difficultie, drawing to it all the other *Germanes* subiect to this Crowne: but *Pepin* preuented it with such speed, as hauing suppressed the *Saxons*, he forced them to a new obedience, charging them to bring him yearly three hundred good horses for an homage: that they should vndergo the censure of the Estates, & be enemies to the enemies of the King and realme.

He makes a
foraine war
to auoide a
ciuill.

Hauing thus pacified *Saxonie*, he makes a generall assembly at *Wormes*, to settle the affaires of *Austrasia*: from thence he marcheth with his victorious armie, against *Ieffroy* Duke of *Guienne*, according to the resolution of the Estates, being leuiued for that occasion. We haue said, that *Eudon* father to *Ieffroy* had greatly disquieted *France*, and left his children heires of his discontent: but *Martel* withdrewne by new difficulties, could not finish that which he had begun. *Ieffroy* remains sole Duke of *Guienne*, by the death of his brother: he growes daily more insolent, bandies all his subiects of *Guienne* openly against *France*, and afflicts the Clergie infinitely in their liues and livings. *Pepin* begins with admonitions and threats, but *Ieffroy* grows more obstinate in concerning his Kings command: so as they must come to open force, and *Ieffroy* must pay the interests of his long delays. *Pepin* enters *Guienne* with an armie, and *Ieffroy* seeing his resolution, sends his deputies to auoide this storme, beseeching him with all humilitie to pardon what was past, promising obedience. *Pepin* (hauing commanded him to make restitution to the Clergie) returns into *France*, and dismisseth his armie, supposing *Guienne* to be quiet. *Ieffroy*, seeking his owne ruine by his furious rashnes, goes to field with such forces as he could leue among his subiects, & hauing passed *Loire*, he enters *Bourgoigne* in hostile manner, hoping to surpris *Charlens*. The King held a Parliament at

Warre in
Guienne.

G. 2

Orleans

7 64 Orleans, when this intelligence came vnto him, he sends them presently to *Neeers*: as-sembleth his forces, and marcheth against *Ieffroy*, who suddenly repasseth the riuier, and with great marches recouers *Bourdeaux*, as the Citie of his greatest safetie, being as much confuted in his defence, as he was rash in his attempt. *Pepin* pursues him, and in his passage all the Townes of *Guienne* yeeld without any difficulty, as to him whom they acknowledge for their lawfull King. *Ieffroy* forsaken of all men, pursued criminally by his Prince, is slaine by one of his household seruants, and is interred like a beast, in a marish nere to *Bourdeaux*. In detestation of his memory, the place is called the Tombe of *Caiphaz* vnto this day. Thus was the vniust and rash rebellion of *Ieffroy* punished: & by his death the warre died in *Guienne*: and the wife valour of *Pepin* was so much the more commended, for that his iust pursute was accompanied with patience and mildnesse. But *Pepin* was mortall the toile of so great wartes, & the care of publike affaires, had much broken him, so as his old age might be more profitably employed in the maintenance of Iustice and peace, then in warre, the burthen whereof he might without danger lay vpon his eldest sonne *Charles*, a wife & a valiant young Prince, of whose modestie and obedience he was well assured.

Ieffroy pittifully slaine, interred like a beast. A foolish life, a filthy end.

Pepin resignes the Crowne to *Charles*.

Thus resolving to passe the rest of his dayes in quiet, but not idly, he retires to *Paris*, but soone after he was surpris'd with a sicknesse, whereof hee dyed, and so went to heauen, there to find rest which he could enioy on earth: it was in the yeare 768. & of his raigne the eighteenth. By his wife *Berthe* with the great foote, he left two sonnes, *Charles* and *Caroloman*: recommending them to the Estates, to giue them portions at their pleasures. So great was the assurance of this good Prince in the loue of his subiects, whom as he had made the most assured gard of his person & state, so at his death he left his children to their faithfull discretion. He had seuen daughters, *Berthe* the wife of *Milon* Earle of *Mans*, mother to that great *roland*, *Hiltrude* wife to *René* Earle of *Genes*, mother to that renowned *Oliuer*, *Roharde*, *Adeline*, *Idubergue*, *Ode* and *Alix*. He had the happines to enioy his owne father, vntill hee came to the age of man: the like good hap continued in his children: and for the perfecting of his happinesse, hee had a sonne, one of the greatest and most excellent Princes that euer ware crowne. Thus *Pepin* the first of that race, mounted the royall throne of *France*: thus he reigned, thus he liued, and thus he died, leauing to his posterity a happy taste of his name. A religious Prince, wife, moderate, valiant, louing his subiects, & beloued of them, happy in father, in children, & in his government, an excellent patterne for excellent Princes, who by his example hold it for a resolute maxime, That the strongest citadell of a Prince is the loue of his subiects, and the surest bond of their authority, a respect gotten and preferred by vertue.

Estate of the Empire and of the Church.

BEFORE we enter the raigne of *Charlemagne*, we must briefly represent the estate of the *Romane* Empire, the which was happily vnitd to the *French* Monarchy, and of the Church of *Rome*, by reason whereof there happened great and notable exploits vnder his raigne. The Empire of *Rome* had nothing remaining in the West, as we haue shewed. *Gaul* was possessed by the *French*, with the best part of *Germanie*: & since the beginning of their Monarchie, vnto the time we now describe, it hath beene greatly enlarged, not onely in compasse of territories, & obedience of people, but also in reputation of ciuility, mildnesse, iustice, wisdom, and valour, as well by the happy successe of their victorious armies, as by the modest vsage of their victories, towards such as they subdued. *Spain* was apportioned to diuers nations, *Vandales*, *Goths*, *Sarazins*, *pelmel*, some here, some there. *Italy* was in miserable estate. *Rome* (sometimes the head of the world) was then the sinke of all confusion, the Rendezvous of all furious nations, as if they had vndertaken the ruine thereof by taske, hauing sackt it three time: for vnder the Empire of *Honorius*, in the yeare of grace 414. the *Goths*, by their King *Alaric*, F tooke it after two yeares siege, and sackt it, without demanteling thereof. Fortie five yeares after, vnder the Empire of *Martian*, in the yeare 459. the *Vandales* vnder the conduct of *Genferike* their King, take it againe, sacke it, spoyle it, and disgrace it, leading

The Empire in the West.

In *Gaul*.

In *Spain*.

In *Italy*.

A leading the widow of the Emperour *Valentinian* the third, safely in triumph. In the time of *Iustinian* the Emperour, the *Goths* vnder the command of *Totila*, hauing vndermined it with a long siege, tooke it, sackt it, and demanteled it. Thus *Rome* was no more *Rome*, but a horrible confusion, after so many ruines, retaining nothing of her ancient beauty, but onely the traces of her old buildings, and the punishment of her tyrannie, hauing endured that which she had caused other Citties to suffer.

Behold *Italy* wasted, infinitely tormented by sundrie enemies, who had vniustly afflicted all the nations of the earth. The *Goths* had first seized thereon, and enioyed it long. but as vnder the Empire of *Iustinian* in the yeare of Christ 552. they were expelled by the valour of *Narfes*, an excellent Captaine, who defeated their armie, slew their King *Totila*, and repeopled *Rome*: so soone after, the *Lombards* comming out of *Germanie*, lodged in their place, as if they had played at latell-coyle, being drawne thither by *Narfes* himselfe, discontented with the ill vsage hee received from *Iustinian* his maister. The *Lombards* held *Italy* about 200. yeares, vntill that *Charlemagne* expelled them. At the same time the six Gouernours for the Empire of *Rome*, held *Ravenna* and some other Citties depending, (thus was the greatnesse of the *Romane* Empire restrained) but with such couetousnesse and insolence, as it tyred them no lesse then forraigne foes. That gouernment of sixe ended by the *Lombards*, and the *Lombards* by the *French*, (as the sequel will shew) who purchased credite euery where, by comparing the barbarous and confused inuasions of these warlike nations, they adding to the valour and good successe of their armes, iustice, pietie, temperance and clemencie: this reputation of vertue, winning them as many hearts as their swords did Citties.

Italy desolate, by the *Goths*.

By the *Lombards*.

The which are extolled by the *French*.

During these confused and obscure times, there passed about 400. yeares, from the first sack of *Rome*, vntill that *Charlemagne* (expelling the *Lombards*) became absolute maister of *Italy*, & was made Emperour at *Rome*. All this passed vnder the Emperours of *Theodosius*, sonne to *Arcadius*, of *Valentinian* the 3. *Martian*, *Leo* the second, *Zenon*, *Anastasijs*, *Iustin* the first, *Iustinian* the first, *Iustin* the second, *Tiberius*, *Mauricius*, *Phocas*, *Heraclius*, *Constantin* the second, *Iustinian* the second, *Philippicus*, *Artemius*, *Leo* the third, *Constantin* the third, *Leo* the fourth, *Ireneus*, *Nicephorus*, vnder whom by a publicke and iollemne contract, the distinction of the Easterne and Westerne Empires was made.

The command of the West is left as it were in garde with *Charlemagne*, and the *French* nation. But the East was in a bad plight, although the name and teare of the Empire were yet at *Constantinople*: for besides the dissipation of the State, (to increase their miserie) a new sect sprung vp, forged by *Mahomet* an Arabian borne, vnder a colour of libertie, by the mixture of sundrie doctrines, and after a mould of carnall felicitie. With this charme hee corrupted infinite numbers of people, and erected a new Kingdome in the East, from whence hee vtterly expelled the *Romane* name, with all the dignitie of the Empire. This was in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, in the yeare of grace 623. an infamous date, to note the beginning of *Mahomet's* blasphemies. Hee began in *Arabia*, hauing wonne credit with the *Sarrazins*, who were Arabian Souldiars, desperate aduenturers, and discontented with the *Romans*: and by the first beginning of his new doctrine, hee gotte so great reputation, as hee assembled an infinite number of men, armed with an incredible celeritie, vnder the ensigne of libertie. So as he marched as a conquerour in all places, hauing not onely subdued (by the force of these tumultuous troupes, *Arabia*, where hee was borne) but also *Persia*, *Palestina*, *Iudea*, *Egipt*, and *Affrike*, and then ranging ouer *Asia* the lesse, became to the gates of *Constantinople*, in lesse then thirtie yeares.

Estate of the East.

The beginning of *Mahomet's* blasphemies.

But the providence of God, caring for the preferuation of his Church, opposed the *French* Monarchie, against the violent rage of *Mahomet*, which else had ouerflowed all *Europe*, into the which hee had already made a breach by *Spain*, had gotten a great countie, and was ready to invade *France*, if *Charles Martel* had not stoppt his course at *Tours*, as wee haue sayd. During these confusions in the Empire, the

The Estate of
the Church
of Rome.

Bishop of Rome grewe great by these ruines. The *Goths* and *Vandales* were more enemies to the estate, then to religion: for although for the most part they were *Arrians*, yet did they aduow themselves Christians, and held the common signe of Christianity, so as in the taking and sacking of the Citie of *Rome*, the Bishop was somewhat respected, & in his fauour the people built vpon the foundation of the ruined houses: and many of the Countie finding more safetie at *Rome*, then in other cities of *Italie*, retired themselves thither, and peopled the Citie. So by this occasion newe *Rome* (the seat of the Popes iurisdiction succeeding the Emperours) hath bene built within old *Rome*, amidst the Pallaces, walkes, *Basiliques*, *Colizees*, *Amphytheatres*, and other ancient buildings.

Contention
for the Pre-
macy.

But about all, the credit and authoritie of the Bishop of *Rome* (by these new occurrences) crept in by degrees, vntill he aduanced him selfe about the Emperours, Kings, & Princes of Christendome: yet he of *Constantinople* held himselfe the superior, being in the proper seat of the Empire, and in the light of the Imperiall Court. Thus they fall to debate, and the cause of their dissensions was the preheminance of their seas, and the authoritie of the vniuersall Bishop. This contention bred infinite confusions in the Church, and in an vnreasonable time, which inured men to sacke and spoyle. So as *S. Gregorie* Bishop of *Rome* (a man of singular pietie & learning) hauing courageously opposed himselfe against *Iohn* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who affected this title of vniuersall Bishop, and detesting so vnreasonable and vnreasonable an ambition, cries out. *O times, oh manners, the whole world is set on fire with warre. Christians are euery where massacred by idolaters, Citties and Temples razed by Barbarians, and yet the pastors of the Church (as it were treading under foot the common calamitie of Gods people) dare usurpe names of vantage, and braue it with these prophane titles.*

A worthe
speech of
S. Gregorie.

The reader curious to vnderstand the Estates of those times, and to note the degrees and authoritie of this vniuersall Bishop, established in the Church, may read the epistles of this good father, great in name, and in effect, without troubling my selfe to set them downe in particular: whose intention was to shew, That who so taketh vpon him the authoritie and title of vniuersall Bishop in the Church, and to haue any Soueraigne preheminance, presumes about *Iesus Christ*, the onely head of the sacred bodie of the Church, and by consequence he doth asseme that he is the forerunner of Antichrist. And yet after these graue and serious admonitions of *Saint Gregorie* the great, within tenne yeares after *Boniface* the third obtained from *Phocas* the Emperour the title of vniuersall Bishop, with authoritie ouer the vniuersall Church, as *Platina* the Popes Secretary doth report.

Hee that tak-
on him the
title of vni-
uersall Bishop
is the forerun-
ner of Antichrist.

Dispute for
Images.

To this quarrell for the Supremacie, was added the controuersie for images, which caused infinite confusions: the Emperours and Bishops were banded one against another, and by their dissensions the people were stirred vp to seditious reuolts, the which after many Tragicall euents, were a meane to ruine the Empire of the *East*. It was a popular custome to erect Images to those whome they would honour, as hauing deserved well of the Common weale. Christians desiring to honour the memorie of holy men, began to set vp images euen for them also, following this ciuill custome, and did erect them in Temples, as places consecrated to deuotion. Some Bishops fauored this new deuice in the Church, and others did impugne it. *Epiphanius* did teare a picture in peeces, and *Serenus* did beat downe an image, the one in the *East*, the other in the *West*. The Christians borne and bred in this ancient doctrine of the Apostles, *My children beware of images*, maintained in the Catholike Church, by succession from father to sonne, could not digest this innovation: no more could the Emperours.

Images at the
first a polu-
nacent on.

Hence grew the dissention, the greatest part of the Bishops holding the contraries: That it was a part of the seruice of God, and a bond to retayne mens soules in deuotion with reuerence. This contention grew in the time of the Emperour *Philippicus* called *Bardanes*, who by an Edict caused them to be throwne downe, in the yeare of grace 713. the which continued to 782. vnder *Constantin* the second called *Copronimus*, an enemy

A enemy to images, who commanded them to bee cast downe, contrary to the liking of his mother *Irene*, who not onely maintained them with violence, but also caused them to be confirmed by a Council held at *Nicea* Citie in *Bithynia*, beinge that at *Constantinople* (where she had made the conuocation of this Ecclesiastical Assembly) the people were resolute to withstand them. Hence grew an execrable Tragedie in the Imperiall Court. *Irene* beinge her sonne resolute against her deuotion of Images, was so transported, (as hauing seized on him in his chamber) she caused his eyes to be put out, so as dying with griefe, she vnrings the Empire. Through this bad government, confusion so increased in the *East*, as in the end necessitie made the way for *Charlemagne*, to take vpon him the dignitie and title of the Emperour of the *West*, and to preserue the continuance of this Historie.

Tragicall cru-
elty of a mo-
ther against
her sonne.

I am bound to obserue these notable occurrences, in those times, as belonging to the subiect of my Historie, to represent truly both the Estate of the Empire and of the Church, when as *Charlemagne* vnderooke the gouernement of the Empire, and vniited it happily to the French Monarchie. The wise reader may verifie more plainly in the Originalls, (from whence I haue drawne this Inuentorie) what I haue briefly set downe here touching the occurrences of those ages, wherein the Oracle of holy antiquitie was verified by the end of these strange Tragedies. *The truth is lost by contending.* The first simplicity of the Catholike Church, being rich in her pouertie by the abundance of truth, contained since the golden age of the Apostles and their Disciples, was changed into rich and stately pompe: the Crowne of martirdome wherewith the first Bishops of *Rome* had bene honoured, into a triple Crowne, which not onely hath and doth giue Lawes to the Emperours, Kings and Princes of the earth, but doth tread them vnder foot, dispossesse them of their estates, and declares them incapable of rule when they obey him not: and for a marke of this soueraigne authoritie, hee makes them to kisse his feet, in token of the homage of deuotion, and spirituall reuerence, as hauing power ouer soules, to iudge of all men, and all things soueraignly, and not to bee iudged by any, as the circumstances of our historie wil shew in diuerse places.

Estate of the
ancient church

Insolence of
Popes at this
day.

D This was the Estate both of the Empire and of the Church vnto the death of Pepin the short, the first King of the second race, in the yeare 750. or thereabouts.

CHAR:



CHARLES the Great, or CHARLEMAGNE, the 24. King of France.

From the yeare 768. unto the yeare 814.



768.
Pepin's childre
divide the
realme.



HE Estates of *France* assemble after the death of *Pepin*, and by A their consents and aduice, *Charles* and *Caroloman* his sonnes diuide the realme betwixt them by equall portions. *Charles* was crowned at *Wormes*, *Caroleman* at *Soissons*: writers agree not in the declaration of their portions, for that by the death of *Caroleman*, the whole realme came to *Charles*, three yeares after the death of their Father. Brothers of diuers humors, who in the end had ruined each other by this equalitie of power, which proues often an vnjust and a dangerous ballance in an estate. But Gods will was to preserve so great a Monarchie in *Europe*, to be a harbour for his Church, by chosing a great Prince, to vnite in him alone the power which is dismembred by the command of many Maisters.

Charles the
patern of a
great King.
His manners.

Charles was endued with singular gifts, both of body and minde, wherevnto (by the wife care of his father *Pepin*) was added (as a scale) the instructions of a vertuous conuersation, learning and armes. For the ground of all vertues, he was carefully instructed in religion, the which hee loued and honoured with great reuerence all his life time; and likewise the Churches and Pastors. Charitie, temperance, equitie, care of Iustice, and of order to releue the people, to keepe his faith both to friend and foe, and to vse a victory modestly, were the notable effects of this excellent knowledge, as remarkable in him, as in any Prince that euer liued. Hee loued learning by nature, and learned men. *Paul* of *Pisa* instructed him in the *Greeke* and *Latin* tongues, and *Simon* in Philosophie and the *Mathematikes*. Hee called these humane sciences his pastimes, and the companions of his Sword, and sometimes did recreate himselfe therein.

His studies.

24. King of France.

A therein. Hee tooke a delight in poetry, as some of his writings do witnes: but especially in Histories, wherein he was exceeding well red.

The vniuersities of *Paris* and *Pisa*, (built or enriched by him) witness the loue and honour hee bare to learning. In armes hee had his father *Pepin* for his chiefe schoole-master, and experience doth testifie how much he profited. Before his father left him, he had great commands, and discharged them with such reputation, as the continuance of his armes, when he was King, shewe plainly, that there was never soldiar that carried sword with more valour, nor great Captaine that commanded with more obedience, nor performed any thing with greater fortune, nor vied his victories with more mildnesse & iudgement. neyther did euer King or Prince raigne with more authority, nor was more reuerently obeyed then our *Charlemagne*, well deseruing the name of great for his vertues. He was of a liuely disposition, quicke, active, and velt good a grace, as if the one could not bee without the other: and this moderation of diuers humors, made him as admirable in his wit, as venerable in his countenance, and person.

There appeared in him a graue sweete Maiefty, in a goodly personage, great, strong, and patient of labour, A quicke spirit, cleere, sound, both in apprehension, memory, and iudgement: resolution neuer failed him in difficulties, no replie in discourses: terrible to some, amiable to others, according to the cause, persons and occurrences. Ver- C tues which purchased him so great credit, as he was beloued, respected and feared of all men: with such obedience, as the effects of his raigne do shewe: for hauing receiued a great Kingdome from his father, he enlarged it with a wonderfull successe, God hauing raised y^e these three great Princes, one after another, *Charles Martel*, *Pepin* & this great *Charles*, to preserve the Christian name in a great Monarchy, amidst the de- luge of barbarous nations and the ruine of the Empire. The success of his raigne.

I haue coated these his singular vertues in the beginning, to giue a tast to the obseruation of his great and admirable actions, where there wants nothing but order, to relate them fully in so great a diuersity, the which hath ministred occasion to the obscure writers of those times, to be too breefe or too tedious, & ofte-times to report matters D very vnlikely, for the greatnesse of things which they haue handled in a fabulous manner: and in deed the euents are almost incredible, and more miraculous then ordinary. Doubtlesse I could gather out of the most confident authors, and that according to the order of times as euery thing hath changed, and answerable to the greatnes of the subiect, that which cannot well be represented without some direction.

All the deedes of *Charlemagne* must bee referred to that which he hath done either whilest hee was King alone of *France*, or when he was Emperour, and had vnitied the Empire to his royaltie. And in those times, there is first to be obserued what he did in the life of *Caroleman* in *Guienne*, and after his death in *Italy*, *Spaine* and *Saxony*, where he had great matters to decide. This is the dessein of our relation.

The deedes of Charlemagne in the life of his brother Caroloman.



Caroleman was infinitely iealous of his brothers greatnes, whome with greafe hee did bee loued, honored and obeyed of all the *French*, for his singular vertues, both of body and minde. This iealousie (too ordinary a Counsellor to Princes) made him to seeke all meanes to oute- E quine and ouerthrowe the affaires of *Charlemagne*, who had his eyes fixed vpon *Italy*, as the goodly and most beautifull theatre of his valour, the true subiect to maintaine his authority and power among Christians; and *Caroleman* did all hee could to crosse his desseins. And this was the estate of *Rome* and *Italy*.

Presently

Troubles at
Rome.

The Lombards' civil
war.

The Lombards' pre-
sumption hanging the
Popes' Secretaries.

Rebellion in
Guienne by
Hunault.

Presently after the decease of *Pepin*, the Church of *Rome* fell into great confusions, A by the practises of *Didier* King of *Lombardie*, a sworn and capital enemy, having corrupted some of the Clergie: hee caused *Constantin* brother to *Toton* Duke of *Nepezo*, (his vassall and trustie) to bee chosen Pope, with such violence, as hee made *Philippicus* (being already Canonically chosen) to be degraded. This better party, seeing themselves contemned by the *Lombard*, assemble together, and by one common consent choose *Stephen* the third, a *Sicilien*, for Pope, who resolues to call in the King of *France*, and to oppose him against his enemies desseins. *Charles* solicited by the Pope, sends twelue Prelates speedily to *Rome*, to fortifie their party, against the other: meaning at greater neede to apply a greater remedy. The matter succeeded according to their desire that had intreated him, for the Counsell being assembled at *Latran*, they confirme *Stephen* lawfully chosen, and depose *Constantin* raised by disorder and violence.

But *Didier* would not be controuled with this repulse, and seeing that force had not succeeded, he resolues to trie policy, and to vnder-mine *Stephen* with a good shew. He sends to congratulate his election, purgeth himselfe of the *Antipope Constantin* degraded: accuseth both him and his brother of ambition, protesting to liue with him in amity: and for prooffe of this his good meaning, he desires him to be pleased with his repaire to *Rome*, thereto confer with him in priuate. The Pope (who neuer flies to the *French* but in necessity) was easily perswaded by *Didier*: who came to *Rome*, confers with the Pope, and makes great protestation of his obedience. But this good shew continued not long.

There was a gouernor at *Rome* for the Emperour, called *Paul Ephialte*. *Didier* corrupted this *Grecian*: and as the execution of Iustice was in his hands, hee makes vse of him so cunningly, as in the presence of Pope *Stephen*, hee causeth him to seize vpon two of his chiefe Secretaries, *Christopher* & *Sergius*, (accused by him of supposed crimes) and to hang them infamously. Their greatest offence, was to haue fauored the *French*. This presumption proceeded farther, for he caused all the principall Cittizens to be banished, whome hee noated to bee of the *French* faction: that hauing taken away all lets, he might be master of *Rome* in despite of the Pope. *Stephen* discovering the *Lombards* practise, to his preiudice, flies to *Charlemagne*, beseeching him to prepare an armie against his forcer that did ruine him by his apparent mildnes. *Charlemagne* was fully resolved: but *Didier* had provided a remedy in *France*, by the meanes of *Caroloman*, to stop *Charles* his passage into *Italie*, making worke for him in *Guienne*, where there grew a perillous warre vpon this occasion.

Wee haue sayd before, that although the Countrie of *Guienne* depended of the Crowne of *France*, yet were there many tumults through the practises of some Noblemen of the Countrie, who stirred vp the people (being mutinous of themselves) to rebellion. The cause of these reuolts was the abuse of the Kings bounty, who suffered such people as they had conquered, to inioy their priuileges, and liberties, intreating them with all fauour. *Eudon* began first vnder *Martel*: *Jeffroy* and *Hunault* his children, and heires of his discontent, had continued it vnder *Pepin*: *Jeffroy* being dead, *Hunault* succeeds him with the like hatred, the which *Caroloman* entertayned to employ him against his brother *Charles*. And as reasonse and ambition thrust him on to attempt against him, so did he make his profit of the couetous ambition of *Hunault*, feeding him with the hope of the reuenues of *Guienne*, seing his humour was to bee a Duke, supposing to haue credit inough with the people, if hee were fauoured by one of the Kings of *France* against the other. *Guienne* was a part of *Charles* his portion: *Hunault* layes the foundation of his desseine, to withdrawe himselfe wholly from the Crowne of *France*, and to make open warre against *Charlemagne*, in practising the people of *Guienne*, to bee declared Duke by their consent, according to the right which he pretended. The countenance of *Caroloman* could do much, but drew wisdom and courage of *Charlemagne* preuailed more, for being aduertised of *Hunaults* practises, and of his brothers secret desseignes, hee armed with such speede, as hee surprised the townes

A townes of *Poitiers*, *Xaintes* and *Angoulesme*: and by that meanes all the Countrey adioyning. *Hunault* (who made his accou without *Charles*) finding himselfe preiured, fled to a Nobleman of the Countrey named *Loup*, whome hee not onely held to bee very firme to his faction, but also his trustie and affectionate friend. *Charlemagne* tends presently to *Loup*: hee summons him to deliuer *Hunault* into his hands, as guilty of high treason: and in the meane time hee builds a fort in the midst of the Countrey, whereas the raiers of *Dordone* and *Lisle* do ioyne, the which hee called *Franfuc*, as it were the front of the *Sarrazens*, whom hee had caused to feare if these desseins had succeeded. Thus getting *Hunault* with all his family, hee doth punish him as a rebell: he pardoned *Loup*, and all that had obeyed him: and so ends a dangerous warre without blowes: but he graunts life and liberty to *Hunault*, and the enioyng of all his goods: leaving a memorable example to Princes, howe they ought to carry themselves in ciuill warres, preventing a mischief by wisdom and diligence, and not to thrust their vanquished subiects into dispaire, by rigour. *Caroloman* seeing his practises against his brother to succeed ill, vndertakes a voiage to *Rome*, with an intent to cause some alteration there: yet with a shew of deuotion. His Mother *Berthe* (who likewise went this voiage), was honorably receiued in her iourney by *Didier* king of the *Lombards*, treating a marriage betwixt her sonne *Charlemagne* and *Theodora*, Sister or Daughter to this *Didier*, one of the greatest enemies of her sonnes good fortune. Yet *Charlemagne*, to please his Mother, receiued this wife, but soone after hee put her away, as vnfit for his humours and affaires: and so that which seemed a cause of loue, bred greater hate betwixt these two Princes. *Caroleman* hauing effected nothing at *Rome*, but only made shew of his foolish and malicious ialousie, too apparent in this his stayned deuotion, returnes into *France*, and there dies soone after, in the year. 774.

Now is *Charlemagne* alone by his Bothers decease: who quietly takes possession of his Estates, and reteineth such of his seruants as he knew to haue bene most trustie to his brother, during their common ialousies, expecting the like faithfullnes, hauing entertained them when there was least hope.

The deeds of Charlemagne King of France alone vntill he was Emperour.



Charlemagne hauing put away his wife *Theodora* for subiect of incontinency, hee married with *Hildegade* or *Ildegrade*, Daughter to the Duke of *Suene* his vassall, by whom hee had *Charles*, *Pepin*, *Lewis*, and three daughters *Kotrud*, *Berthe* & *Gille*, the nurcery of his Noble family. *Carolomans* ialousie died not with him, but suruiued in *Berthe* his wife: who (impatient of her condition, thrust head-long with *Didier* King of *Lombardy*, as to the most bitter and irreconcilable enemy of *Charlemagne*) retires with her two sonnes to procure the Pope (*Stephen* being dead and *Adrian* a *Romaine* gentleman succeeding him) to confirme and Crowne the sonnes of *Caroloman* for Kings of *France*. The *Lombard* had two strings to his bowe, meaning both to put the Pope in disgrace with *Charlemagne* (the easier to suppress him being destitute of *French* succors, whereon hee chiefly relied,) and likewise to set *France* on fire, by the establishment of newe Lords. *Didier* beseecheth the Pope to graunt this confirmation, to the children of *Caroloman* for this sake. But *Adrian* (well acquainted with the *Lombards* humour,) was so resolute in denying his request, as they fell to open hatred. *Didier* discontented with this repulse comes and enters the six gouernments, with all his forces, being a Seigneury vnder the Popes iurisdiction, spoiles the Countrey, and beleegeth *Ranenma*, the chiefe City of the Exarchie.

The

757

The Pope sends his *Nuncio* vnto him, to expostulate the cause of this so sodaine warre against his subiects, desiring him to yeeld what he had taken, and not to proceed in this hostile manner, without any reasonable cause, vpon paine of excommunication.

By his owne
preiudice.

At that instant there fell out a great occasion to increase the hatred betwixt *Charles* and *Didier*, for that *Hunault* (who had bene vanquished in *Guienne*) retired himselfe to *Didier*, and is not onely courteously receiued: but honored with the charge of general of the army, the which he had leui'd against the Pope. *Didier* lustred himselfe to be so abused with the persuasions of *Hunault*, touching the meanes to attempt against the Estate of *Charlemagne*, that holding *Italy* vndoubtedly his owne, hee plotted a warre, and assured himselfe of a certaine victory in *France*. Thus pride and iniquitie hastens his ruine. The Pope hauing no other defence but his excommunication, not defensible against the armies of *Didier*, flies againe to *Charlemagne*, as to his sacred Anchor or last hope, intreating ayde from him in his necessity. *Charlemagne* had great reason to arme against *Didier*, who had alwaies crossed his affaires: fed his brothers realousies, receiued his widow and children, labored to haue them chosen Kings of *France*, to trouble or ruine his Estate: entertayned his rebellious subiects, and with them practised to make warre against him.

The iute and summons of the *Romaine* Church, was a great motiue to induce him to arme, against him who professed himselfe an open enemy to Christian religion, whereof the Kings of *France* had alwaies shewed themselves protectors and gardiens. But not to attempt any thing rashely, hee first sends his Ambassadors to the Pope, to assure him of his good will, the which should not be wanting in his necessity: but hee thought it best to try mildnesse, before hee vsed force against the *Lombard*. He therefore sends his Ambassadors to *Didier*, and doth summon him to restore what hee had taken from the Pope, and to suffer him to liue in peace.

Didier (who relied much vpon his policy,) giues good words to the Ambassadors, promising to performe all that *Charles* demanded: but in effect hee would haue the Pope accept of conditions of peace from him, and that the children of *Caroloman* should be declared Kings of *France*. These demands were found vnreasonable on either side: the treaty is broken, the *French* Ambassadors returne, and *Didier* renewes the warre more violently then before, against the Church: and hauing spoyled all the territory of *Rauenna*, he takes *Faenza*, *Ferrara*, *Comachia*, *Compagnia*, and *Romandiola*, townes of the sixe governments.

*Charlemagne*s Ambassadors informe their master, that the warre with the *Lombard* is inuitable, and find all things at their returne readie to invade *Italy*: for *Charlemagne* being forced to suppress the rebellious *Saxons*, who (impatient of the *French* yoake) revolted daylie, had leui'd a goodly army, the which was readie to be employed against the *Lombard*.

But *Charles* would not attempt any thing in a matter of so great consequence without the aduice of his Estates. Yet loath to loose time, he causeth his army to march, and makes his *Rendezuous* at *Genewa* (a towne vnder his obedience vpon the way to *Italy*), and hauing diuided his army into two, he seizeth vpon the passages of *Mont Cenis*, and *Saint Bernard*, which are the two entries from *France* to *Italie*. The Estates hauing found the causes of warre against *Didier* King of *Lombardie* to be iust, *Charlemagne* causeth his army to aduance with all speed, and ioynes neere vnto *Verceil*. *Didier* attends him there, and giues him battaile: but at the first encounter, he is vanquished by *Charlemagne*. The *Lombard* hauing rallied and fortified his troups, receiues a newe defeat, and so great a one, as he is inforced to suffer his enemy to be master of the field. An infallible entrance to his ruine. Thus hauing tumultuously trussed vp what hee could, he sends his sonne *Aldegise* to *Verona*, with the widow and children of *Caroloman*, casting himselfe into *Paui*, the which he had carefully fortified, as the dungeon and tortresse of his last fortune.

Charlemagne pursues him at the heeles, beseegeth him with all his forces in *Paui*, and

A and resolues to haue it at what price soeuer. And to shewe his resolution, hee sends for his wife and children into *France*, to the end the *Italians* (that were doubtful) might know his minde, and without attending any newe occurrences, resolue to obey the victor. Hauing coopt vp *Didier* in *Paui*, and seized vpon all the approaches, hee resolues to take *Verona*, which they held the strongest place of all the *Lombards* estate. So leaving his Vncle *Bernard* to continue the seege at *Paui*, he marcheth with part of his army to *Verona*.

His resolution accompanied with these goodly beginnings, and this checke of *Didier* (shut vp as it were in a prison) gaue a great alteration to the affaires of either party, amidst these people of diuers humors. The *Spoletins*, the *Reatins*, those of *Ancona*, of *Ferre* and of *Osimo* (as it were in spight one of another yeeld to *Charlemagne*, and desert the wretched estate of *Didier*, as a worthy reward of his trecherous iniustice and violence. The *Venetians* (being *Neuters*, spectators of this tragedie, who neuer had delt in any sort with *Didier*,) offer amity and succors to *Charlemagne*, who was desirous they should keepe the sea quiet, least the Emperour should be an actor in this quarrell for *Didier*.

Charlemagne stayed not long at *Verona*, before the Cittie beganne to yeeld: *Berthe* the widow of *Caroloman*, being the chiefe instrument to drawe them to composition, his forces being (as shee saied) verie tearefull. *Aldegise* the sonne of *Didier* finding himselfe vnable to resist so resolute a consent of the Cittizens, nor to releue his fathers misery, flies secretly to the Emperour of *Constantinople*.

I has *Verona* yeelds to *Charlemagne* by composition, who receiues both *Berthe* and the Inhabitants to mercie, to whom hee performs his promise: he inflicts no other punishment vpon *Berthe* and her children, but a gentle admonition of their vnciuill rashnesse, and to returne into *France*, there to do better, and to liue more honorably. This was about Easter, which drew *Charles* to *Rome*, where hee remayned onely eight daies, to visit the holy places, and to conferre with Pope *Adrian*. They write wonderers of the great entertaynement the Pope gaue him, and of the shewes of amity of *Charlemagne*. Hee confirmed all that his father *Pepin* had giuen vnto the Pope, and greatly augmented it. The Pope made *Charles* a *Patritian* of *Rome*, a degree to mount vnto the Empire: from thence *Charles* came to *Paui*, the which being for the space of ten monethes pressed without by warre, and within by pestilence and famine, in the end yeelds by composition: and *Didier* (who had hated *Charles* without cause, and attempted warre vpon an houre) falls into his hands, who shewes himselfe wife and modest both to undertake a warre, and to vse the victory.

Thus *Charlemagne* hauing wisely vnderaken a iust warre, and ended it happily, hee ruined the Kingdome of the *Lombards*, carrying *Didier* prisoner to *Lion*, or to *Lege*, for writers speake diuersely of the place of his imprisonment. This was in the yeare dome of his 776. A notable date to represent the tragick end of so great a Kingdome, the which continued in *Italy* onely two hundred and foure yeares, vnder Princes of diuers humors. But iniustice, tyranie and pride prouoked the wrath of God against them, so as thinking to take from an other, they lost their owne: to vsurpe the liberties of others, they fell into an ignominious slavery, and their subailty was the cause of their owne misery.

A mirror for Princes and great States, neuer to attempt an vniust and vnecessary warre, to vsurpe an other mans right, & neuer to thinke to preuaile ouer a good cause by craft and policy. *Charlemagne* vsed his victory with great moderation towards the conquered nation, to the great content of all the *Italians*, who held it a great gaine to haue lost their old master, and to be rightly free, being subiect to so wise a Lord: for he left them their ancient liberties, and to particular Princes (such as were vassals to *Didier*) their Seigneuries: to *Arasise* sonne in lawe to *Didier*, hee left the *Marquisate* of *Fenestru*. He placed *French* Gouernors in conquered *Lombardy*, meaning to haue them treated with the like mildnesse, as the ancient patrimony receiued from his Predecessors. During the seege of *Paui* a Councell was held at *Rome* by Pope *Adrian*, in

H

faueur

Charles opposeth
himselfe
against the
Lombards.

He makes
vse by the
aduice of the
Estates.

The Lombard
was defeated
by Charles.

Verona taken
by Charles.

Charles enter-
tained at
Rome.

Lombards
ruined.

775.

77 8. favour of *Charlemagne*, to give him honours answerable to his deserving of the Church, and namely the right to give all benefices throughout all Christendome, was said to belong vnto him. *Charlemagne* being returned into *France*, *Adelise* the sonne of *Didier* sought to disquiet *Italie*, aided by the Emperour *Constantine*, and the practises of *Rogand* to whome *Charlemagne* had giuen *Friul*, who revolted from his obedience: but all these rebellions were soone suppressed, by the faithfull care of the *French* Gouvernours, whome *Charlemagne* had left in the Countre newly conquered: and *Rogand* being seized of it, suffered the paines of his treacherous rashnes, being beheaded by the Kings commaundement. Thus *Italie* remayning quiet to him and his (as conquered by a iust warre) it shalbe hereafter incorporate to the *French* Monarchie in this second race, being giuen in partage to the children of *France* whilest that the good gouernment of our kings maintaines the dignitie of the Crowne. But the end of this war was the beginning of an other in *Germanie*, wherof the *Saxons* were the chief, darwing vnto them according to the diuersitie of occasions) other people of *Germanie* their neighbours. This war continued 33. yeares, nor all successiue, but at diuers brunts & seasons: the *Saxons* hauing for a perpetual subiect, to crosse *Charlemagne* in his desseins, especially being buisied in many other matters of great consequence. I will breefly relate this war of *Saxony*, reporting with one breath, what hath bene seuerally dispersed in the whole history, without confusion of times or mater, following a stile fit for this history.

A memorable warre in *Germanie*.

In those times *Germanie* was subiect to the Crowne of *France*, although it had particular Estates, vassals to our Kings, whatsoever the *Germanies* say, who confesse but a part thereof. The *Saxons* were subiect to our Crowne, as appears by that aboute written, and namely vnder *Marcel* and *Pepin* his sonne. The motives of this warre were diuers, the impariencie of a people desiring their ancient libertie, not able to beare an others command, & (as the *Germanies* say) the hatred and ialousie of a mighty neighbour, threatening them with seruitude, & the controuersie for the limits of their lands: but the greatest and most important cause of these wars, was the diuersitie of religion, for that the *Saxons* would obstinately hold the *Pagan* superstition, which they had received from their Ancestors, and *Charlemagne* urged them to forsake their *Paganisme*, and to make open profession of the Christian faith: moued with zeale to the generall advancement of the truth, and the priuat dutie of a Prince to his subiects, to provide for their soules health. A thing very worthie obseruation. *Belial* did then fight against Christ, *Pagan* superstition against Christian veritie. Put alas, by whome, and wherefore are these vniuall warres at this day? Christian fights against Christian: the most sacred signe of Christianitie appears on either side in Christian and *French* armies: Christians bloud is spilt by Christians, through a blind furie, & want of vnderstanding in the fundamentall accord of the sauing truth. These are not onely different, but contrary wars to those of *Charlemagne*: and our imaged tumults, are begun & nourished without reason, both against the good of the Estate and Church. Vpon this controuersie of religion, the *Saxons* made war eight times against *Charlemagne*: especially when they found him buisied els where, watching their oportunitie, either to crosse him in his desseine, or to frustrate his attempts. At such time as hee was in *Italie* they played the wild colts, not onely in reiecting the *French* command, but also making open war against those Cities in *Germanie*, which obeyed *Charlemagne*: they had taken *Eresbourg* from the Crowne of *France*, euen vpon his returne, & besieged *Sigisbourg*, robbing, & spoiling all the Countie about *Charlemagne* assembling a Parliament at *Vormes*, leues a great armie, to charge the *Saxons* in diuerse places. This Councell succeeded happily: for hauing vanquished the *Saxons* twice in one moneth in a pitched field, he reduced them to their ancient obedience, vsing his victorie with much modestie and wisdom, desiring rather to shew them the power of his authoritie, then the rigour of his force. The chief among them was *Widichind*, & as religion was the chief motive of these ordinary rebellions, so *Charlemagne* seeking the establishment of Christian religion in *Saxony* with great zeale, happily effected it. Having vanquished this *Widichind* by reason, and humanitie, and brought him to the knowledge of the truth, by his graue & wise conuersation, whom

The causes of this warre.

The difference betweene the warres which Charles made, and ours this day.

Hee subdues the Saxons, and perswades *Widichind* to be a Christian.

78 4. He perswaded without any violence, to leaue the *Pagan* superstition, which force of armes could not effect in him, nor in the *Saxons*: for *Mens soules are not gained by force of armes, but by reason*. By the meanes of this *Widichind*, the greatest part of the *Saxons* were drawne to the knowledge of the true God, and the obedience of the *French* monarchie: the most obstinate were forced eyther to obey, or to abandon the country: as in deed great numbers of the *Saxons* rettyred themselues into diuers strange countries.

Thus the war of *Saxony* ended (being both long & dangerous) & these which were conquered by the truth, were the true conquerers, in knowing the true God. *Charlemagne* hauing caused the *Saxons* to leaue their false opinions, was careful to haue them instructed in the truth: to this end he appointed holy and learned men in all places, and gaue meanes to maintaine them: as the *Germanie* histories report more particularly. It sufficeth me (in declaring this briefly) to shew his piety, comparable with his valour and happinesse, and for a president to Princes, to make religion the soueraigne end of their armes and authorities. This *Widichind* was a great personage both in wisdom, valour, and authority, and by consequence very notable in the order of our subiect. From him are descended very famous races: The two *Henries*, the one called *Oiseleur* or the *Fowler*, and the other of *Bamberg*, and the two *Othoes*, all Emperours: and likewise the Dukes of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Misne*: the Dukes of *Sauoy*, common consent of learned writers, the which ought to be well obserued in the continuance of this Historie. The offspring of *Widichind*.

Care of religion most worthy of Princes.

From this warre of *Saxony* sprung many other in the Northerne parts, wherof I will intreat, hauing discouered briefly of the warre of *Spaine*, both for that it chanced during that of *Saxony*, as also (being very memorable) for the ouerthrow of the *Sarazins*, who threatened Christendome like a deluge. Histories differ much touching this warre, but I will report what is most likely, by the consent of most approved writers, whereof the studious reader may iudge by conference, I being but a faithfull reporter.

The motive of this *Spanish* warre, was more vpon pleasure then necessitie; but the zeale of religion gaue a colour and shew of necessitie, to the heroycall desire of *Charlemagne*, seeking to enlarge the limits of the *French* Monarchie by armes. So this warre of *Spaine* was more painfull, more dangerous, and of lesse successe then that of *Italy*, whereunto necessity and duty had drawne *Charlemagne*: but his wife proceeding in the action, did warrant him from all blame.

Warre in *Spaine*.

The occasion which made him bend his forces against the *Sarazins* in *Spaine*, was the assurance of his good fortune, the quiet peace of his realme, the meanes to employ his Souldiars, the *Spaniards* hate against the *Sarazins*, and the generall feare of all Christians, least these Caterpillers should creepe farther into Eutrope. This was the estate of *Spaine*: the *Sarazins* had conquered a great part thereof, and were diuided Estate of into diuers commands, vnder the title of Kingdomes: yet these diuers Kings resolved to oppose their vnited forces against *Charles* their common enemy. Foreseeing then the tempest, they seeked to preuent it, and to crosse the desseignes of *Charlemagne*, which being discovered, they caused King *Idnabala*, a *Sarazin*, to insinuate into his friendship, being a man full of subtil mildnesse. This stratagem prevailed more then all their forces. *Charlemagne* was thrust forwards by *Alphonso* surnamed the chaste, King of *Nauarre*, and by the *Asturiens* and *Galliciens* (Christian people of *Spaine*) to vndertake this warre, being easie, profitable, and honourable, and by consequence most worthy the valiant happinesse of *Charlemagne*. Moreover this *Idnabala* (making a shew of friendship,) laboured to hasten him to the execution of this enterprise, from the which he knew well he should not diuert him: but in effect it was to betray him, by the discouering of his intentions: flattering his desire to get the more credit by pleasing him. *Charlemagne* then well affected of himselfe, and perswaded by others, calles a Parliament at *Noyon*, and there concludes a warre against the *Sarazins* of *Spaine*.

786,
War against
the Sarazins
in Spain.

Institution of
the twelve
Peeres.

The treasury
of jewels in
the Sarazins.

Pampelune
taken.

The Sarazins
victory.

The Sarazins
enter into
Gasconie.

Charlemagne
and Agolands
part.

The armie he employed in that action was goodly, both for the number of men, A and valour of great warriors, being the choise of the most worthy Captaines in Christendome. Amongst the which they number *Milon* Earle of *Angers*, *Rowland* the sonne of *Milon* and *Berthe* sister to *Charlemagne*, *Renald* of *Montaban*, the four sonnes of *Aimon*, *Oger* the Dane, *Oliver* Earle of *Genova*, *Brabin*, *Arnold* of *Bellande*, and others: the great valour of which persons hath bene fabulously reported by the writers of those obscure times, with a thousand ridiculous tales, unworthy the valour of those heroic spirits: proofes of the ignorance of that age, being barren of learned wits. They say that *Charlemagne*, to make this voyage more honourable in shew, did then institute the order of the twelve Peeres of France.

Being entred into *Spain*, he found no *Sarazin* forces in field, but their Citties well B fortified, having resolved a defensive rather then an offensive warre. The most renowned *Sarazin* Kings were *Agolands*, *Bellingan*, *Denifis*, *Marfille* and *Idnabala*, which be the subject of our fabulous tales: but the last as I have sayd, made shew of friendship with *Charlemagne*, and open hatred against the other *Sarazin* Kings: with whom notwithstanding he had most strict correspondencie to betray *Charles*. The first Cittie he attempted was *Pampelune* in the Kingdome of *Nauarre*, the which he tooke, by force, but with much paine, losse, and danger. Having sackt it, and slaine all the *Sarazins* he found, *Saragey* yeelds to him by composition, with many other small Townes, terrified by the example of *Pampelune*. This beginning encouraged him to march on, relying on his wonted fortune: but as he passed through the Prouinces of *Spain*, like a C victorious Prince without any difficulty, having given a part of his armie to lead to *Milon* of *Angiers* his brother in law, it chanced neere vnto *Bayonne*, that *Agolands* a *Sarazin* King, (having in this common dispaire, thrust an armie into field,) incountred *Milon* with his troups, little dreading any enemy) and tooke him at such an aduantage, as he defeated him. The losse was very great, for they report it was of forty thousand men: where *Milon* was slaine for a confirmation of the *Sarazins* victory. *Charlemagne* was faine off, and not able by any diligence to prevent the losse: hee pacifies this amazement, least it should daunt the whole armie. Hee hastens thither, and gathers together the reliques of these discomfited troups, keeping the conquered Citties, and such as were friends in their obedience.

But after this follows a second accident. *Agolands* puffed up with the pride of this D victory passeth into *Gasconie*, and besiegeth *Agen*, to divert *Charlemagne* from his pursuit, and to draw him home to defend his owne country. So as *Charlemagne* fearing least his absence, and the *Sarazins* late victory, should alter the minde of them of *Guienne* being then subjects of small assurance, he returnes into France. *Agolands* having continued some moneths at the siege of *Agen*, and prevailed little, but in ouer-running the country, the which he did freely (without any great resistance) euen vnto *Montonge*: the countrymen being retired within the Townes, expected the returne of *Charlemagne* their King. *Agolands* army was great and proud, with the remembrance of their late victory: so as *Charlemagne* returning with his troups from *Spain* E hee eyed, he maintained his countries more through his authority, then by present force, yet hee fortified the courage of his subjects with his presence, and bridled the *Sarazin*: who could not be ignorant with whom he had to deale, nor where hee was: being environed with enemies on all sides, and in an enemies country. The *Sarazin* seeming to incline to a peace, gaue *Charlemagne* to understand, that he had first inuaded, and that his passage into France was onely to draw him out of *Spain*, and to leaue to the *Sarazins* their conquered countries free: and therefore the treaty of an accord was eafie, seeing there was no question, but to yeeld enery man his owne, and to suffer him to enjoy it quietly, the world being wide enough for them all. But to the end this treaty might take effect, after many messages on eyther part, they resolved to parlee. So F vpon *Charlemagne*'s faith, *Agolands* comes to the Campe.

Charlemagne either moued with zeale of religiõ, or making it the colour of his actions, gaue the *Sarazin* to vnderstand, that he should haue his friendship, if he would leaue his Pagan

787

Conditions
proposed by
Agolands.

Accepted by
Charlemagne.

A Pagan superstition, be baptised, and make open profession of Christianitie. The *Sarazin*, although hee had a goodly armie, yet not willing to hazard any thing: content with this reuenge of *Charlemagne*, desired nothing more then to returne quietly into *Spain*. Being now in *Charlemagne*'s campe, to maintaine his reputation, he makes no shew of feare, but talking to his owne aduantage (as if no force but only reason should moue him,) he enters into a serious and cunning discourse with *Charlemagne*, shewing, That vnecessary warres were the ruine of mankind, and that he was grieued to see so much blood spilt: That he had not begun, but followed, being urged by necessity to defend himselfe against the forces of *Charlemagne*. That he was not yet so abject, nor his forces so weake, as to refuse the battaile: but for that it were an infinite losse to hazard so many men, hee desired to make triall of the right by some troups, and he that vanquished should haue the right and true religion on his side: protesting to yeeld to that religion which should appeare the best by that triall. The condition was accepted by *Charlemagne*. The proofe of this priuate combate was made: and the Christian troupe vanquished the *Sarazin*.

Thus *Agolands* protests openly to be a Christian: but in heart he had no such meaning, and takes this occasion to breake the treatie. He findes *Charlemagne* at table, well accompanied with his chiefe followers (for then it was the custome of our Kings not to eate alone) and sees twelve poore men ill apparelled sitting by vpon the ground, C neere to the table of the Noble men. He demanded what those poore miserable creatures were which did feed apart. One answered, they were the messengers of God. He then sayd, their God was of small account, seeing his messengers were so miserable and contemptible: and therevpon takes occasion to retire himselfe, having lost no labour by this treaty, but qualified the force of *Charlemagne*, viewed his traine, and made shew of his courage and dexteritie, euen without an Ambassador.

Charlemagne, on the other side was resolute to haue his reuenge, for so notable a D losse of men, and so bold an affront of the *Sarazin*: with all speed hee raiseth an armie of an hundred and thirty thousand men. A notable number for this realme, and so (fraught with choller and indignation) hee returnes into *Spain*. His entrie was prosperous, for at the first incounter hee defeated *Agolands* armie, neere to *Pampelune*, and for a seale of his victory, hee carried away the head of his enemy *Agolands*, slaine by the hand of *Arnold* of *Belange*, a noble and valiant Knight: but the sequelle was not answerable to the beginning, for notwithstanding the overthrow of these *Sarazin* troups, all the rest in *Spain* were not vanquished, where there were more Kings and more men of warre, who had great correspondencie with *Amurath* the King of *Babilon*, where was their nursery and store-houise. *Marfille* and *Bellingan* brethren, were the chiefe of the remainder of the *Sarazin* armie, wherein there was a great *Babilonian* Giant, called *Ferragus*, of an exceeding greatnesse, who was slaine by *Rowland* nephew to *Charlemagne*. and this act is famous in our Histories, and is sung by our E gether the reliques of their defeated troups: they make shew of resolute men, and vow to sell this victory dearely to *Charlemagne*, being fauoured by many good Townes within the countie. *Charlemagne* stayes suddenly, and pursues not his victory. But God referues to himselfe a soueraigne power ouer mens desseignes, yea ouer the greatest, and in matters of greatest consequence, to the end that all may learne to aske counsell and successe from him. It was his will that the French forces should not possesse *Spain*, the which he allotted as a portion for another nation.

Thus *Charles*, who should haue bene all fire after his victory, tempered his heate, which caused *Idnabala* the *Sarazin*, (having free access vnto his campe) to make A some motion of peace. He was a good Secretary of his companions minde, what hee sooner he made to speake of himselfe. *Charlemagne* (considering by late experience, that the successe of armes was variable, and that this warre was to his subjects losse, employing both liues and goods for the purchase of an vncertaine victory, and seeing himselfe charged with infinite great affaires in his estates, to the preservation whereof

79 I. whereof reason called him, rather then to seeke for new) he seemes not vnwilling to A
 hearken to the motion of *Idnabala*, who told him plainly, that hee found the *Sarazins*
 affaires to be so desperate, as they would gladly imbrace his friendship, at what rate
 fouer. The *Sarazins* answer (reioycing at this new accord) was soone made. The
 treaty being begun, the fundamentall article of religion was propounded, the which
Charlemagne makes shew to maintaine with great vehemencie : but the *Sarazins* be-
 ing obstinate, *Charles* is content to grant them peace, paying some great summes of
 money, as a token they had bene vanquished. Hee sends a Nobleman of his Court
 names *Ganes*, to treat with them : (the people haue since called him *Ganelon*, as an o-
 dious name) who (being corrupted by *Marfule* and *Bellingand*) promisseth them
 meanes to send *Charlemagne* into *France*, and to make him receiue a notable disgrace. B
 They agree to make a composition, being in shew very honourable for *Charles* : to
 whom they promise to pay (as an homage and an acknowledgment of the peace hee
 should graunt them) what summes hee should appoint, and so should retire with his
 armie into *France*, leauing such troupes in *Spaine* as he pleased, to maintaine the con-
 ditions agreed vpon. *Ganes* discouered vnto them the necessitie of his returne, and
*Charlemagne*s great desire to leaue the smallest forces hee could in *Spaine*. The com-
 position made, *Charlemagne* departs with his armie, attending a better opportunitie
 to end what he had begun : leauing *Rowland* onely with twenty thousand men, for the
 execution of this treaty. But to make his passage the more easie, he commands him
 to lodge in a place of aduantage, of the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, called *Roncevaux*. C
 The *French* army passed, marching towards *France*, vnder the conduct of *Charlemagne*, who
 dreamed not of the disgrace hee receiued by this meanes.

The Treason
of Ganelon.

Treachery of
the Sarazins.

Rowland de-
scribed at
Roncevaux.

Whilest the *French* armie remoued, *Marfule* and *Bellingand* slept not, but gathering
 together all the forces they could, they lodge their troupes secretly in the hollow caues
 of the Mountaines, being places inaccessible and vnknowne but to them of the coun-
 trie. They had intelligence from *Ganes*, what forces *Charlemagne* had left in *Spaine*,
 vnder the command of *Rowland*, to whom the authority of his vnkle, and the credit
 of the people of *Spaine* in the chiefeft Townes, was of more esteeme then his twenty
 thousand men, although they were the choise of all the armie. *Rowland* had no feare of
 the enemy, when as returning to his garrison, he is sodainly charged by the *Sarazins*, D
 farre more in number then the *French*. Seeing himselfe thus assailed on all sides, they de-
 fend themselves valiantly against these miscreants : but still fresh troupes issue forth on
 all sides, in so great numbers, as in the end the *French* (tyred with so long and painfull a
 combate) are oppressed by the great multitude of *Sarazins*.

Rowland performed both the duty of a good Capitaine, in so extreame a danger (ga-
 thering together the peeces of his shipwrack) and of a resolute souldiar, in fighting va-
 liantly, for hauing beat downe a great number in the presse, in the end hee slew King
Marfule with his owne hand. But *Bellingand* holding this victory absolutely his owne,
 pursues the *French*, so as *Rowland* (not able to stand) retires himselfe a part, where hee
 dyes for thirst, through the long and painfull combate he had endured : and all toge-
 ther tyred, he striues to breake his good sword *Durandal* : but his strength failing him, E
 he dyes, and with him *Oliuer* and *Oger* the Dane, *Renold* of *Montauban*, *Aymant* of *Be-
 lande*, and other great personages, whose names remaine in fabulous tales : and the
 faule of their singular vertues, not onely in the Originals of true Histories, but the hon-
 nor of their heroycall deeds, is ingrauen in the common beleefe of all *French* men.

Rowland dyes
for thirst.

Charlemagne
takes reuenge
of this trea-
cherous de-
fence.

Charlemagne aduertised of this vnexpected and strange losse, returnes sodainly, and
 takes reuenge vpon the *Sarazins*, killing an infinite number vpon the place : he causeth
 the traitor *Ganelon* to be drawne in peeces with foure horses (found to haue bene the
 author of this miserable defeate) and transported with a iust disdain for this preindici-
 al affront, hee resolueth to passe farther into *Spaine* for his reuenge. But the great af-
 faires of his other estates, called him into *France*, and so the warre of *Spaine* ended with
 him. F
 him's success, hauing troubled *Charlemagne* at diuers times, for the space of foure-
 teene yeares. But God had appointed the limits of his desseignes, as hee referues to

A himselfe a Soueraigne power ouer all mens enterprises, yea of the greatest. *Charles* 79 3
 made a tumb for his nephew *Rowland*, and honored the memorie of those worthie
 warriors, (being dead in the bed of honor) with monuments. I haue reported this
 in one discourse, to represent as a table, what hath chanced most memorable, the which
 can hardly be gathered without some direction in the confusion of so long and obscure
 reports, wherewith this historie of *Charlemagne* is intangled. At his returne from
Spaine, necessitie bred diuers warres, to exercise the valour and diligence of *Charlemagne*.
 ne, both in *Italie* and *Germanie*, God sauiouring him in all places. *Italie* (during these
 troubles of *Spaine*) had rebelled by *Adalgise* the Duke of *Beneuents* meanes, to repos-
 se the race of *Didier*, but it was soone suppressed by *Charlemagne*, to the cost of the
 bred a warre in *Bauiere*, for that King *Tassillon* sonne in Law to *Didier* King of *Lombar-
 die* (pressed by his wife being wonderful discontented with *Charlemagne*) shakes off the
 forced to sue for peace. *Charlemagne* grants it, imposing the yoke of the *French* Mo-
 narchie, but *Tassillon* not able to containe himselfe, raisth a new war in another place,
 as when we stop one breach, it opens by another vent. He stirs vp the *Huns* and *Aua-
 res* (a neighbour people of *Austrasia*, one of the Estates of our Monarchie) against
Charlemagne, who suppressed them with such happy success, as *Tassillon* vanquished by
 C *Charlemagne*, and found guiltie of rebellion and treason, was condemned to loose his
 Estate according to the *Salique* law : and so the kingdome of *Bauiere* ended, the which
 was wholly incorporate to the Crowne of *France*.

End of the
Spanish warre

Bauiere incor-
porated to the
Crown for
rebellion.

The *Huns* and *Auares* (of whose names ioyned together, the word of *Hungarie* hath
 bin deriued, and the *Hungarians* be issued from these vnited nations) were likewise pu-
 nished by *Charlemagne*, & brought vnder the yoke of the *French* Monarchie. They had
 begun a war in disquieting the Countrie of *Austrasia* : *Charlemagne* opposed his forces,
 but at diuerse times : so as the warre continued eight yeares, and the success was, that
 all their Countrie obeyed him : and the *Danes*, the *Sorabes*, the *Abrodites*, the *Westfalians* (all
 vnited in this warre of *Hongarie*) were likewise brought vnder the same obedience of
 D *Charlemagne*. The limits of the Northren region called *Austrasia* were so extended, as
 it was distinguished into two kingdomes, noted in the *Germane* tongue, to shew that
 the Original of our Ancestors is out of *Germanie*, and that our ancient Kings haue com-
 manded there, seing their possession is manifest, and that they haue not onely giuen a
Germane name to the Countrie that is beyond the *Rhin*, but also to that on this side. I
 am not ignorant how much this discourse is diuersified with sundrie probabilities, euery
 one preferring what likes him best. But, not transforming of coniectures into Oracles,
 (as without doubt the plainest is the best) behold a true diuision of the *Seigneries* which
Charlemagne had in *Germanie*, as the traces of names yeeld an assured testimonie. The
 Realme of *Austrasia*, which ioynes vpon *France*, was called *Westreich*, that is to say, the
 E of the *East*, whence the name of *Austrich* is properly deriued, being then of a greater
 command then at this day, for it contained *Hongarie*, *Valachia*, *Bohemia*, *Transiluania*,
Denmarke, and *Poland*. Then was our Monarchie great : but all these nations haue either
 returned to their first beginnings, or were seized on by new Lords. It was very needfull
 to shew the estate, that we might obserue the declining thereof, with the motives and
 seasons of these diuerse changes. Thus the *French* Monarchie grew great by the happie
 valour of *Charlemagne*, and his children grew in age and knowledge, by the wise care of
 their father, who framed them to affaires, meaning first to make them succeed him in
 his vertues, and then after in his dominions : But man purposeth, and God disposeth.
 F *France*, *Italie*, *Germanie*, *Spaine*, & *Hongarie* made the *Romaine* Empire in the *West*, *Charles*
 being master of these goodly Prouinces, was in effect Emperour thereof. There wanted
 nothing but the sollempne declaration of this dignitie, to haue the title as he ioyned the
 thing, and to be autentically inuested by a free and publike declaration of his possession.
 The prouidence of God, who gaue him the thing, procured him the title by this means,
 Leo was the Pope of *Rome*, against whom was raised a strange sedition, by *Silmesfer*
 H 4 and

798

The occasion
why Charle-
magne was
proclaymed
Emperour.

and *Campull*, men of great credit in the Court of *Rome*. Vpon a follemne day of pro-
cession they seize vpon *Leo*, before *Saint Laurence* Church, they strip him of his Pon-
tificall robes, cast him to the ground, tread him vnder their teete, bruse his face with
their fistes, and hauing drawne him ignominiously through the dirt, they cast him into
pryson: but he stayed not there, being freed by a grome of his Chamber called *Albin*:
and hauing recovered *Saint Peters* Church, hee intreated *Vingise* Duke of *Spolete*, to
free him from this miserable Captiuitie. *Vingise* sayd him not: hee came to *Rome*, and
carried him to *Spolete*. Being arriued there, hee presently went into *France* to *Charle-*
magne, whome he found full of troubles: yet *Charles* neglected all other affaires, to
assist *Leo* in his necessity. So as hee came to *Rome* with a goodly army, to succor the
Pope: where hee did speedily pacifie the confusions where with *Rome* was afflicted, B
punishing *Leoes* enemies according to Lawe. They demanded audience, the which
Charles graunted them, assembling the Clergie and people to heare and decide this
scandalous controuersie. But when as hee demanded their opinions, the Prelates
told him plainly, that the Church of *Rome* could not be iudged by any other then by
it selfe, and that the Pope ought not to vndergo the censure of any man lyuing, and
that he himselfe ought to be iudge in his owne cause.

Charlemagne willingly leaues the iudgement seate: and then Pope *Leo* mounted vp
his throane, where (after hee had protested by oath to be innocent of those crimes,
wherewith his enemies had charged him) he absolues himselfe, and condemnes his e-
nemies, according to his Cannon. *The Pope is Iudge of all men, and all things, and not to*
be iudged by any. C

Charlemagne being drawne to *Rome* vpon this occasion, finds all disposed to declare
him Emperour of the *West*, seeing that with the price of his blood (opposing him-
selfe against the furies and incursions of barbarous nations) hee had valiantly gotten
possession of the Empire.

The beginning of the Empire of Charlemagne:

*Acknowledged and installed Emperour by a free
consent of the Romaine people in the
yeare of grace. 800.*

800

Charlemagne
Crowned
Emperour.



HE Pope by this possession (acknowledging *Charles* for true
Emperour,) crownes him Emperour of *Rome*, with a full consent
of all the *Romaine* people, which assisted at his Coronation, cry-
ing with one generall voice *happines, long life & victory to Charles*
Augustus Crowned the great and peaceable Emperour of the Romaines,
alwaies happie and victorious. This was in the yeare 800. on
Christmas day, the thirtieth yeare of the raigne of *Charles*, *Italy* ha-
uing suffered a horrible confusion during the space of 33. yeares, without Emperour,
without Lawes and without order.

The seat of the *Romane* Empire, since *Constantine* the great, remayned at *Constan-*
tinople, a Cittie of *Thrace*, situate in a convenient place for the gard of the *Easterne* Pro-
uinces, all the *West* being full of new guests, who hauing expelled the *Romaines*, the
name, authoritie, and force of the Empire remained in the *East*, where the State was
in a strange confusion, the mother being banded against her sonne, and the people
within themselves.

Constantine sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour, being gouerned from his in-
fancie (with the Empire) by his mother *Irene*: being come to the age of twentie yeares,
hee tooke vpon him the gouernment. There was then a great diuision in the *East*,
continued from father to sonne for 80. yeares, touching Images. The Bishops would
needes

A needes bring them into the Christian Church. The Emperours with the greatest part
of the people opposed themselves. This contention had his beginning vnder *Philip*
Bardanes (as wee haue sayd) continued vnder *Leo Isaurus*, and from him to his sonne
Constantin, surnamed *Copronimus*: and of *Leo* the 4. sonne to the sayd *Constantin*. This
disquieted all the *East* with infinit scandals.

The same fire continued in the minority of *Constantin*, gouerned by his mother: a
woman of a violent spirit, who hauing vnderaken the protection of Images, held a
Councell of many Bishops for the defence thereof, but the people growing into a mu-
tiny expelled them *Constantinople* by force, where their assembly was held. But this
woman (resolute to proceed) assemblèd the same Councell at *Nicea* a Cittie of *Bitunia*,
B first of that name: where it was decreed, that the Images of Saints should be planted in
Christian Churches for deuotion. *Charlemagne* did not allowe of this decree, and ey-
ther himselfe, or some other by his command, did write a small treatise against this
Councell: the which wee see at this day with this title. *A treaty of Charlemagnes, tou-*
ching Images, against the Greeke Synode.

This cunning woman had made choise of the Cittie of *Nicea*, that the name of this
ancient first Councell might honour this newe introduction with the pretext of anti-
quity, for there are some that confound the first Councell of *Nicea* with the second, and
Constantin the 4. with the first. *Constantin* continued in the hereditary hatred of his fa-
ther and grand-father against Images, so as beeing of age and in absolute possession of
C the Estate, hee disannulled all these new decrees, and caused the Images to be beaten
downe in all places: yet he made all shewes of respect vnto his mother, yielding vn-
to her a good part of his authority and command. This respect was the cause of a
horrible Tragedy: for this woman transported for two causes (both by reason of her
newe opinion, and for despight that shee had not the whole gouernment in herselfe)
growes so vnkind, as shee resolues to dispossesse her sonne of the Empire, and to seize
on it herselfe. Thus the authority her sonne had left her, and the free access shee had
vnto his person, made a way to the execution of her desseine, for hauing corrupted
such as had the chiefe forces at their command, and wonne them with her sonnes
D treasure, shee seized on him, puts out his eyes, sends him into *Exile* (where soone af-
ter hee died for greefe) and tooke possession of the Empire. These vnnatural and
tragick furies, were practised in the *East*, whilst that *Charlemagne* by his great
valour built an Empire in the *West*. *Irene* in her sonnes life would haue married
him with the eldest daughter of *Charlemagne*: but this accident crossed that
desseine. The tragickall
death of
Constantin.

After the death of *Constantin* she sent to *Charlemagne*, to excuse herselfe of the mur-
ther: disauowing it, and laying the blame vpon such as had done it without her com-
mand. And to winne the good liking of *Charles*, shee caused him to be dealt withall
touching marriage (for at that time *Festruide* was dead) with promise to consent that
E he should bee declared Emperour of the *West*, and to resigne vnto him the power of
the *East*. But *Charlemagne* would not accept thereof: the Nobility and people of the
Greeke Empire did so hate her, as hauing suffered her the space of three yeares, in the
end they resolued to dispossesse her.

In this publicke detestation of this woman, the murderesse of her owne Childe.
Nicephorus a great Nobleman of *Greece*, assisted by the greatest in Court, and with the
consent of the people, seizeth on the Empire, in taking of *Irene*: whome he onely ba-
nished, to giue her means to liue better then shee had done. He afterwards treats and
compounds with *Charlemagne*, that the Empire of the *East* continuing vnder his com-
mand, that of the *West* should remaine to *Charlemagne*. Irene ban-
ished,
the diuision of
the Empire.

By this transaction of *Nicephorus* and the consent of the *Greekes*, the possession of
the Empire was ratified and confirmed to *Charlemagne*, and then beganne the di-
uision of the two Empires, *East* and *West*. That of the *West* beganne with *Charle-*
magne, and continued in his race whilst his vertues did protect it: afterwards it was
transported

8 = 6, transported to the Princes of *Germanie*, who likewise acknowledged the *Germanie* A
stemme of *Charlemagne*, borne at *Wormes*, crowned at *Spire*, and interred at *Aix*, all Cit-
ties of *Germanie*: and the truth sheweth, that as the Originall, to the first commaund
of the *French*, was whole in *Germanie*. Hetherto we haue represented, breecfly as wee
could (considering the greatnes, and riches of the matter) what *Charles* did whilest he
was King of *France* onely: now wee must relate with the like stile, what hath hapened
worthie of memorie vnder his Empire.

His deeds while he was Emperour.



Warren Ita-
lie.

In Saxony.

At Venice,
where *Char-
lemagne* had
the repulse.

C *HARLES* liued fiftene yeares, after hee had vniited the *Romaine* B
Empire to the *French* Monarchy. *Grimoald* Duke of *Beneuent* sought
to disturbe *Italie* for the *Lombard*: but *Charles* prevented it in time,
by the meanes of *Pepin* his sonne, a worthie and valiant Prince. *Gri-
moald* was thus vanquished, yet intreated with all mildnes, so as be-
ing restored to his Estate, he became afterwards an affectionate and
obedient servant to *Charlemagne*, who was a wise Conqueror, both in his happie va-
lour, and the wise vjing of his victorie. About the same time, the warre in *Saxony*
was renewed, being alwaies prone to rebellion: with the warre against the *Huns*, *Bohe-
mians*, *Sclauoniens*: and the second against the *Sarrazians*. The which I haue breecfly re-
ported in their proper places: here I note them onely, to shew the course of things
according to the order of times, the goodly light of truth.

He had likewise a great and dangerous warre against the *Venetians*, wherein he im-
ployed his sonne *Pepin*. *Obeliers* and *Becur*, great personages, were the cheefe Com-
maunders for the *Venetians*. The Emperour and his *Frenchmen* receiued a great check
by the *Venetians*, who had this onely fruite of their victorie, (that among all the peo-
ple of *Italie* subdued by *Charlemagne*) they alone were not vanquished, but had hap-
pily made head against great *Charlemagne*. They did greatly increafe their name, and
reputation, but nothing enlarged their territories by this conquest, glad to haue defend-
ed themselves against so noble and valiant an enemy. By reason of this *Venetian* war,
Charles stayed sometime in *Italie*, to assure his estate. He would haue the Countie
conquered from the *Lombards*, to be called *Lombardie*, with a new name, to moderate
their seruile condition, by the continuance of their name, in the ruine of their Estate.

Seeing himselfe old and broken, his children great, wise, and obedient, he resolved
to giue them portions, and to assigne to euery one his Estate. To *Pepin* he gaue *Italy*,
to *Charles* *Germanie* and the neighbour Countie, keeping *Lewis* his eldest sonne neere
about him, whom he appointed for the Empire and Realme of *France*. Hee fought to
reduce all his Estates vnder one Law, making choise of the *Romaine*, both for the dig-
nity of the Empire, and being more ciuill, but the *French* loth to alter any thing of their
custome and lawes, hee suffred them as they desired: and those which had longer serued
the *Romaines*, and loued best the *Romaine* Lawes, he gaue them libertie. So as *Gaulle*
Narbonnoise (which comprehends *Daulphiné*, *Languedoc* & *Prouence*;) do vse the written
Law (as the ancient Prouince of the *Romaines*) and the rest of *France* obserue their
custome and Lawes.

The Danes
repulse.

At the loo-
se of his
best horses.

Denmarke (a dependance of the realme of *Germanie*, and part of *Charles* his por-
tion, as we haue said) was revolted from the obedience of the *French*. *Charles* by his
fathers commaund prepares to subdue them: but God had otherwise decreed, for here-
upon he dies, to the great greefe of his father, and all the *French*, who loued the louely
qualities of this Prince, the true heire of his fathers name and vertues. *Charlemagne*
mourned for his yongest sonne, when as sodainly newes came of the vntimely death of
Pepin his second sonne, King of *Italie*, a Prince of admirable hope, a true pattern of
his fathers greatnesse. Thus man purposeth, and God disposeth: thus the sonnes die
before the father: thus the greatest cannot free themselves from the common calamity
of

A of mankind. Thus great Kings and great Kingdomes haue their periods. *Charlemagne* 809.
left his children, and the realme her best support: for these two Princes carried with
them the fathers valour, leauing *Lewis* their brother with large territories and few
vertues, to gouerne so great an estate. After the death of these two great Princes
many enemies did rise against *Charles*, seeming (as it were) deprived of his two armes,
the *Sarazins* in *Spaine*, the *Sclauens*, and the *Normans*, in the Northerne regions. but
he vanquished them all, and brought them to obedience, old and broken as hee was. Rebellion a-
gainst Charles.
Wee haue shewed how that *Nicephorus* had beene made Emperour by the death
of *Irene*. It chanced that as hee fought against the *Bulgariens* (a people which had
possessed a part of *Thrace*, neere vnto *Constantinople*) he was slaine in the conflict.

B Hee had one sonne named *Staurat*, who by reason should succeed him: but *Michel*
his brother in law seized on this poore young man, and makes him a way, and hauing
corrupted the chiefe men with gifts, hee vlrpes the Empire: and least that *Charle-
magne* should crosse his desseignes, he seekes to insinuate with him, not onely ratifying
what *Nicephorus* had done for the diuision of the Empire, but by a new contract doth
acknowledge him Emperour of the West. Thus the affaires of our *Charles* were daily
confirmed, but his minde (toiled with these new losses, and the painfull difficultes he
had suffered throughout the whole course of his life) required nothing but rest. All his
life time he held the Church in great reuerence, & had imployed his authority to beau-
tifulie, and bountifully bestowed his treasure to enrich it: but this great plenty in so
happy a peace, made the Churchmen to liue loosely. *Charles* well instructed in religi-
on (knowing how much it did import to haue doctrine and good manners to shine in
them that should instruct others:) he doth call five Councils in diuers places of his
dominions, for the gouernment of the Church: At *Mayerce*, at *Rheims*, at *Tours*, at
Chalons, and at *Arles*: and by the aduise of these Ecclesiasticall assemblies, hee lets
downe orders for the reformation of the Church, in a booke intituled *Capitula Caroli
magni*, which they read at this day, for a venerable prooffe of the piety of this great
Prince. A worthy president for Princes, which seek true honour by vertue, whereof
the care of piety is the chiefe foundation.

Charles has
care to rule
the Church.

A good in-
struction for
Princes to
loue piety.

He held likewise a great Council in the City of *Francford*. These are the very words
D of the History) of the Bishops of *France*, *Germanie* and *Italy*, the which hee himselfe
would honour with his presence, where by a general consent, *The false Synode of the
Greekes*, (I mean the very words of the Originall) *contrarily called the seventh*, was con-
demned and reiected by all the Bishops, who subscribed to the condemnation. But there fell
out a new accident, which drew *Charles* againe to armes. *Adelphonse* King of *Nauarre*
surmamed the chaste, by reason of his singular temperance, did carefull y aduertise him, New warre in
that there was now meanes utterly to subdue the *Sarazins* in *Spaine*, *Charlemagne* (who
desired infinitely to finish this worke, so oft attempted without any great successe) giues
care to this aduise, leaues an armie, and marcheth into *Spaine*, relying on the *Spaniards*
sauiour, being Christians. *Adelphonse* meant plainly, but so did not the chiefe of his
Court, nor his associates, who feared his forces no lesse then the *Sarazins*, and euen the
most confident seruants of *Adelphonse*, doubted to be dispossessed of their gouernments
by a new Master. So they crosse *Adelphonse* in countermanning of *Charles*: but the lots
were cast, his army is in field, and he resolute to passe on. He enters into *Spaine*, where
he finds so many difficultes, as he returnes into *France*: and so concludes all his enter-
prises, embracing againe the care of religion, and of the Church, as a subiect fit for the
remainder of his dayes. Hee was three score and eight yeares old when he left the
warres: so he spent three whole yeares in his study, reading the Bible, and the bookes
of *Saint Augustin* (whom he loued aboue all the Doctors of the Church. He resided
at *Paris*, to haue conference with the learned: where hee had erected a goodly Uni-
uersity, furnished with learned men, such as that time could afforde, and enriched
with goodly priuileges. Hee had an extraordinary care to haue the seruice of the
Church supplied, as a Nursery of the holy Ministry. Thence grew so many Col-
ledges of Chanoinis, with such sufficient reuenues.

Thus

Thus *Charles* spent three yeares happily in the onely care of his soule, leaving a
 goodly example to Princes, to moderate their greatnesse with pietie, their enjoying of
 temporall goods, with the hope of eternall, and to thinke of their departure out of
 this life in time. Thus foretelling his death (wherevnto he prepared himselfe by this
 exercise) he made his will, leaving *Lewis* his sonne sole heyre of his great Kingdoms,
 and bequeaths to the Church great treasures, as more at large is contained in his will,
 set downe in the H. story. His Testament was the messenger of his death, for soone
 after he fell sicke, and continued so but eight dayes: dying happily vnto the Lord, in
 the yeare of grace 814. of his age the 71. and of his raigne the 47. including 15.
 yeares of his Empire. He was interred at *Aix La Chapelle*, where hee was borne, and
 his memory honoured with a goodly Epitaph, set downe in the History.

Hee was one of the greatest Princes that euer lived. His vertue is the patterne of
 Princes, his good hap the subiect of their wishes. The greatnesse of his Monarchie
 is admirable, for he quietly enioyed all *France*, *Germanie*, the greatest part of *Hunga-
 rie*, all *Italy*, and a part of *Spaine*. But his vertues were greater then his Monarchie:
 his clemencie, wisdom, and valour: his learning (yea in the holy Scripture) his vigi-
 lencie, magnanimitie and singular force be the theater of his immortall praises. And
 yet his vertues were not without some blemish (as the greatest are not commonly
 without some notable vice,) for hee was giuen to women, adding Concubins to his
 lawfull wiues, by whom hee had bastards. I haue noted elsewhere the number of
 his wiues and children. *Lewis* the weakest of them all, remained alone, the sole heyre
 of this great Monarchie of *France* & the *Romaine* Empire, but not of his noble vertues.

We are now come to the top of this great building, we shall see it decline:
 and therein note the admirable providence of God, who amidst
 the confusion of this estate, hath alwayes
 preferred the Maiestie of
 this Crowne.



LEWIS

LEWIS the gentle, the 25. King, and Emperour of the West.



A The vertues of *Charlemagne* had raised this estate to an admi-
 rable greatnesse, so the small valour, or rather the vices of his
 posterity, caused the declining, and (if God had not preuen-
 ted) had bene the ruine thereof. His intent was onely to
 change the race vnworthy to raigne, but not the realme, the
 which hee hath preserved vnto this day by his providence, in
 the bosome of one country, and in it his Church: for the
 which he maintaines, both the estates where it remains, and
 the whole world, which cannot subsist but in regard of it.

B Thus the *French* Monarchie being come to the heigh of her greatnesse, the lawe
 imposed vpon all humane things, would haue it decline, that of her peeces other
 estates might be built. Not long after the death of *Charlemagne*, it began to decline.
 The foolish lenity of *Lewis* his sonne, was the beginning, the which was continued
 by the disordred confusions of his successors, who (in spight one of an other) hastened
 the ruine of their house, making the way by their vices and misfortunes. This is the
 substance of all the Kings remaining in this second race: the which wee cannot repre-
 sent, but in noting faithfully the order of those confused times, during the which this
 barke hath bene in a manner guided without a Pilot, and without helme, by the wis-
 dome of God, who hath miraculously preserved it, amidst so many tempests. And
 therefore without any tedious discourse, being intricate enough of it selfe, I will labour
 to shew (as in a table) both the continuance of this race, and the diuers motives of
 events to bring *Hugh Capet* vpon the stage, and carefully to shew the estate of his po-
 sterity, as the chiefe end of my desseigne.

Lewis was surnamed the meeke, or gentle, as well for his deuotion, (wherevnto he
 was more giuen, then to gouerne his estate) as also for his great facilitie: which

The declining
of this race.

815, was the cause of many miseries both to himselfe and his subjects. He began to raigne the year 815. and ruled 26. yeares Emperour of the West, and King of France. His father had not greatly employed him in affaires, observing his disposition, and had married him with *Irmengrade* the daughter of *Ingram* Duke of *Angers*, an officer of the Crowne of France, having giuen him the Duchie of *Guienne* for his maintenance. By this wife *Lewis* had three sonnes, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*, who acted strange tragedies against their father.

To his second wife hee married *Judith* the daughter of *Guelphe* Duke of *Suene*, by whom he had *Charles*, surnamed the Bald, who succeeded him in the Crowne of France. *Bernard* the sonne of *Pepin* was King of *Italy*, as *Charlemagne* had decreed. *Lewis* (more fitt to be a Monke then a King) was so giuen to deuotion, and of so soft a spirit, as he made his authority contemptible, both within and without the realme. This disposition (vnfit for a great command) made the nations subiect to the Crowne, to fall from their obedience, the *Saxons*, *Normans*, *Danes*, and *Brittans*. And although *Lewis* did his best to preuent it, yet could hee not preuaile, but made himselfe wholly contemptible in attempting that which he could not effect, and (after his vaine struing) compounding of great controuersies with vnreasonable conditions. *Bernard* a young man and ambitious, was perswaded by the Bishops of *Orleans* and *Milan*, to attempt against his Vncle *Lewis*, and to seize vpon the realme of France, which belonged not vnto him. So his ambition cost him deere, and that suddenly: for being in field to go into France against his Vncle, with an imaginarie fauour of the French, to be proclaimed King, it fell out contrary, for both he and all his Councillors, were taken by *Lewis* his subjects.

Lewis wonderfully moued with the presumption of this springall (as we often see milde natures fall into extremities of choller when they are moued) hauing both his Nephew and Councillors in his power: he despoiles him of his realme of *Italy*, declares him and his vnworthy, confines him to perpetuall prison, and puts out his eyes: the like he doth to all the Bishops and Noblemen he could get: and after some fewe dayes patience, he chops off their heads. This act was held very strange, proceeding from *Lewis*, and committed against such persons, it began to breed a generall diuicke, the which was aggravated by a domestick dissention, all which together caused a horrible Tragedie.

Lewis had indiscreetly giuen portions to his children, making them companions of his regall authority. After the decease of *Bernard*, hee gaue *Italy* to *Lothaire*, and did associate him in the Empire: to *Pepin* hee gaue *Aquitaine*: to *Lewis*, *Bauaria*: and would haue them all beare the name of Kings. *Lewis* good to all, was too good to his second wife *Judith*, an ambitious woman: who hauing one sonne by him, called *Charles*, had no other care but to make this sonne great, to the preiudice of the rest: not foreseeing that they were of power, and could not patiently endure the ialousies of a mother in lawe, nor the words of an old man, being too much affected to the one of his children against the rest, at the suggestion of a Mother in lawes an ordinary leuaine of bitter dissention in families of the second bedde.

Moreouer this imperious *Germaine*, abusing the facilitie of her good husband, played the Emperesse and Queene ouer all, to the discontent of the greatest, who had no fauour with *Lewis*, but by the fauour of his wife: they did hate and contemne him, as being vnworthy to raigne, suffering himselfe so flauishly to be gouerned by a woman. This was the generall motiue of their discontent: but there were many other particularities, which grew dayly vpon diuers and sundrie occasions. The Bishops were most of all incensed against *Lewis*, by reason of the death of those men of the Church, whome hee had so cruelly caused to be slaine with *Bernard*. So *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis* (by the aduise of these malecontents) resolute to seize vpon their Father, Mother, and young Brother, to dispossesse them of all authority, and then to gouerne the State after their owne appetities, wherein they must vse force and a publicke consent. *Lothaire* (as ring-leader of this desseigne,) leuies a great army,

A army, and calls a Nationall Councell of the French Church at *Lions*, supposing sooner to suppress *Lewis* by this meanes then by a Parliament. *Lewis* appeares: he receiues all complaints against himselfe, and yeelds to the Centure of the Prelats, which was to retire himselfe into a Monastery, there to attend his deuotion, and to resigne the Empire and the realme to his Children. This was put in execution. *Lewis* was conueied to *Soissons*, to the monastery of *Saint Medard*: his wife and sonne were confined to other places, and the whole gouernment committed to *Lothaire* and his brethren. Thus *Lewis*, so much addicted to Church-men as he purchased the name of deuout, was ill intreated by them, & receiued a poore recompence for his so humble submission. The name of a Councell (venerable of it selfe) did at the first retayne men, supposing that this ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction did not extend but to admonition: but seeing this tragicall attempt of the Children against the father, there was no good man but stood amazed at this presumption, and pittied their poore King, being brought to such calamity. But all power remayned in the hands of the rebellious Children, and the greatest of the Church were guilty of this outrage, seeking to maintaine their decrees. Thus this poore Prince (to the generall greefe of his subjects) continued in prison five yeares: for he entred in the year 829. and came forth in the year 834. But this deliery was the beginning of a newe confusion. For *Lothaire* hauing beene forced to yeeld vnto his father, goes to field, takes him prisoner againe and leads him to the Couent at *Soissons*, where he stayed not long, for the French did bandy openly against *Lothaire*, and his bretheren did abandon him, so as hee was forced to yeeld vnto his father and to craue pardon. This miserable King, thus ledde for a long time, giues portions to his Children. To *Lothaire* hee leaues the realme of *Austrasia*, from the riuer of *Meuse* vnto *Hongarie*, with the title of Emperour: to *Lewis* *Bauaria*, and to *Charles* France: *Pepin* enioyed *Guienne* without contradiction.

Lewis (not content with *Bauaria*) quarrells againe with his father, and (to force him to giue him a better portion,) hee leuies an army and passeth the *Rhin*. The pitifull father, although tyred with so many indignities, yet transported with choller against his sonne, goes to field with an army: but age and greefe deprived him of meanes to chastise him: for hee fell deadly sicke, which made him leaue this world, to finde rest in heauen. This was in the year of grace 840. of his age 64. and of his Empire the 27. He left three sonnes, *Lothaire* and *Lewis* of the first bedde, and *Charles* of the second, these two first Children did much afflict the father and themselves, and all were plinged in bloudie dissentions, the which order doth nowe command vs to represent particularly.

The Estate of Lewis his Children, presently after his death.

Lothaire as the eldest and Emperour by his fathers testament, would prescribe Lawes to his brethren, and force them to a newe diuision. As he had succeeded against his father in taking him twise prisoner, and stripping him before hee went to bed; so he sought to dilanull his will, as made against the right of the elder, and the Imperiall dignity, the realme of France belonging to the eldest, and the goodliest territories of the Empire to the Emperour. Thus hee quarrelled with *Charles* King of France: and with *Lewis*, who had his part in the inheritances of the Empire, in *Bauaire*, the dependances of the realme of *Bourgoeny* (that is to say *Prouence* and *Daulphiné*) and in *Italy*.

This was the leuaine of these tragicall dissentions among the bretheren (as *Nitard* a writer of approved credit, learned, and a Prince, (for he was sonne to *Angelbert* the sonne of *Berthe* daughter to *Charlemagne*, and was employed to compound these quarrels) doth very particularly describe.

820.

Behold the direction to a longer discourse, whereof Lowe but an abridgement, noted with the principall circumstances. *Lothaire* then armed with authoritie, force, malice, policie, and boldnes, thinke to giue his bretheren their portions: and there were great presumptions he should preuaile, ioyning his force with the intelligences he had in the dominions of *Charles* and *Lewis*.

This common interest to defend themselves against a common enemy, made them to ioyne together, resolute for their generall preservation. *Lothaire* seekes by secret treaties to diuide them, but not able to make any breach in their vnion, hee prepares force and policy. *Lewis* was in *Bauiere*, of whome he kept good gard, that he should not passe the *Rhin*, to ioyne with his brother: hee likewise leuies an armie to surprize *Charles* in *France*. This preparation of warre did awake the vnited bretheren, who assemble their forces, and ioyne notwithstanding all *Lothaires* oppositions. *Lothaires* armie was at *Auxerre*, meaning to passe into the hart of *France*. The vnited bretheren (having assembled their forces neere vnto *Paris*, *Saint Denis* and *Saint Germain*) approche, to haue a better meanes either to treat with him, or to encounter him. First with great humilitie, they offer to performe what should be held reasonable, beseeching him to remember the condition of bretheren: the holy peace of the Church, and the quiet of Gods people, suffering them to enjoy what their father had bequeathed, or else they would diuide *France* equally, and hee should chooe what part he pleased. *Lothaire* refusing nothing flatly, led them with delayes, expecting forces out of *Guienne*, led by *Pepin*, and in the meane time he diuided the Cities by his practises, meaning to assaile his bretheren both within and without, and to surprize them by authoritie and force, as hee had done heretofore his poore father, presuming of the like meanes.

Lothaire thinking to surprize his bretheren, is opposed and defeated.

But the subtilly was taken in his owne snare, for as *Lothaire* (finding himselfe the stronger) refused these conditions of peace, saying openly: That his bretheren would neuer bee wile vntill hee had corrected them, behold the armies lying neere to *Fontenay* (after these vaine parles of peace, *Lewis* and *Charles* charge *Lothaires* armie) (alredie a Conqueror in conceit) with such aduantage, as hee was not onely put to rout, but also ouerthrowne with a notable slaughter, noted vnto this day, by the place where the battaile was fought, the which for this occasion is called *Chaplis*, and the straight is called by the victors name, the valley of *Charles*, to continue the memorie of so bloodie a victorie, where euen the Conquerours had cause to weepe, hauing shed their owne blood, although forced to fight.

It is not now that *France* began to bee indifferent, banding against it selfe, and digging in her owne bowels, by the domesticall and viciall dissensions. *Lothaire* after this defeat changed his humor with his state, for hardly could hee rectyre with his shame to saue his dominions. Hee enioyed the titulare maske of the Empire with *Austrasia*, yet very much curtailed and danded to his three sonnes, *Lewis*, *Charles*, and *Lothaire*. Of these great inheritances, there remaines nothing cleere but *Lorraine*, of the name of *Lothaire*. And so the great discourtes of him whome the whole earth could not satisfie, without taking from father, and bretheren, were buried in a cloister: for *Lothaire* (having remorse of conscience for attempting against his father and bretheren, and all to beare rule) lost the honour hee had sought with such eagernesse, and (to soder the paines hee had inflicted vpon his father) hee professeth himselfe a Monke in the Abbie of *Pluuiers*, and dies a Monke in the year 855, taking on him the frocke, and being shauen, as the ciuil death of a King or Prince of the blood royall, according to the *French* opinion, which continues vnto this day, for a note of the greatest paine they could suffer that were borne in this authoritie, to bee shauen and made Monkes, and to change the crowne of *France* into a Monkes crowne, dead to the world.

Lothaire dies a Monke.

This was the Catastrophe and end of this turbulent Prince, by the iust iudgement of God, published then in the greatest assemblies, and made knowne vnto all by open and publike writings, for a notable testimonie and witness to all men.

That

A That whosoener disobeyes father and mother: deceiues his bretheren, troubles the peace of the Church and state, in breaking the sacred Lawes of God and nature, hee dismembers himselfe by peece-meale, loosing his goods, honour and quiet, for assured gages of the horrible torments which attend him in the euertlasting prisons, appointed to tame the vntamed, and to make them suffer the infinite paines of their infinite wickednesse.

Charles and *Lewis* were well satisfied to haue prevented their brothers desseins, not making any further pursuit of their victory. They seeke to confirme true concord by the settling of their Estates. Hauing stayed sometime vpon the place where the

A second battaile between *Charles* and *Lewis*.

B battaile was fought: buried the dead, released prisoners and proclaimed a general pardon to all that would followe their armes: they call the Bishops, to take their aduice vpon occurrents, who beeing solemnly assembled exhort them vnto concord, laying plainly before them the iust iudgement of God against their brother *Lothaire*, least they should drawe the people againe into these extremities by their dissensions.

The Brethren (beleeuing their good aduice) part good friends: but when as *Lothaire* sought to renew the quarrell, they met againe: but this struing was in vaine: they assemble in the City of *Strasbourg* then belonging to this Crowne, and there make a tollome alliance for the & their subiects, to liue together in peace & concord.

C The forme is double, one in the *Romain* tongue, the other in *Dutch*, that is to say the *Germaine*. As for the *Romaine*, it seemes to be that of *Languedoc* and *Prouence*, by the *Language*, although there bee some words which are not at this day in vse with vs, as the reader (curious of this antiquity) may see in their proper places, excusing my stile which suffers me not to dilate any further, but onely to note what may be found in the originalls, touching this subiect.

This allyance made, they come to the diuiding of their parts: and to this end they appoint twelue deputies, (whereof *Nitard* saies he was one), who without respect of fertility or quantity, regard that onely which was most conuenient, for the necessity and commodity of their Estates. I know this partition is diuersly set downe by many: and who sees not in so obscure antiquity, that it is impossible to make a true designation, seeing that in small successions there is so great diuersity? But in all this variety of opinions, it remaines for certaine, that *Charles* the onely sonne of the second bed, (who had bene so much persecuted by the Children of the first wife), remayned sole King of *France*: that the territories of the Empire were much decayed, nothing remaying in effect, but the name of these which lie on this side the *Rhin*, especially in the dependances of the Realme of *Bourgogne*, as *Daulphiné* and *Prouence*. *Daulphiné* doth yet carry the ancient name of the Empire, in respect of the river of *Rosne* which doth separate it from *Viaretz*, a Country opposite, called by an expresse name the Realme, as also for this cause *Charles* was called by expresse words in the designation of his portion, King of *France*, it confines at the one end with *Lionnois*, at the other with *Vzege*, which extends from *Saint Esprit* to *Ville-neueue* of *Auignon*, along the *Rosne*; all the sayd limits beeing of his portion, bee called by a particular name the Realme, vnto this day, especially in their Leases, which retayne more plainly the traces of the ancient tongue.

The portions of *Charles* and *Lewis*.

E An obseruation which I ought vnto my Country, for the which I keepe a ranke in the Theater whereon I meane to represent the Estate of our goodly Prouinces of *Gaule Narbonoise*, in old time honored with the name of a second *Italy*, and at this day so grossly vnkowne to strangers, as in the Theater of the world they leaue a blanke for it, like to the deserts of *Affricke*, although it yeelds not to any Prouince of this great and goodly Kingdome, whereof it is one of the cheefe parts, and worthiest members. So *Daulphiné* and *Prouence* were left to *Lewis* in his partage, for the commodity of *Italy* the which was giuen him, notwithstanding the pretensions of *Bernards* Children.

But *Lewis* enioyed not long these great possessions, for the which he had so much

829. troubled his poore father, his miserable subjects and himselfe for he died without issue, without any issue male, leauing one only daughter called *Hermingrade*, heire of all his great Estates.

Behold the last rebellious sonne of the father, and one of his scourges, deed without any great memory, the which was like-wile extinguished in his daughter and in the diuers changes happened in these Estates. Thus the Children impatient to see their poore father liue, died after many fruitlesse toyles, the one in a monastery, the other without heire to carry his name, although the imagination of a famous race and of an extraordinary raigne, had made them forget the holy Lawes of nature against their father. *Charles* and *Lewis* had made profession of more then brotherly loue, as their familiarities carefully obserued by *Nitard*, in eating, lying and playing together do testifie, leauing to the wise reader to iudge, howe vncertain the loue of brethren is when as Couetousnes and ambition creepes into their counsell.

Charles married his Neece *Hermingrade*, daughter to his brother *Lewis*, to *Boson* Earle of *Ardennes*, brother to his wife *Richilde*. His colour was to match his Neece with a Prince of a good house, and of more vertue, and thereby to binde *Boson* vnto him, but his intent was other, as we shall hereafter see. *Boson* tooke possession of the Countries belonging to his wife as her dowry, & calls himselfe King of *Arles*. A point very remarkable, to vnfold many difficulties that shall followe in the foresayd Countries, and especially in *Prouence*, where haue happened many changes, the which wee will endeauour to represent in their proper places.

Hermingrade daughter to *Lewis* married to *Boson* King of *Arles*.

This was the Estate of the heires of great *Charlemagne*, but his posterity did worfe: where the most famous memory of our Kings shalbe noted by their vices, eyther of body or minde, one being called the stuttring, an other the bald, the simple, the cruell, the Barren, and all misfortunes, to shewe as it were in a goodly table, that all the greatnes of this world, is but meere vanity.



CHARLES

CHARLES surnamed the bald, sonne
to Lewis the gentle, the
26. King and Emperour.



C HARLES called the bald, King of France, beganne to raigne the the yeare 841. and reigned thirty eight yeares. He caused himselfe to be proclaimed Emperour after the death of *Lewis*, who suruiued *Lothaire*, without contradiction. The greatest part of his raigne passed in the confusions before mentioned, or in the hatred and dissensions of brethren, or in combustions and open warres. But why should I encrease mine owne trouble and the readers, with the report of these particularities, vnworthy of brethren, and worthy of eternall forgetfulness?

A raigne of small fame, but onely to note the confusion from whence sprong the first occasion of the fall of this race: a King of small merit, hauing performed nothing praise worthy, for in that wherein hee desired to winne the reputation of doing well, hee did exceeding ill. His greatest ambition was to seeme a good Vncle to the onely daughter of his brother *Lewis*, with whome hee had made so strict a League of loue. He married her to *Boson*, as I haue sayd: but the elements shew that he married her with an intent to gouerne her inheritance at his pleasure.

Being proclaimed Emperour, hee leuies a great and mightie army, and goes in person into *Italie*. His pretext was to suppress the Dukes of *Spoletum* and *Beneuent*, who sought to free themselves from the subiection of the Empire, and to become Soueraignes: but his intent was to seize vpon the strong places of *Italie*, and so by consequence, of that which belonged to his Neece *Hermingrade*.

But *Boson* her husband discovering her Vncles intent, preuented him, by loyng with the sayd Dukes, and prouiding for the Citties of *Italie* with all expedition,

841

A confused and vnhappy raigne.

Charles seeks to deceiue his Neece.

879. expedition, as his wiues inheritance: and then hee aduertised *Charles* entring into the A
Countrie, that it was needlesse for him to passe any farther, and to put *Italie* to vnneces-
sarie charges, seeing that he himselfe could gard it sufficiently, & the foresaid Dukes
did submit themselves to reason. But being easie to iudge that *Charles* hauing an armie
in field, and a resolute desseine, would not retyre without constraint, *Boson* makes fa-
ctions in *France*, in the heart of his Estare, to diuert him. An easie matter, both for
their discontents against him, and the miserie of that age, nourished in the libertie of
vnciuill warres. This occasion drew *Charles* from this vnuust desseine, for at the first
brute of rebellion, he turnes head towards *France*. but there chanced more to him then
he expected, for he not only left his Neeces patrimonie, but his owne life in *Italie*,
with a notable instruction, Not to loose this life for the desire of an other mans B
goods. Thus died *Charles* the bald at *Mantoua*, the yeare 879. lea-
uing the Realme to his sonne *Lewis*, the which hee fought
to augment with an others
right.

Charles diuer-
sed from the
warre of *Italy*.

Where he died

LEWIS the second called the stuttering 27. King and Emperour.



HE reigned onely two yeares, and succeeded his father likewise in the A
Empire, but not without opposition, for the Princes of *Italie* fought
to be Soueraines, and the *Germanes* (bearing impatiently the con-
fusions passed) desired to restore the beauty of the Imperiall dignity,
greatly decayed in *Italie*, by such as possessed the lands of the Em-
pire. They spared not the Pope himselfe, who by little and little, vsur-
ped the Imperiall rights in *Italie*. These complaints being made to
Lewis the Emperour, *John* the 3. Pope of *Rome* came into *France* to redresse that which
concerned

A concerned the Sea of *Rome*. He was courteously received by the King, staid in *France* 880.
a whole yeare, and there held a Councell at *Troyes* in *Champagne*.

The raigne of *Lewis* was very short. The Pope was scarce gone, but hee was lod-
ged in the bed of death. He had no lawfull children but two bastards, *Lewis* and *Ca-
roloman*, both men growne, whereof the one was already married to the daughter of
Boson King of *Arles*. His wife was with child. In the doubtfullnesse of the suite which
should be borne, he must provide a Regent to gouerne the realme, if it were a sonne.
And although *Lewis* loued his two bastards deere'y, yet would he not haue them Re-
gents, but made choise of *Eudes* or *Odon* Duke (that is to say gouernour) of *Angers*,
the sonne of *Robert* of the race of *Widichind* of *Saxony* (of whom we haue before made
mention) to bee Regent of the Realme, and experience taught, that his iudgement
was good,

Lewis leaves
his wife with
childe.

Thus *Lewis* dyed, hauing left nothing memorable but a sonne: wherein I obserue
three notable things, *The efficacy of the Lawe of State*, preferring the right of the law-
full heire not yet borne: *The minoritie of a King*, subiect to many confusions and mi-
series: and the liberty of *great men* in the weakenesse of a young Prince, who sithe
boldly in a troubled streame. In this raigne happened the Eclipse of the Empire.
The first check giuen to this second race, was by a League, which dying in shew, made
the King to dye in effect, and in the end carryed away the Crowne, burying both the
King and all his race in one tombe. This History is very obscure, by reason of the Re-
gents which are numbred among the Kings, during the minoritie of the lawfull heire:
and therefore good directions are needfull in so confused a laborinth of diuers raignes
Behold therefore the simple and plaine truth.

Lewis the Stuttering being dead, the Parliament assembled to resolu for the go-
uernment of the realme, vntill that God should send the Queene a happy deliury: The estates
and if it were a sonne, appoint who should be Gouvernour to the King, and Regent of
the Realme, vntill he came to the age of gouernment. There was no Prince that made
any question to the Infants title that was to bee borne: or that sought to take the ad-
uantage of the time, to aduance himselfe vnder colour of neerenesse of blood: but
it was concluded by common consent, they should carefully preferre the Queenes
D wombe, vntill her deliury. The Kings will was plaine, for he called *Eudes* (as we haue
said) to be Gouvernour to his child vnborne, and Regent of the realme: but *Lewis* and *Regents*
Caroloman, bastards of *France*, had so laboured for voyces, as they preuailed against
this Testamentary decree, and were chosen Regents by the Estates, who for confirma-
tion of this authoritie, decreed they should be crowned, yet with a profitable excep-
tion for the pupils interest, the lawfull heire of the Crowne.

A dangerous proceeding, making seruants taste the sweetnesse of Soueraigne com- A dangerous
mand, which made the way to a horrible confusion, and multiplying the authoritie of
many masters, did greatly preiudice the lawfull heire, the which may not (without ex-
treame danger) be imparted but to one onely. The Queene was happily deliuered
E of a sonne, the which was saluted King, and was called *Charles*, of whom wee shall
speake hereafter. The day of his birth was the 12. of December, in the yeare 881.
But we must now passe 22. yeares full of troubles, before our pupill comes to age: so
as to marche safely in so obscure a laborinth, wee must distinctly note the diuers par-
tels of this interreigne.

The

Charles borne
after his fa-
thers death.

The Minoritie of Charles called the Simple,

*the which continued 22. yeares vnder 4. Regents,
whom they call Kings.*



Lewis and Caroloman Brothers, the bastards of Lewis the Stuttering, chosen by the States, raigned two yeares or there abouts, to whom they adde Lewis the idle, the sonne of Caroloman, but hee is not numbred among the Kings.

Charles the Grosse raigned nine yeares.
Eudes or Odon, eleuen yeares.

*Behold the 22. yeares of
this minoritie.*

The 28. raigne vnder LEWIS and CAROLOMAN.



They talke diuersly of these Kings, who in deed were no lawfull Kings, but guides to a lawfull King. A confused and obfcure age, which hath left such famous persons in doubt. But wee may say in their excuse, that men being weary of these confusions, haue willingly left them doubtfull, to hide the infamie of their times, or else no man durst set Pen to Paper, to represent the shامتull courfes of those miseries.

Lewis and Caroloman tooke either of them a part to gouerne: Lewis the countrie on the other side of Loire, and Caroloman that on this side. They had the Normans, and Lewis defeated Boson King of Arles for common enemies, and as continuall thornes in their sides, in diuers places and vpon diuers occurrents, for the ending whereof, they besiege Boson in Vienne, and resolute to take it: but presently the Normans come to his succour. Caroloman continues the siege, and Lewis goes to encounter the Normans. But oh the vaniry of humaine conceptions: the Regents are frustrate of their hopes, for Lewis loofeth his Armie, and afterwards his life, through griete of his defeat. Caroloman on the other side takes Vienne, but not Boson, who saues himselfe in the Mountaines of Viuares. And contrarywise, hee that hoped to haue his greatest enemy in his power, was

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Charles called the grosse, began to raigne the yeare 882. and raigned nine yeares. His entrance was goodly, but his end tragically fowle. Hee was installed in the Regencie with the same ceremonies that the other two forenamed, for he was crowned King, with promise to restore the Crowne to the lawfull heire, and to gouerne according to the will of the States. Hee was sonne to Lewis called Germanicus, sonne to Lewis the gentle, as wee haue said. This neereffe

A surprised by death vnlooked for and extraordinarie, hauing ended his rege and become sole Regent by the death of his brother. But the manner of his death is diuersly obserued: some write, that running in iest after a gentlewoman, he was crushed vnder a gate, whether his horse had violently carried him. Others say, that hee was slaine by a boare, going a hunting: or that being at the chase, he fell downe and brake his necke. But all this notes, that the manner of his death was violent and extraordinarie. So the Regencie of these two bastards, gotten by force against the Law, was both short and vnfortunate.

Lewis succeeded to these two brethren. Men dispute with much vncertainie what he was to Caroloman, either brother or sonne, but all agree he was an idle person. It is likely hee was the nearest kinsman, hauing seized on the authoritie after the death of these two Regents, but in effect the French had the power in their owne hands. It chanced as they were readie to free themselves off this Lewis, that he died, and so they called Charles the grosse, King of Baniere, first Prince of the blood, to this great dignitie.

CHARLES called the grosse or great, 29. King and Emperour.

An Example from a tragicall change to a worthie person.



885,

Great hopes
of Charles his
good govern-
ment.Neustria now
called Nor-
mandie.
Charles de-
feated by the
Normans,
yields to a pro-
indicial peace.Charles ex-
tremely hated.Charles de-
feated from the
Empire and
exiled.

of blood gave him an interest, and the Imperiall dignitie, power, and meanes to gouerne the Realme well. So the eyes of the *French* were fixed on him, as the man which should restore their decayed estate, after so many disorders and confusions. His entrance was reasonable happie, (as at the first every thing seemes goodly) being respected of all his subiects. He went into *Italie*, and expelled the *Sarazins* which threatened *Rome*, but being returned into *France*, hee found a new taske, for the *Normans* (a *Northerne* people, gathered together not onely from *Denmarke*, but also from *Sweden* and other neighbour Countries, as the word of *Norman* doth shew, signifying men of *North*) were dispersed in diuerse parts vpon the sea coast of the Realme of *France*: and had chiefly set footing in the Countries of *Arthois*, *Therouenne*, and other low Countreies, and in *Neustria* one of his greatest and neereest Prouinces, taking their oportunitie by the troubles so long continued among the brethren.

Charles marcheth with his armie against them, but at the first encounter he was beaten. This checke (although the losse were small) stroke a greater terror, and in the end caused an apparent impossibilitie, to recouer that Prouince from so great forces: so as he was aduised to enter into treatie with them, and to make them of enemies friends, leaving them that which he could not take from them. The which hee did absolutely of his owne authoritie, (being very great, vnited in these two dignities,) without the priuie of his Estates. So *Charles* yeelded *Neustria* to the *Normans*, vpon condition they should do homage to the Crowne of *France*. Then gaue they their name to the Countrie which they had conquered, ratified by this sollempne title, and called it *Normandie*. He likewise lost *Friseland*, and gaue *Giselle* in marriage (being the daughter of *Lothaire* his Cousin) to *Sigefrid* or *Geffroy* one of the cheefe of the *Normans*, thinking thereby to stoppe this storme. But thereby he wrought his owne ruine, for this grant was found so wonderfully strange, that the *French*, not only greened that the *Regent* had done it without their aduice, but also that (in yeelding this goodly countrie to the *Normans*) he had dismembred the inheritance of the Crowne, which is inalienable by the law of State. And although necessitie might inferre some consideration for *Charles* his excuse, yet the *French* for this respect conceived so great a hatred against him, as they could not rest vntill they had degraded him. And as one mischeefe neuer comes alone: *Charles* finding himselfe thus dildayned, fell sicke. This corporall sicknes was accompanied with a distemperature of the mind, farre more dangerous: by an extreme ieaousie hee had conceived against his Queene *Richarde*, daughter to the King of *Scots*, suspecting her to haue bene too prodigall of her honour. These two infirmities of bodie and mind made *Charles* altogether unfit for his charge, which consists more in action then in contemplatiue authoritie, and in a season when as occasions were ministred on all sides. This difficultie and disabilitie to serue effectually in the regencie of the Realme and Empire vnited in one person, of whome all men expected much, and they discontent of the ill gouernment which the *French* and *Germanes* (depending of this Crowne) pretended, in quitting *Normandie*, made both the one and the other, to enter into strange alterations against *Charles*. At the first his great authoritie kept the boldest in awe, and his sicknes did excuse him: but after some yeares patience, the *French* & the *Germanes* by a common consent resolved to dispossesse *Charles*, and to call a more sufficient to the place, every one according to the limits of his countie. The *Germanes* made choise for their Emperour, of *Arnoul* sonne to *Caroleman*, the sonne of *Lewis* the gentle, retaining the respect they bare to the blood and memorie of *Charlemagne*. Thus the Eclipse of the Empire chanced not altogether, but this change was the first moriue to alter the Imperiall dignitie, whereof afterwards was framed an estate in *Germanie*, vnder the title of an Emperour, as we shall see. The *French* likewise reiect this miserable *Charles*, from the regencie of the realme, and call *Eudes* or *Odou* Duke of *Angers*, named by the will of *Lewis* the stuttering.

So this poore Prince is dispossessed of all his estates, and abandoned of euery man, reiected both from realme and Empire, hauing so ill provided for himselfe in time of prosperitie, as he remained naked without a house, where to shroude himselfe from the disgrace

disgrace of this shipwrack: being banished from his Court, and driven into a poore village of *Sucuis*, where he liued some dayes in extreame want, without any meanes of his owne, or releefe from any man, in the end he dyed, neither pitied nor lamented of any: in a corner vnkowne, but to haue bene the Theater of so extraordinary a Tragedie, That one of the greatest Monarkes of the world, should dye without house, without bread, without honour, without mourning, and without memorie, but the note of this end so prodigiouly memorable. A notable patterne of the vanity of this world, in diuers circumstances: In *Charles*, in the people, and in the Chastisement. In

Charles, to learne by his example, to carry themselves wisely, both in prosperitie and aduersity. Hee wanted no iudgement, and had abundance of wealth: but hee was neither temperate nor wise in his abundance, in the which the actions of his life shew him to haue bene imperious and indiscreet, purchasing enemies, in contemning those that had rayfed him to those dignities, hauing bene too confident in himselfe, and carelesse of the condition of mans life: and from this extremitie he fell into another, in the time of his greatest afflictions, suffering himselfe to be cartied away in the current of melancholie, and his soule to be swallowed vp in despaire. In the People, who worship him in the beginning, whom they deuoure in the end, and with an inexcusable malice, tread vnder foote the afflicted: and without due consideration of the true cause of affliction, they esteeme no crime greater then affliction it selfe, whereon they should haue pittie, and detest the vice, the which they couer with the cloake of prosperity. But from *Charles*, the People, and the *Rodde*, let vs ascend to him that holds it, which is God, and learne to depend on him, both in wealth and woe, not trusting in our selues when we abound, nor distrust in him when we are in greatest extreames: the which he can easily redresse. Doubtlesse greatnesse cometh neither from the East nor from the West. God raiseth one, and pulleth downe another, that weighing duly the vncertaintie of this life, and profiting by the example of others, we may learne not to be wise vnto our selues, but to stop our mouthes, and open our eares and eyes, to see what God doth, and heare what he saith, seeking the true remedies of consolation, in him that neuer failes the afflicted which flie vnto him.

So that great King and Prophet banished from his house, said, *I haue held my peace, for thou hast done it, and The Lord is iust in all his wayes*. A most reasonable warrant of Iustice, and excellent fruite of afflictions. Such was the entrie and end of *Charles* the Grosse, at the first a King and Emperour, and in the end lesse then his most miserable subiect. After him *Eudes* came in place, thrust forward by them that had reiected *Charles* the Grosse,

K

E V D E S



EVDES, or ODon named Regent by Lewis the second, called the Rutte-

tering, and received by the Estates, the
thirtieth King of France.



894.

The first of
Fulcher
whence
to King Hugh
Capet.



Behold *Eudes* at last, who should have been in the beginning. Hee **A**
began to raigue, or rather to bee Regent, the yeare 894. and raig-
ned eight yeares and some moneths, but not without difficulties.
For the order of the historie wee must carefully observe his race,
which in the end shal game the highest place. We have made men-
tion of *Witland* of *Saxony*, one of the most famous personages of
his time. Being greatly favoured by *Charlemagne*, hee sent a sonne
of his into *France*, named *Robert* or *Rupert*, who had great dignities. This *Robert* had
two sonnes, *Eudes* and *Robert*, who shall soone minister matter to take of his life. This
last *Robert* was father to *Hugh* the great, and hee father to *Hugh Capet*, who in the end
shall sit in the royall throne: we shall see by what degrees and meanes. But to unfold
many difficulties which appeare in the reading of this historie, and in the diversitie of
titles given those that are descended of *Eudes* race: we must observe, that the name of
Earle and Duke, were titles of gouernment, and not of inheritance, and that their go-
uernments were temporary, so as one & the same man (being possessed of diuers go-
uernments at diuers times) doth carrie in diuers respects the title of Duke, and Earle
of those Prouinces, whereof hee hath beene gouernour: the which was vially for a
yeare, or for three. So as wee find in this house, Dukes of *Angers*, *Paris*, *Guienne*, and
Bourgonne, according to their commands.

Duke and
Earle but ti-
tles of Offi-
ces.

Eudes undertooke the gouernment of the Realme, according to the decree of the Es-
tates, vnder the conduct of a good Pilot. He was held to bee a good and a wise
man, yet could hee not please all the *French* that had called him to the Regencie.
They

A They complaine that *Eudes* was well pleased to rule and to keepe the King in awe, be-
ing no more a child: & after so bad gouernment of the former Regents. Such as sought *Eudes* malig-
to bee partakers of the authoritie vnder the yong King, did vehemently insist against
Eudes, to haue him leaue the gouernment of the realme: but necessitie did contradict
it, not permitting him to abandon the helme in these tempests. In the end (after many
clamors) *Eudes* authoritie is limited to the gouernment of *Guienne*. *Eudes* malig-
ned in his
Regencie.

Eight yeares passed in these contentions, but now the seed of innouation was in
the heart of the State, the libertie of priuate men hauing cast away all respect: all the
members of the bodie were sicke, and the soueraigne authoritie shaken by a generall
disorder, which in the end changed by degrees. *Italie* wauered, *Germanie* was quite safe-
Blen away, as I haue sayed: and *France* was greatly troubled with diuers factions, among
the which, the Kings part was reckoned the greater: but experience shewed it was
the weakest, for *Eudes* kept them in awe. The King who had the greatest interest,
thought least thereon, being ill aduised by them who sought to abuse his simple and
tractable disposition, and to aduance themselves by his ruine. Hee solicits *Eudes* in
such sort as in the end he strips himselfe of all authoritie, and resignes it into the Kings
hands, who knowes neither how to manage it, nor how to auoyd his owne mis-
fortune, the which *Eudes* preuented whilest he liued. It was not long
before his death, that he resigned al his authoritie of Regent vnto
Charles as to the lawfull heire, the which hee could
not long keepe when hee was in posses-
sion thereof, according to his
soueraigne desire.

K 2

CHARLES



CHARLES the 2. called the
simple; 31. King.



902.

HEE was Crowned in the yeare 902. *Eudes* gouerning with him eight yeares from his coronation, *Charles* remayning alone after the death of his Regent in the yeare 902. raigned 27. yeares. His raigue was miserable both in the beginning, midst and ending. He ratified the accord made with the *Normans*, by *Charles* the Groſſe, and ſealed it with the marriage of his ſiſter *Gilette* with *Rhou* or *Raoul* (hee is alſo called *Rheulon*) their chiefe Commander, who hauing left the *Pagan* ſuperſtition and imbraced *Chriſtian* religion, purchaſed a great reputation in that Country, whereof he was firſt called Duke.

But the *Normans* ſute ceaſing, a more violent fire is kindled by conſuſion. All breaks forth: A league made againſt the King, diſcouers it ſelfe, and takes armes without ſhame or reſpect, but being the breeding of the change of this ſecond race. We muſt obſerue it very diſtinctly, and ſeek out the motives thereof.

A memora-
ble league of
Robert againſt
King Charles
the 3.

The

906

The League of Robert brother to Eu-
des, againſt king Charles the

*ſimple: the firſt ſteppe to the change of
this ſecond Race.*

*The which laſe ſmothered 53. yeares before it
was fully diſcovered, vnder Hugh
Capet. from the yeare.
923. to 976.*

B



ROBERT Duke of *Aniou*, that is to ſay, gouernour by the death of his brother *Eudes*, becomes the head of this League, accompanied with many great men of *France*. The euent ſhewes that their intent was to reiect *Charles* the ſimple, as vnworthy to raigne, and to chooſe a newe King. I doubt not but *Robert* affected the Crowne for himſelfe: but that is very likely that hee couered this his deſſeine

The motive
of this league

with ſome goodly pretext. The writers of that obſcure age haue concealed the motives; but as by the effects we knowe the cauſe, ſo by the euent of this League when it was ſtrongeſt, we may iudge of the intent.

They aduanced a Prince of the bloud for king, cauſing *Charles* to quit the Crowne, *Charles* put
diſgracing him with the name of ſimple or fooliſh, and delaring him incapable of ſo great a charge. Who ſeeth not then the reaſon, that during the minority of *Charles* the
ſimple, the diuerſity of maſters had bred infinit conſuſions in the ſtate? and that ſince
his coronation, things were nothing repaired, although *Eudes* had reſigned him the
Regency. They pretend it was neceſſary to furniſh the realme with a more worthy
Prince, to giue an end to theſe miſeries. But that which cheefeſly moued the vnderta-
kers, was their private intereſt, the which they cloaked with the common-weale. The
humors of this inſufficient King offended many, too milde to ſome, too ſeuere to others
and ingratefull to ſuch as had beſt ſerued him.

The commentary which hath bene added to the text of the Originall is not likely, that *Robert* as brother to *Eudes* pretended the Crowne, as heire vnto his brother be-
ing lawfully choſen by the States. But wherevnto tends all this? *Eudes* had left no ſuf-
pition to pretend any intereſt vnto the Crowne, hauing bene Regent after others,
and enioying it but by ſuffrance, reſigning it willingly or by conſtraint vnto the lawe-
full heire. Truly the *French mens* carefull keeping of their Queenes wombe, their
acknowledging the childe borne after the fathers death for King: their chooſing of
Regents: their placing and diſplacing of one and the ſame Regent, do plainly ſhewe
both the efficacy of the Lawe, and the reſolute poſſeſſion of the *French*, the which
they yeilded not eaſily to a man with ſo weake a title. What then? I ſhould rather
thinke that the peoples complaint, tired with ſo long calamities, was their colour
to furniſh the realme with a more wiſe and profitable guide, and that they ſought a
Prince (as in the ende they tooke *Raoul* King of *Bourgongne*, the firſt Prince of the
bloud) of which League *Robert* was the ringleader, as the firſt in dignity and moſt
valiant in courage, or the moſt raſh in ſo dangerous an enterpriſe.

Robert the
head of the
league and in
armes.

The memory of his brothers wiſe and peaceable gouernment, and his owne va-
lour, oppoſite to the fooliſh and baſe diſpoſition of *Charles*, blemiſhed with this
name of ſimple, (for his folly and contemptible humors) gaue a great Luſtre to this en-
terpriſe, with thoſe great intelligences he had within the realme, and namely with the *Nor-
mans* his confident friends.

With this aſſurance hee armes boldly againſt *Charles*, promiſing himſelfe an vn-
doubted

925. of Friul, who hauing freed himselfe from the Empire, had vanquished *Lewis* the sonne of *Boson*, who inioyed *Italie* (as we haue sayd) as husband to the daughter of *Lewis* one of the sonnes of *Lewis* the gentle. *Raoul* made a quiet end with *Hugues* Earle of *Arles*, who had gotten possession of that goodly Cittie as gouernour, seated in a fertile Countre, and very conuenient: he suffered him quietly to inioy the Cittie and territories about it, holding it of the Crowne of *France*.

Thus passed the raigne of *Raoul*, without any great profit after so much toyle and trouble, vnder a colour to do better then the lawfull heire, wrongfully dispossessed by him; Leauing no memorie but his ambition and iniustice, in a deluge of troubles and confusions, wherein the Realme was plunged after his departure to the great discontent of all the *French*. He died after all these broyles in the yeare 936. at *Compiègne*.

Necessitie obseruations for great estates. An age wonderfully disordred, wherein we may profitably obserue by what accidents and meanes great estates are ruined. Ciuill warres bred the first *Symptomes*. As order is the health of an estate, so is disorder the ruine. The seruant hauing tasted the sweetness of command, imagins himselfe to be master, being loath to leaue the authoritie he had in hand, holding it as his owne by testament. In this resolution there is nothing holy, all is violated for rule, all respect is layd aside, every one playes the King within himselfe: for one King there are many. & where there are many masters, there are none at all. The which we must well obserue, to vnfold many difficulties in the History of this confused age, wherein we read of many Kings, Dukes, and Earles, although these titles were but temporarie, hauing no other title but the sword and the confu-

Confusions of thole times. Thus was *France* altered after the death of *Charles* the simple, by the practises of *Roberts* League. There was no gouernour of any *Province* throughout the realme, which hold not proper to himselfe and his heires, those which were given vnto them but as offices. From hence sprang for many Dukedomes, Earledomes, Baronies, and Seigneuries, the which for the most part are returned to their first beginnings. *Italie* (giuen to an Infant of *France*) was possessed by diuers Princes. *Germanie* withdrawne from the Crowne, was banded into diuers factions, so as the Empire of the *West* confirmed in the person of *Charlemagne*, continued scarce a hundred yeares in his race: for *Lewis* the fourth, the sonne of *Arnoul* (of whome we haue spoken) was the last Emperour of this bloud. In his place the *Germanes* elected *Conrad* Duke of *East Franconia*, the yeare of grace 920. the Empire being then very weake. After *Conrad* was chosen *Henry* the fouler Duke of *Saxony*, and after him his sonne *Otto*, Princes adorned with great & singular vertues, fit for the time to preserve the *West*: for the *East* did runne headlong to her ruine, so as since *Nicephorus* (who liued in the time of *Charlemagne*) they did not esteeme them, but held them as abiects in regard of those great Emperours which had liued before them, namely *Michel Curopalates*, *Leo Armenien*, *Michel* the flammering, the two *Theophiles* father & son, *Eusebe* the *Macedonien*, *Leo* the Philosopher, *Alexander*, *Constantine* a *Romaine*, all which had nothing of the *Romaine* but the name. Thus this poore sicke bodie languished, being tome in peeces by the infamies of these men, either of no valour, or altogether wicked, attending the last blow by the hand of the *Mahometans*, whose power they fortified by their vitious liues, vntill they had lodged them vpon their owne heads.

In the Church A notable spectacle of Gods iust iudgement, who dishonours them that dishonour him, and expells them from their houses that banish him from their hearts. In these confusions of State, the Pope of *Rome*s power increased daily, by the ruines of the Empire, who thrust himselfe into credit among Christians by many occurrents. Their designs was to build a Monarchie in the Church, by authoritie, power, Seigneuries, ciuill Iurisdiccions, armes, reuenues, and treasor, being growne to that greatnes, as afterwards they sought to prescribe lawes to Emperours and Kings, who refusing it, and disputing vpon this primacie, many dissensions grew among them, and so were disperfed among the people. This is the summe of all that shall be discoursed in the future ages in *Christendome*, wherein we shall view the the sea of *Rome*, the Empire and the king-

dome

A. dome. I treat but of matters of State, wherevnto the subiect and the order of our definition doth tie me, to report by degrees so long and so obscure a discourse of those ages plunged in darkenesse.

Plantina the Popes Secretary reports a very notable accident, happened at *Rome* in those times: a yong maide loued by a learned man (these are his words) came with him to *Athenes*, attyred like a boy, and there profited so well in knowledge and learning, as being come to *Rome*, there were few equall vnto her in the Scriptures, neither did any one exceede her in knowledge: so as she had gotten so great reputation, as after the death of Pope *Leo*, she was created Pope, by a generall consent, & was called *Iohn* the eighth. But it chanced, that hauing crept too neere to one of her gromies, shee grewe with child, the which shee did carefully conceale. But as she went to the *Basilique* of *S. Iohn de Lateran*, betwixt the *Calistes* and *S. Clement*, she fell in labour, and was deliuered of this stolne birth, in a sollemne procession in view of all the people. And in detestation of so fowle a fact a pillar was erected where this profane person died.

In vita Joannis
Pope Iohn de-
scribed of a
Child in the
open street.

So without flattering the truth, not the Empire alone went to wrack, but also the realme and the Church, being in those daies full of confusions, in which they fell from one mischiefe to another, by the barbarous ignorance of all good things, both in the State and Church, as the wise and vnpassionate reader may obserue in the continuance of the history plainly described. But lets returne from the Empire and sea of *Rome*, to *France*. We haue sayd, that when *Charles* the simple was first imprisoned, the

C Queene *Ogiva* his wife had carried her sonne *Lewis* into *England* to *Aldestan* the King her brother. She had patiently suffred all, during the furious raigne of *Raoul* the usurper, while the experience of diuers masters did ripen the *French mens* discontent, to make them wish for their lawfull Lord. After the death of *Raoul*, *Aldestan* King of *England*, (hauing drawne vnto him *William* Duke of *Normandie*, the sonne of *Rhou*) sends a very honorable Ambassage to the States of *France*, intreating them to restore his Nephewe *Lewis* to his lawfull and hereditary dignitie. The *French* with it: so as without any difficulty, *Lewis* the sonne of *Charles* was called home, by the Estates of *France*, whether he was accompanied with a great troupe of *English men* and *Normans*, as the shewe of a goodly army, which might seeme to force them to that which they willingly yeelded vnto.



LEWIS

LEWIS the 4. surnamed from beyond the seas, 33. king



935.

Lewis marries
one of the
Emperours
sisters



LEWIS returns into France, having remayned nine years or thereabouts in England, surnamed *D'outremer* or *from beyond the seas*, by reason of his stay there. He beganne to raigne in the yeare 935. and raigned 27. yeares. A disloyall and vnsfortunate Prince, hauing made no vse of his afflictions, vnworthy the bloud of *Charlemagne*. And thus their ruine aduanced by the default of men, the which God held back by his patience. He found the Estate of his realme like vnto one that returnes to his houte after a long and dangerous nauigation. He was receiued with great ioye of all men. Those which had beene most opposite vnto him, made greatest shewes of faithfull and affectionate seruice, to insinuate into his fauour. Amongst the rest *William* Duke of *Normandy*, but especially *Hugues* the great, *Maïor of the Pallace*, whome wee haue already noted, as the sonne of *Robert* the chiefe of the said League. Hee had employed all his meanes for the calling home of *Lewis* into France, and at his returne he spared nothing to confirme his authority. This was the meanes to lay the foundation of a greater authority for his successors.

Lewis marries
one of the
Emperours
sisters
Hee marries
her to Hugh
Capet marries
each other.

They must begin the newe government of this Prince with a wife, to haue lawfull issue. The Emperours allyance was very needefull. *Otho* held the Imperiall dignity, being the sonne of *Henry* the fowler Duke of *Saxony*. He had two sisters *Herbergue* and *Anoye*. King *Lewis* marrieth the eldest, and in signe of brotherly loue he motioned the marriage of the youngest with *Hugues* the great. *Lewis* had two sonnes by *Herbergue*, *Lothaire* (who succeeded him to the Crowne of France) and *Charles*, who shalbe Duke of *Lorraine* and contend for the Crowne, but shall loose it. *Hugues* the great was more happy then *Lewis*, for of the yongest hee had *Hugh Capet*, who shall take their place,

A place, and ascend the royall throne, to settle the French Monarchie, shaken much in the confusions of these Kings vnworthy to raigne, or beare any rule: And of the same marriage *Hugues* had *Otho* and *Henry*, both Dukes of *Bourgoigne*, one after another.

Behold now vpon the Stage two great and wise personages, the King and his Maïor, whom we may call a second King: they strue to circumuent each other, the which their actions will discouer: but man cannot preuent that on earth, which is decreed in heauen. At this time *William* Duke of *Normandie*, the sonne of *Rhou*, (who had shewed himselfe so affectionate in the restoring of the King to his dignitie) was traitterously massacred by the meanes of *Arnoul* Earle of *Flanders* his capitall enemy: *leaving* one sonne named *Richard*, a young man vnder government. This vnspected and extraordinary death must needs breed great troubles in *Normandie*, an estate which was but now beginning. It did greatly import for the good of France, to haue this Province in quiet. *Lewis* was likewise particularly bound, for the good enterrainment he had receiued of *William* in his greatest necessitie, the which tyed him to his sonne.

The Duke of
Normandie
traitterously
maïned.

Troubles in
Normandie.

These were goodly shewes to make him imbrace this cause: so as hauing intelligence of this accident, hee sends expressly to *Richard* and his Councell, to assure him of his loue and succour, and follows him the presently to *Rouan*, with a traine fite for his royall greatnesse, being loth to see the weakest after so strange an alteration, where the most audacious do commonly fish in a troubled streame. The colour of his coming was to comfort *Richard* with his counsell and fauourable assistance: but in effect, it was to seize vpon his person and estate. Hee sends for this young child to his lodging, conducted by his gouernour the Knight *Osmond*: he doth assure him with sweete words of his fatherly loue: but when night came, he would not suffer him to depart, detaining him three dayes with a carefull garde. The people incensed by them that had the charge of the young Duke, mutine, and besiege the Kings lodging.

Hauing pacified this popular fury, in deliuering them their Prince, hee protests to haue no other intent, but to preserve his estate. And so in an open assembly of the Citizens, receiuing him to homage, hauing giuen him a discharge of his lands and Seignuries, hee doth solemnly promise to reuenge the death of *William* against *Arnoul* Earle of *Flanders*, and gets the consent of the *Normans*, to lead their Duke with him to be instructed with his sonne *Lothaire*, a young childe of the same age. Hee brings him to *Laon*, whether *Arnoul* the murtherer of *William* repaires, in shew to purge himselfe of the murther: but in effect, to perswade him, so to seize on *Richards* person, as he might enioy his estate.

Lewis being resolute in this determination (a man disloyall by nature, and louing nothing but himselfe) hee caused this poore young Prince to bee straightly garded: but this Gouernour *Osmond*, retires him cunningly out of *Laon*, conducting him to *Senlis*, to *Hebert* his fathers confident friend. This is hee which imprisoned *Charles* the Simple, contrary to his faith: and now hee detests *Lewis* his Soueraigne Lord, who seekes to doe the like vnto one of his vassalls. But we shall soone see the Iustice of God aboute all, who will punish one by another, and shew himselfe an enemy and reuenger of all disloyaltie and misdemeanour, both in seruant and maister, and in all other, as all are naturally subiect to this soueraigne lawe of integritie and faithfulness to all men.

Lewis deales
treacherously
with the Duke
of Normandie

Hugues the great, Earle of *Paris*, and Maïor of the Pallace, had won great credit with the Citties and men of warre: but, hee was more feared then loued of *Lewis*, a treacherous and reuengefull Prince, whome hee distrusted, and opposed his authority against him. *Hebert* was his confident friend. So in this occurrent of this young Prince, hee comes to *Paris*, and winnes him to promise fauour vnto *Richard*, or at the least to make him promise, not to bee his enemy.

The

9.4.2.

The King likewise (knowing how much his friendship did import in these labours to winne him, (such was the strangenes of that age, as the master must be the seruant) the which hee obtayned, vpon condition to giue him a good part of *Normandie*. Here vpon the match was made, that *Hugues* should accompany *Lewis* to the warre of *Normandie*, and should enter on the one side while the King came on the other, promising to diuide their conquests according to their agreement. But this succeeded not according to their meanings, the two deceiuers were deceiued. but the greatest bare the greatest burthen. This complot of *Lewis* and *Hugues* could not be so secret, but it came to the knowledge of *Hebert*, who gaue intelligence to *Richard* and his gouernors, *Osmond*, and *Bernard* the Dane: so as they assemble at *Senlis*, and resolute to crosse this double dealing of *Hugues*, with the like policy. To this ende *Hebert* (according to the familiarity he had with *Hugues*) goes to conferre with him, to put him in minde of his promise: of the right of a yong Prince vniustly pursued by *Lewis*, and of his treacherous, and disloyall disposition, who hauing vsed him to worke his will, would in the end deceiue him, beseeching him to stand firme in a good cause, for his ancient and faithfull friends, and not to fortifie their common enemy by the afflictions of an other, but in defending the right vniustly set vpon, prouide for his safety and profit. *Hugues* (who thought it best to haue two strings to his bowe,) distrusting *Lewis* in his heart more then any man lyuing, doth easily grant *Hebert* to assist *Richard* against *Lewis*, and doth confirme his promise by oth.

The deceiver
is deceiued.

Hebert hauing thus ingaged *Hugues*, and yet distrusting him greatly, whome he sees to play on both sides, returns to *Senlis*, to *Richard* and his gouernors, where they conclude, that if *Hugues* ioyned with the King against *Richard*, they would compound with the King to his cost: and so it happened. The King goes to field with his army on the one side, and *Hugues* on the other to invade *Normandie* in diuers partes, when as *Bernard* the Dane, chiefe gouernor of the State for *Richard*, and *Osmond* of his person, came boldly vnto *Lewis* and sayd vnto him, that he had no neede to attempt *Normandie* by force, when as he might enioy it by a voluntary obedience: for prooue whereof, if it pleased him to come to *Rouen*, he should be obeyed. But withall he aduised him to take heed of *Hugues* his ancient enemy, shewing him treacherously the countenance of a friend & seruant, leaue he were circumvented, but rather to accept of a *Normandie* with *Rouen*, the which offered it selfe vnto him to receiue peace from him, & yeeld him obedience as their Soueraigne Lord.

Lewis vniustly giues eare to this aduice: he comes presently to *Rouen*, and is honorably receiued, sending word to *Hugues*, that seeing the Prouince obeyed, there was no neede of further proceeding, and hauing not employed him in this voluntary conquest, it was not reasonable he should participate in another mans estate: that the publicke good and reason required him to leaue *Richard* as he was, vnder the obedience of the Crowne, without dismembriug of his Estate. *Hugues* (who pretended a good part of this rich Country) was greatly discontented with *Lewis*. Hauing dismissed his army, he retires to *Paris*, detesting his infidelity. *Hebert* embracing this occasiō, comes to *Hugues*, and according to the familiarity of their ancient friendship, he laughs at him, in iustifying himselfe to be abused by his approued enemy, abandoning his trustie friends against all right. The shame to haue failed of his word, & despite to haue bene deceiued, made *Hugues* soone resolute, not onely to leaue *Lewis*, but to embrace *Richard*s party against him, with all his power.

It was a notable stratageme, to diuide *Hugues*, and leaue him discontented with *Lewis*: but being assured of his friendship, they lend into *Denmarke* (from whence the *Normans* were descended) to King *Aigrold*, kinsman and friend to *Richard*, for succors, the which succeeded more happily then they expected.

Enr's oppre-
sion the War
1531.

Lewis is at *Rouen*, who doth not onely command there as Soueraigne, but doth seize on their goods, whome he doth any way suspect; deuising occasions, and holding it for a capitall crime to be any way affected vnto *Richard*, fauoring his followers with the best matches in the Country, and giuing them credit and authority in the Prouince,

by

9.45.

A by marriages: he imposeth extraordinarie charges vpon the people, already surcharged with the feeding of so many horsemen. To conclude, he doth all a man may doe, that hath no other counsellor but his grearneffe, and that seekes his owne ruine by his blinde couetousnesse.

In the meane time *Aigrold* comes in *Denmarke*, and in the end comes into *Normandie*. The King of *Denmarke* comes to succour the Duke of *Normandie*. die with a goodly armie: the King likewise brings his forces to field. *Richard*, who had the chiefe interest, is at *Senlis* in safety, and *Hugues* at *Paris*, a looker on. *Aigrold*, before hee enters into open hostility, sends his Ambassadors to *Lewis*, to let him vnderstand, that the reason which had drawne him into *Normandie* with his armie, was to mainteine the right of his cousin *Richard*, who had not deserved to be spoyled of his Bestate, vpon no other cause but his minority: who (although hee had no father,) yet should he not bee destitute of Kinsmen and friends. And therefore hee intreated *Lewis* (rather then to come to the doubtfull euent of armes) to suffer *Richard* to enioy *Normandie*, as his father and grand-father had done. And this he did to liue the right on his side.

Lewis bold in deceiuing, and a coward in danger, charged with the wrong hee had done vnto a pupill, seeing himselfe abandoned by *Hugues*, whome he had discontented out of season, and not trusting much the other Noblemen that followed him, hee makes a very milde answer to *Aigrold*: and after some negotiations, he yeelds to a parlee with him, as the chiefe mediator of *Richard*s rights. Being in field, and conferring together vpon this occasion, behold an vnexpected accident falls out. He which had bene the cause of the Earle of *Flanders* quarrell, and by consequence of the murthering of *William*, the father of *Richard*, was there present with the King. Our histories say, it was *Ellain* Earle of *Montreuill*. A Dane (an old friend of *Williams*) knowes him, hee chargeth him therewith: and as they grow to choller, hee kills him. Then both parties fell to armes: the French charge the Danes, but they finde themselves too weake: all are dispersed, and with this vprore the Kings breake off their parlee. *Lewis* goes to horse, the which being strong headed, carries him among the thickest of the Danes. Behold he is now prisoner in the hands of some souldiars: but as in this tumult the gard was neglected, he escapes: yet in the end he is taken againe, and lead in triumph to *Rouen*. Thus the murder supported by *Lewis*, was the cause of his imprisonment: and he seeking to wrong a pupill, did releue him with his owne person, in exchange that he had restrained him against all right.

Lewis taken
prisoner, as a
paillie, and

The Queene *Gerberge* greatly troubled for her husbands imprisonment, flies to *Otho* the Emperour her brother, who (preuented by *Hugues* his other brother in law, and seeing the wrong *Lewis* did, to disquiet a young Prince in the possession of his estate) refuseth to succour him: so as necessitie inforceth *Gerberge* to vse *Hugues* (to her great griefe) to be a mediator for the deliuey of the King her husband. *Hugues* intreated by the Queene his sister in law, deales at length in this accord, but vpon good termes; That the King should yeeld to Duke *Richard* all the Duchie of *Normandie*, and for a surplusage that of *Brittanie*, to hold them freely without retention of soueraignty or homage: the which was much more then the pupill required, who would willingly haue done homage to the King, as to his soueraigne Lord, and haue yeelded him faithfull obedience. Behold the issue of *Lewis* his deceite, being deceiued by a poore young man, whom he thought to circumuent; verifying by a notable example, That whoeuer seekes to take away an other mans right, looleth his owne.

Enlarged vpon
conditions

Behold *Richard* restored to his estate, where he carrieth himselfe with such equity and moderation, by the wise aduise of *Bernard* and *Osmond* his Gouernours, as he wins the loue of his subiects, and by their counsell, he takes to wife *Agnes* or *Eumacette*, the Daughtre of *Hugues* the great, for confirmation of the good turne hee had receiued from him in his necessity. This alliance of *Hugues* with *Richard*, increased *Lewis* his ieaousie against him, so as hee resolved to imploy all his forces to suppress him. He goes to the Emperour *Otho* his brother in law, informing him, that *Hugues* practised to deprive him of the realme: and that he would speedily attempt it, if hee were

not

951. not prevented: with whome he so preuailed, through this common iealousie of Princes, (who impatiently do see any other to growe great by them) as he leuied a great army, the which ioyned with that of *France*, and beleeged *ROMAN*: but with such vnhappy successe, as the Emperour (hauing lost both his Nephew and a great number of his men) aduised the King to compound with *Hugues* his brother in lawe, and to leaue *Richard*, *Normandie* in peace, according to their former treaties.

So hauing labored to reconcile these brothers in lawe, he returned into *Germany*. This counterfeit reconciliatiō, was but a breathing of the peoples miseries, which they suffred by the dissention of Princes: but there was no firme friendship, for *Hugues* trusted not *Lewis*, but kept aloofe in his great City of *Paris*, leauing the King at *Laon*, being then the chiefe seat of his royall abode.

Hugues, by this cunning proceeding, kept himselfe out of *Lewis* his hands, who on the other side dissembled: & seeing that force could not preuaile, he watched all opportunities to surprise his enemies: amongst the which he hated none so much as *Hebert* Earle of *Vermadois*, both for that which hee had done against his father, and his late proceedings against himselfe. He gouerned this dislike so wisely, as in the end *Hebert* was hanged. And this was the meanes: *Lewis* pretending to loue *Hugues*, shewed a good countenance to all such as were affected vnto him, especially to this *Cont Hebert*, whome hee fauored extraordinarily, protesting to trust him in all things: the successe was answerable to his plot. He calls an assembly of his vassalls at *Laon*, and fortifies himselfe to be the strongest. thether he calls *Cont Hebert*, of whose counsell in shewe he made great esteeme, and writes his letters vnto him, that he would vse him. *Hebert* growne familiar with *Lewis*, and sent for by him, comes to the assembly, fearing no enemy. *Lewis* being master of the City, reading a letter after dinner in the great hall, he cried out. *It is truly sayd, that English men are not very wise*. The Noblemen about him desirous to knowe the cause of this speech: hee fained, that the King of *England* had demanded his aduice by this letter, *What he should do to a subiect that had called his Lord into his house, under colour of good cheere, had seized on him, and caused him to die shamefully: Hebert* answereth with the rest: *That he must die infamously*. The King replies vnto him presently. *Thou hast condemned thy selfe by thine owne mouth, thou wicked seruant, thou didst inuite my father to thy house, with a shewe of loue: being there, thou didst detain him and cause him to die cruelly*. The company stood in shew amazed, but in effect ready to execute the Kings pleasure, not able to contradict so manifest a truth: for the information of the death of King *Charles* the simple was notorious to the world, so as presently, by *Lewis* absolute command, *Hebert* was taken away, deliuered to the executioner, and hanged in vewe of all the world, the place being neere vnto *Laon*, (noted by so memorable an execution) is called *Mont Hebert* vnto this day. And thus the treachery of *Hebert* (after a long delay, when he least suspected) was punished by the treachery of *Lewis*: and he himselfe after all these exploits died at *Rheims*, in the year 955, hated and detested of the *French*, leauing to *Lothaire* his sonne

a Crowne neere the ruine, and to *Charles* his yongest, the fauour of his elder brother, for a poore portion, as wee shall declare heereafter.

LOTHAIRE

LOTHAIRE the 34. King
of France.



956. He began to raigne in the year 956. and raigned 31. yeares, performing nothing that was memorable, but that hee was heire to his fathers treacherie & misfortune, and the last but one of his race. He was a forerunner of the change, which happened to his posteritie. He renewed a League with the Emperour *Otho* the second, who had succeeded his father *Otho* the first, with an intent to reuise the enterprise of his father *Lewis*, against *Richard* Duke of *Normandie*, either by policie, or else by open force. He sought wise to surprise *Richard*, a good and a wise Prince, with a shew of good meaning: but hauing attempted all in vaine, in the end hee vsed open force, and was shamefully repulsed and beaten. Thus he spent some yeares vnprofitably in this wilfull passion against the *Normans*, bringing infinit confusions into *France*, both by his owne forces, and by theirs against whome hee vndertooke this vobinary ware.

These miseries are set forth at large, by those writers which liued in that age. This breefe will serue for the matter, according to our stile to shew, That these calamities, bred only by the passion of an ill aduised King, thrust the subiects into furie and dispaire, and then into harred against him, being vnworthie to be respected, hauing so litle regard of publike peace. The general Estates assemble for the redresse thereof. The *Normans* suffering as well as the *French*, demaund nothing more then peace, and Duke *Richard*, notwithstanding his treatie with *Lewis* the fourth, offered to hold of the Crowne of *France*, so as his subiects might liue in quiet.

These honest, profitable and necessarie offers, augmented their hate against *Lothaire*, who sought war without any cause, although he were vnfortunate, alwaies mitinous, and alwaies beaten. To this phreneticall passion of his fruitles quarrels against the

Trecherie
punished
with treache-
rie.

Cont Hebert
hanged.

Lewis dies
hated of his
subiects.

956.

Lothaire
treacherous
King.

Hee attempts
warre against
Richard of
Normandie,
but in vaine.

957. Normans, a new fantasie possessed *Lothaire*, to breake the league with the Emperour, & A to make warre with the *Germanes*, or the possession of *Lorraine*, (anciently called *Austrasia*) the which he sayd belonged vnto him by right, time out of minde. He sought by ill gouernment to repofse that which lay farre off, being vnable to keepe that which he had in his possession. He ingaged *Regnier* and *Lambert*, the sonnes of the Earle of *Mons* in this action, promising to diuide the conquest: and did so contemne his brother *Charles* (whom his father had recommended vnto him) leauing him no portion but his fauour, hoping this liberty should breed more loue in him, and also the reuerence of a brother tyed to his eldest, should make him respectiue to the publike authority) as he fled to the Emperour *Otho* for helpe. *Otho* (embracing this occasion) determines the sure which *Lothaire* would commence against him, in respect of *Lorraine*: inuesting *Charles* therein, who sought releefe of him for his brothers discontent: but *Otho* restoring *Lorraine* vnto him, tooke from it great Seigneuries giuen to the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Liege*, with condition also that hee should depend of the Empire. Hereof grew great iarres betwixt the *French* and the *Germanes*, with so violent a rage, and passion, as they were rather furious robberies, then iust and well gouerned warres. *Charles* the brother of *Lothaire*, carried himselfe very indiscreetly, as if he had been no *Frenchman* but a *Germane*, and was wedded to the Emperours passions with such vehemencie, as if all his good fortune had depended thereon, and had vtterly renounced *France* as a capitall enemy. Moreouer, the ordinary trafficke from *France* to *Germanie*, was a dayly cause of discontent to the *French*: to whom *Lorraine* C was an ordinary passage for their commerce. so as diuers persons receiuing dayly, and vpon diuers occasions, discourtesies from *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, the *French* conceived a hatred in their hearts against him, which burst out in a seasonable time, for the vtter ouerthrow of all the good hap wherevnto God had called him, the which he could not gouerne by his indiscretion and cruelty.

But the prouidence of God, making way for his decrees, would expell them from the Crowne, which had banished all faith, valour, humanitie, iustice, and other royall vertues, and disposed the people to these changes, by their default, who had the principall interest to entertaine their loues by equity and good vsage. *Lothaire* hated of all men, dyed in the yeare 964. leauing behind him an execrable memory of his actions, and *Lewis* his sonne for a finall conclusion of his race, as an outcast of great *Charlemagne*.

Lothaire dyes
died of ill
men.



LEWIS the 5. the 35. King, and the last of this second race.



A **H**E raigned one yeare onely, and dyed without heire, without friends, and without memorie, leauing his place voyde at time of need, in troubles of State, and confusion of times horribly corrupted. He was likewise called idle, hauing done nothing worthy of memory, but in leauing the place to a better Prince, and more worthy then himselfe, whom God, the protector of the Crowne of *France*, had reserued for this estate, in so great necessitie, for as God had decreed, that out of the house of *Hugues* the great, should issue a great King, which should repara the errors of this bastard race of *Charlemagne*, so likewise hee had prepared the meanes, both for the father to lay the foundation, and for his sonne B *Hugh Capet* (appointed for this dignity) to finish this goodly building, as it appears in the following discourse,

964.
The last King
of the race of
Charlemagne.

God the dis-
poser of King-
domes and
States.

L 3

The

THE
THIRD RACE OF THE
KINGS OF FRANCE:
Called *Capets* or *Capeuingiens*, of the name of *Hugh Capet*,
Father to the Kings which raigne happily
to this day.

*I haue made the earth with a stretched out arme, and
dispose of the estates of men at
my pleasure.
By me Kings doe raigne.*

A particular Chronologie of the
third Race.

Yeares of grace	Kings	From the yeare 988. vnto the yeare. 1598.
988.	36.	<i>Hugues, or Hugh Capet</i> , The first of that race, who settled the Estate of the <i>French</i> Monarchie, much shaken by the confusion of ciuill warres, and the multiplicity of masters. He reckons twentie and eight Kings issued from him succesliuely from father to sonne, or from branch to branch, accor- ding to the order of the fundamentall Law of the State of <i>France</i> . Hauing raigned nine yeares, he leaues
996.	37.	<i>Robert his sonne, alone of that name, a peaceable King, who raignes 32.</i> <i>yeares, and to him succeeds,</i>
1028.	38.	<i>Henry the first of that name, his sonne, who raignes 33. yeares, and to him</i>
1061.	39.	<i>Philip the 1. his sonne, who raigned 49. yeares, and to him</i>
1109.	40.	<i>Lewis the 6. called the grosse, his sonne, who raignes 29. yeares, and to him</i>
1137.	41.	<i>Lewis the 7. called the yong, who raigned 44. yeares, and to him succeeded</i>
1181.	42.	<i>Phillip the 2. surnamed Augustus, or giuen of God, his sonne, who raigned</i> <i>44. yeares, and to him succeeded his sonne</i>
1223.	43.	<i>Lewis the 8. called the father of Saint Lewis, who raigned 3. yeares, and</i> <i>to him</i>
1227.	44.	<i>Lewis the 9. called Saint Lewis, a great and famous Prince: he reigns 44.</i> <i>yeares, and to him his sonne</i>
1271.	45.	<i>Philip the 3. surnamed the hardie, who raigned 15. yeares, and to him his</i> <i>sonne</i>
1286.	46.	<i>Philip the 4. called the faire, who raigned 29. yeares, and to him his sonne</i>
1315.	47.	<i>Lewis the 10. surnamed Hutin: hauing raigned 2. yeares, hee leaues the</i> <i>Crowne to his brother</i>
1317.	48.	<i>Philip the 5. called the long, who raigned 6. yeares, and leaues the scepter to</i> <i>his brother</i>
1322.	49.	<i>Charles the 4. called the faire, who raigned 6. yeares:</i> And by the law of State, for want of sonnes or brother, the Estates of <i>France</i> , notwithstanding the pretentions of <i>Edward</i> King of <i>England</i> , the sonne of the onely daughter of <i>Philip</i> the faire, placed in the royall throne
1328.	50.	
1350.	51.	<i>Philip of Valois the 5. sonne of Charles Earle of Valois, and second sonne</i> <i>to Philip the 3. and by consequence, the neereft kinsman to the thye for-</i> <i>mer Kings. He raignes 23. yeares, and to him succeeds his sonne Iohn, a-</i> <i>lone of that name.</i> Vnder him began a confusion in the Realme, the which continued neere a hundred yeares, with much miserie: that is from this <i>Iohn</i> , vntill the warre of the common weale, vnder <i>Lewis</i> the xi. So wee reckon 5. very troublesome raignes, vnder <i>Iohn</i> , <i>Charles</i> 5. <i>Charles</i> 6. L 4 Charles

Yeares of grace.	Kings.	Charles the 7. and Lewis the xi. who settled and augmented the Estate of the realme, being greatly decayed by the continuance of ciuill wars, <i>John</i> hauing raigned 14. yeares, leaues the realme to
1364	52.	Charles the 5. his sonne, called the wise, who raigned 18. yeares, and to him succeeded
1382.	53.	Charles the 6. his sonne, who raigned with much paine 41. yeares, and to him
1424.	54.	Charles the 7. his sonne, Who expelled the <i>English</i> out of <i>France</i> , and settled the Crowne, seized on by the King of <i>England</i> , who was Crowned and proclaimed King in <i>Paris</i> , hauing raigned 39. yeares. He leaues the royall scepter to
1463.	55.	Lewis the xi. his sonne, Who vnitid <i>Bourgongne</i> and <i>Provençe</i> to the Crowne, and thereby tooke away all occasions of trouble, leauing the royall scepter to his sonne
1483.	56.	Charles the 8. with peace. The which continued without any disturbance, a bouthe hundred yeares, from the yeare 1462. vnto the yeare 1562. vnder the raings of Lewis 12. Francis 1. and Henry 2. Charles the 8. hauing raigned 14. yeares, dying without Children, the realme was transported to
1498.	57.	Lewis the 12. Duke of <i>Orleans</i> , who raigned 18. yeares, and for want of heires male, remits the Crowne to
1515.	58.	Francis the 1. of that name, Duke of <i>Angoulesme</i> , who raigned 32. yeares. An excellent Prince, who after the long ignorance of obscure ages, caused the knowledge of learning to flourish, hauing beautified his vniuersity of <i>Paris</i> with excellent learned men in the tongues and sciences, the which were disperfed ouer all Europe: and to him succeeded his sonne
1547.	59.	Henry the 2. of that name who raigned 12. yeares, and to him succeeded
1559.	60.	Francis the 2. his sonne, who dying without Children, there succeeded him his brother
	61.	Charles the 9. who dying without Children, left the Crowne to
	62.	Henry the 3. his brother, the last of the royall race of <i>Valois</i> , who being slaine by a <i>Iacobin</i> , and dying without Children, there succeeded him the lawfull masculine line
	63.	Henry the 4. before King of <i>Nauarre</i> , and the first King of the royall line of <i>Bourbon</i> , who now reignes and long may he rule happily and holily, beloved, obeyed and respected.

The Genealogy of King Henry the 4. now rainging, according to the order of succession, is at the ende of the royall branch of *Valois*.

H V G V E S, or Hugh Capet, the 36. King, and the first of the third race: the

which raignes at this daye vnder Henry the fourth.



THE royall throne of *France* (remayning void, by the death of Lewis the 5.) did visibly call Charles Duke of *Lorraine* to the Crowne. (of whome we haue before mademention) as the first Prince of the blood royall, to whome I say the fundamentall Lawe did adudge the Crowne, for want of heires males, law- Charles Duke of Lorraine
full sonnes of Kings. Charles was sonne to Lewis the 4. brother
to Lothaire, Vncle to Lewis the 5. the last King. But it chanced
otherwise, for Hugh Capet, sonne to Hugues the great, Maior of the Crowne,
the *Palais*, Earle of *Paris* and also Prince of the *French*, carried it from Charles, being
advanced to the Crowne by the free election of the *French*, assembled in Parliament, Hugh Capet
Capet was elected King, and Charles Duke of *Lorraine* reiectd from the Crowne. This
election being confirmed by the blessing of God, who hath mainteyned the possession
(thus made lawfull, by the consent of the *French* nation,) in the successiue posterity of
Capet, who happily prelerued the *French* Monarchie vnto this day, against the sundry
violences of strangers. The date of this change vnto the third Race.

This change happened in the yeare 987. in the moneth of Iuly. But as this action was one of the worthiest that euer chanced in this realme, being an estate vnder which our Ancestors haue liued, and we do liue at this day: which gouernment hath continued 619. yeares. Yet all this is handled, by our ordinary writers, with such obscure breuity, as if Hugh Capet had fallen out of the clouds, or beene suddenly bred in one night, like vnto a muskrom.

The

987. The wife reader, which seekes the truth, must giue me leaue to dilate my stile, to shewe him by degrees, the breeding, continuance and establishing of this newe royaltie, in the house of *France*, transplanted into the house of *Capet*, as I could collect it by the curious search of the Originalls, and as the traces of truth could direct me in to crooked a Laborinth, vnkowne to the greatest part of our *French* nation. What I haue heere described, is faithfully drawne out off diuers authors which liued in those times. I haue onely fitted my report to be the more intelligible, and will simple represent what passed in this change, not giuing my iudgement, but leauing it free to the vnpassionate reader.

The reason
why Charles
was reiected.

We haue layd in the second race, that *Lewis* the 5. sonne to *Lothaire*, dying without heires males, had buried the royalty with him: for *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, (whome the Lawe of state preferred to this dignity) had by his actions made himselfe vnworthy of this great honour. He had recourse to the Emperour *Otho*, and had taken the oath of fealty, to be inuested in the Duchie of *Lorraine*. So by this homage he had renounced all the interest he could pretend to the Crowne of *France*. Moreouer hee had aggrauated this error by an irreconcilable hatred, for (being Duke of *Lorraine*) he had shewed himselfe a passionate enemy to the *French*, in mainteining the *Germane* faction against them, who had not long before with-drawne themselves from the obedience of our Monarchie. It is also likely, that many priuate men were moued with the interest of this generall quarrell, by reason of the situation of *Lorraine*, the ordinary passage from *France* into *Germany*, Prouinces of comerce together.

These priuate iniuries, bred in the end a generall discontent, the which was increased by such as had a priuate interest in the wrongs they pretended to haue receiued. The feeling of these bad practises, acted so lately by *Charles* against *France*, both in generall and particular, did incense the *French* against him. But the example and cries of them of *Lorraine*, added to their experience, confirmed their resolution, to stoppe his entrance to the Crowne: for *Charles* (being a rash and a wicked man, bearing a Kings minde vnder a Dukes title) did infinitely oppresse his subiects of *Lorraine*, for the supplying of his prodigall expences: hauing as little iudgement and temperance to intreate them of *Lorraine* mildly, as hee had reason to gouerne himselfe.

The president of these newe subiects (whome hee enuied but by sufferance,) preuailed much with the *French* in this newe accident: for what could they with reason conclude of his vlage against them, who should be his naturall and necessary subiects? being yet terrified with the memory of that which they had suffered vnder *Lothaire* his brother.

This was the preparatiue of *Charles* his downfall, wrought by himselfe, to deprive him of that authority whereunto God had called him. These were the causes which made the *French* reioice to withstand *Charles* of *Lorraine* with all their forces in his pretension to the Crowne of *France*. But howe then *Charles* being rejected, the realme had neede of a King, vnable to subsist without one, no more then a body can without a head.

Equality of
command, the
name of an
estate.

Thus the end of the one is the beginning of the other, and necessary gaue the people this first aduice to change, in trust forward with the only consideration of their quiet and profit. But the Nobility growne great by the disorders of troubles past, had yet more interest in this change, for the preleruation of their goods and honours. They could not live all equall. This equall commande is a plague to the *French*: they had deuoured one another without a great commander relected of them all, for so many Prouinces, so many petty Kings, which had neuer yeilded oneto another without a Controuler.

He that
held the
throne
of the
Crowne.

In this estate they could haue no recourse but to *Hugh Capet*, being accompanied with all the commendable qualities that might make a man worthy of a great command: with authority, power, vnderstanding, courage, wisdom, equitie, mildnesse, descretion, valour and credit, both within and without the realme.

We

A We haue before spoken of his father *Hughes* the great, the sonne of *Robert* Duke of *Angers*, who was the head of the League against *Charles* the Simple: shewing, that he not onely maintained himselfe after the death of his father *Robert*, but also built his desseignes vpon the same foundation, vnder the raignes of *Lewis* the 4. and *Lothaire*, Princes hard to bee circumvented. They feared him more then they loued him: yet hee vsed their authorities to his owne good, and did so wisely preuent the practises of these two malicious and reuengefull Princes, as hee maintained his authority firmly by the meanes of his great commands. Being Duke of the *French*, he had the command of armes. As Mayor of the Pallace, hee held the helme of the affaires of State: and being Earle of *Paris*, hee had the chiefe credit with the people, who had their greatest trade in the Capitall Cittie of the realme. This was the fruite which the respect of these offices brought him, being well gouerned by his wife dexterity. And although these Kings loued him not, yet the alliance hee had with them, as brother in lawe, but especially vertue countenanced by so great credit, were the cause they not onely made shew to loue him as their allie, but also to respect him as one of the chiefe pillars of the State.

The wife
proceeding of
Hughes the
great his fa-
ther.

But to these offices and dignities, hee added the friendship of the chiefe Noblemen of the Realme, being very carefull to entertaine their loues. *Richard* Duke of *Normandie* was one of his most confident friends, whom hee had gratified, mainteining him in the possession of his estate. Hee receiued requitall of this good turne with interest, in the pesson of *Hugh* his sonne, to seate him in the royall throne, as our History shall declare. But all these aduantages, were not onely crowned with a goodly and great offspring, but also with a sonne endowed with singular graces both of body and minde. Hee had sixe Sonnes and two Daughters, but his eldest was the chiere heire of his name, vertue, authority, credit, and happinesse, with such successe, as he made perfect the worke his father had begun.

The offspring
of *Hughes* the
great.

Hee was named *Hughes*, and by surname *Capet*, eyther for that he had a great head, or that being young hee was accustomed to catch at his companions cappes, as a prelude of that hee should do to Kings: *Otho* and *Henry*, two other sonnes of *Hughes*, were Dukes of *Bourgonne* one after another: his other sonnes were aduanced to Ecclesiastical dignities, the one Archbishop of *Tholouse*, the other of *Rouan*, and the third dyed young. One of his Daughters was married to the Duke of *Normandie*, the other to *Frederike* Earle of *Metz*. Hee had taken his first wife from *England*, the Daughter of King *Edward*, and sister to Queene *Ogina*, the wife of *Charles* the Simple, mother to *Lewis* the fourth: and although he had no children by her, yet did he carefully preferue the friendship of this allyance, and before his death he chose a wife out of this great house, for *Hugh Capet* his eldest sonne, the which was *Adelais* the daughter of King *Edward*.

He was called
Capitofus.

Thus he fortified his greatnesse by all meanes; the which raised his posterity to the royall throne, purchasing credit both within and without the Realme, by all meanes fite to establish a great family. These were the ordinary proceedings which humane pollicie (being the gift of God, and a branch of his wisdom in those that he will blesse, leauing the wretched plunged in their wretchednesse, by their owne indiscretion) doth vsually prescribe to wife and carefull men. But *Hughes* the great had another benefit, which surmounted all these his great meanes, or the force of his friendships and alliances, hauing a sonne capable of iudgement for great attempts, fite for the time, brought vp and instructed by himselfe.

To conclude, all things were so disposed in *France*, as they must necessarily receiue him for King. Necessity, the generall consent both of great and small, and a meanes to preferue the Crowne from ruine, the which hee alone could effect. But if the *French* were forward in seeking to him; *Hughes* was so much the more encouraged to embrace so great and famous a dignity. And in the execution of this generous desseigne, hee carried himselfe with so great wisdom, moderation, and dexterity, as wee may well say, that God called him, as it were from heauen.

There

987. There remayned nothing but an orderly proceeding to that which reason presented A
vnto them.

Hugh Capet
proceeding to
attaine the
Crowne.

Hughes beganne with the greatest, who had a speciall interest to preserve what they held. He treated mildly with them for the common necessitie. The condition was, To leaue them all that by inheritance, which they held of the Crowne by title of office, and they to do homage, and acknowledge him for their lawfull King. Thus was the accord made betwixt the Nobilitie of France, & Hugh Capet, profitable for the great me, necessarie for the people, honorable for Hughes, & beneficial for the realme: for by this meane the realme was maintained in one bodie, vnder the authoritie of one absolute Commaunder. Hughes was well furnished, hauing a sonne capable of the realme which was hereditarie. The better fort had what they could desire for B

A Parlement
called at No-
yon for the e-
lection of
Hugh Capet.

ing thus disposed on all sides, the Parliament assembles at Noyon, whither they runne from all parts: and both necessitie and desire to winne his fauour to whome reason should assigne the Realme, brought all the cities, and made such hast thither as sought to settle their priuat estates by this publike authoritie. Hugh failes not likewise to call all his friendes, to reape the frute so long sought for, with so great paine and tra- uaille, both by himselfe and his father, and now to imploy them as in a day of battraile.

The assembly was great, by the concurse of all the Prouinces and Cities of the Realme, which repaired thither. It was the more famous, for that in shew the French C offered the Realme to Capet, as if hee had not affected it. As things passe in this sort, Charles Duke of Lorraine, well aduertised of the Frenchmens intent, & the desseignes of Hugh, labours to preuent him: and being resolu'd to imploy all his forces, hee begins first by admonitions, but so ill seasoned, as it made the way more easie for Capet: for hee sends his Ambassadors to the assembly of the States, not to intreat them to receiue him into their fauours, and so to the Crowne, according to his hereditarie right, but to summon them, That if they did not speedily obey, hee would reduce them to obedience by force. The French alreadie incensed against Charles, and hauing placed their hopes in Hugh (being present, and soliciting for himselfe, assisted with his best friends) fell into so great a rage against Charles, by his rough and importune speeches, D as hardly could the law of nations restraine them from doing some outrage vnto his Ambassadors, for their indiscretion.

Charles sends
his Ambassa-
dors to the
Estates, and

I reiected
from the
Crowne.

Then the Estates inact by a sollemne decree, That for as much as Charles had shewed himselfe a friend to the enemies of France, and a sworn enemy to the French, so likewise did the French renounce his friendship, declaring him incapable of the benefit of the Law, both for that hee gaue the first cause, as also not being bound to acknowledge him for King: that is an enemy to the State, (their oath binding them to a King which is a father, iust, wise, mild, and temperate.) And therefore, Betweene God and their consciences, without any alteration of the fundamentall law, they renounce him, and declare that their intention is to choofe a King E which should provide for the quiet of France.

They deliver this declaration to Charles his Ambassadors, commanding them to a- noid the Realme presently. Thus Charles his reiection, was the raising of Hugh Capet, for presently the generall estates (assembled in one bodie, and representing all the Prouinces of the Realme) declare by an autentike and sollemne decree, That being ne- cessarie to choofe a King for the preservation of the Crowne of France, destitute as well by the death of Lewis the first, as by the apparent treacherie of Charles Duke of Lorraine, That in equitie, according to God and their consciences, the Estates did choofe Hugh Capet for King, promising to obey him, and his, as their lawfull Kings, according to the law of State. This is the ground of Hugh Capets royaltie. There was no need of any preachers to per- swade the people, nor to send to Rome for the Popes dispensation, as Pepin did. The people were fully perswaded in their mindes, and a fit occasion was offe- red, that without any inuiours change (as that was in the person of Chilperie) they

Hugh Capet
chofen King
of France, and

A they might supplie the place (being voyde) with a better King, and more pro- 988.
fitable for the common weale. This Act was made at Noyon, in the moneth of May, in the yeare 987. and to giue more authority to this famous decree, the same Assembly goes to assist at the Coronation of Hugh, who was annointed and crowned King the third of Iuly, after his election. Crowned at Rheims.

Hugh Capet being thus chosen and crowned King, he studied by all meanes to let the French vnderstand by the effects, that they had made a good choise, as the successe of his raigne, and of his posterities will shewe in the following discourses. From Rheims he went to Paris, wel accompanied, where he makes his entry, to the great applause of all the people. He imployes his first endeaours, to send them all home well B satisfied, who had giuen him so notable a prooffe, of their affection. But euery one be- ing returned to his house: behold, Charles of Lorraine reiected, assembles forces, and with part of them begins to ouerrun Champagne, shewing all acts of hostility. Within few moneths after, he himselfe comes to field with a great army of Germains, Lorrains and Bourguignons: and hauing taken Rheims at his first approach, hee passeth on to- wards Paris, as to the head or heart of the Estate, and enters into Picardy, where he seizeth on the Cities of Soissons and Laon, al by the practises of Arnalphe the bastard sonne of King Lothaire, and Archbishop of Rheims: a man both cunning and head- strong: from thence he runs euen to the gates of Paris, filling all the country with fire and feare.

Charles of Lor-
raine begins
war and tur-
peth towns

C Hugh sleepe not, but knowing howe much it did import, to possesse the people with good conceit of him, and to stoppe the courses and spoyles of Charles, (who of purpose tormented the Parisiens, to breed some innouation) hee gathereth together what troupes he can, attending the rest which he had sent for, and with them he goes presently to field: but it chanced that Charles (being far stronger then Capet) did easi- ly defeat him: so as hauing cut his troupes in peeces, hee had almost surpris'd Hugh in the sight of Paris, where hee saued himselfe with much paine and danger. These begin- nings did as much amaze the people (who had so cheerfully chosen Hugh) as it putt vp Charles already a Conquerour, and a peacefull King in his own conceit: who being D swading them to acknowledge him for their lawfull King, vaunting of this happy be- ginning, as a gage of the felicity which did attend him in his raigne. But he had not cast vp his accounts with him who holds the euent of things in his hand, for the con- trary fell out to that he had imagined.

Hugh Capet
defeated at
the first, & in
great danger.

Charles per-
miteth to him
selfe a happy
raigne.

Hugh is nothing dismay'd at this first repulse, these summonings of Charles make him to vse all hast, and prickes them forward with whom he had diuided the Realme, hauing an especiall interest in his raigne, according to their election. All men flye vnto him: Charles (supposing that Hugh ment to yeeld, and that these assemblies were made to haue the better conditions) had disperfed his army about Laon, and retayned the least part within the city: and with this assurance, that all necessaryes should a- E bound, hee had no care to make vse of his victory, when as sodainly Hugh appears with his army before Laon: (hauing stop't all the passages) hee beseegeth it: all the Lor- rains (small troupes which were found in the villages thereabouts, were easily taken and disarmed, and the city was presently summoned to yeeld in the Kings name, and to deliuer vp Charles of Lorraine, guilty of high treason, and enemy to the French, vpon paine of fire and sword.

Charles flies to intreaties and teares. The inhabitants complayning of him, as the cause of their misery, resolute with the aduice of Anselme their bishop) to obey Hugh Capet, as their lawfull King, and to deliuer Charles into his hands. The which they did with his wife and children. This happened in the yeare 991. and so the controuersie F betwixt Hugh, and Charles of Lorraine for the crowne, was decided in lesse then foure yeares. Hugh being a Conqueror, goes to Orleans, and leades with him, Charles, and the remainder of his miserable family, inflicting no greater punishment on him, then perpetuall imprisonment, where he was well kept with his wife, vnto his dying day, in prison.

Charles taken
in Laon, and

Caried to Or-
leans, where
he dies in
prison.

99 o. the which he had both sonnes and daughters. There are diuers opinions vpon this point. Some say they died all there, others say, that they reepleopled the State of *Lorraine*, and transplanted their race vnto the Princes that rule there at this present.

But howsoever: As the *Romains* had expelled the *Gauls*, and themselves were afterwards driuen out by diuers nations: and the race of *Pharamond* which had dispossessed them, was displaced by *Pepin*: so *Hugh Capet* expelled that of *Pepin*, with a better title then *Pepin*, being lawfully called by them which had the right: and the presumptiue heire was iustly degraded for his fault: so as no man can with reason say, That *Hugh Capet* was an *Vsurper*, seeing he had so *solemne and lawfull a calling*, by a decree of the generall Estates of the Realme. To whom the application of the Soueraine Lawe belongs, as *Nangius* an auncient writer doth testifie. For what auails it the legitimation of his royaltie, to say, that *Hugh Capet* came of the race of *Charlemagne* by his Mother *Anoye*, daughter to *Otho* Duke of *Saxony* and Emperour. In this regard hee could not be of *Charlemagnes* race (the which without doubt, sayled in *Lewis* the fourth, the sonne of *Arnoul*) neither would it auail him any thing to bee the sonne of a daughter of *France*, seeing the Distaffe may not lawfully succede.

This victory added an incredible reputation to *Hugh Capets* vertue, the which was most apparent in greatest extremities, and made him an easie way to purchase obedience in his newe Kingdome. He began by homage, as the seale of authority, C To that ende, hee calles all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Noblemen and Gentlemen, to come and take the oath of fealty. They runne on all hands, onely the Earle of *Flanders* (that *Arnould* which had bene the firebrand of those warres in *Normandy*) playes the mutine. *Hugh* hauing called him to doe homage, and noted his contumacy, goes to field with his forces, to compell him thereunto. Hauing seized on the greatest part of his country, the Earle flies to humility, and by the mediation of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* (whom he had so much wronged in his youth) he makes his peace with *Hugh*, yeelding him the homage which hee had denied, with promise to obey him.

Hauing thus fortified the authority of his Soueraine command, hee passed vnto D the gouernment of the realme, and to make this voluntary obedience (so well begun) more pleasing to his newe subiects: he calls an assembly of the chiefe of the Realme, and giues them all to vnderstand that his desire was to haue their aduice, for the well gouerning of the State. Necessity spake, and his proceeding did wince the most violent. Hauing renued their homages, he sets downe the order of the twelue Peeres of *France*, and protests vnto them all, that he will not doe any thing of importance, eyther in peace or warre without their aduice. So as in yeelding, he did aduance himselfe with a wife and victorious modesty. By the most ancient institution, the chiefe charge ouer armes, belonged to the Mayor of the Pallace, to the which *Martell* added the authority of Duke of *France*. But these two great changes, gaue a sufficient E testimony, how much this great authority did import, to counterballance and cheeke the Soueraine authority of Kings: and *Hughes* himselfe was both a witnesse and iudge of that which he had done in the execution of this charge, being in a manner royall.

He therefore resolues to suppress it, and to bury it in an honourable tombe. Hee sees many Competitors, and takes thereby an occasion to discouer his intent, declaring to the greatest of his nobility, how happy he was in his raigne, hauing the choise of so many persons worthy of this great dignity: but finding himselfe bound to al, he knew not to whome he was most indebted: and was so affected vnto them all, as he could not saye, to whome hee wished best. And therefore to satisfie all his good friends, hee had bethought himselfe of an expedient. That his sonne (whome F nature had giuen him, and *France* had nourished and brought vp for her seruice,) should be the person, to content all his friendes in the execution of this charge, which should be in title of a royalty.

All

A All the Noblemen (which would haue endured it of another impatiently) imbra- ced this speech willingly, the which preuented all ieaousie, and cured the cheefe sore. So with one consent it was decreed, That *Robert sonne to Hugh Capet*, should bee his Lieutenant generall, and to that end should bee anointed and crowned King: as hee was at *Rheims* in the year 995, three yeares after his fathers election. A wife Prince, and of a temperate disposition, a well seasoned plant for the fruitfull continuance of this latter raigne, of whome it is sayd, That hee was a sonne without frowardnes, a companion without ieaousie, and a King without ambition. So *Hughes* effected 3. things by this wife proceeding. Hee tooke away the breeding of future dangers, by restraining of so great a power: he suppressed all ieaousie, and assured his owne estate in the person of his B sonne.

But in burying thus honorable the name and apparent shew of this dignitie, he confirmed another, to reape the same frute: for it is a resolu'd maxime, That in a royalty, the first mouer of an estate, must be fortified with some neere instruments, with whom he may communicate some beames of his authoritie, to impart them to other inferiour motions, according to their order. The Constable in old time, had no command but ouer the horse, either as great master, or as generall vnder the charge of the Maior, as The Constable Maier, hee gaue that authoritie to the other, for the which the maiortie had bene in the Maier. old time instituted, reseruing the frute, and preferu'ng *France* both from danger and feare of so great power, which might aduance the seruant about the master: yet this C authoritie of Constable is very great, soueraine ouer armes, vnder the Kings good pleasure, to order the men of warre, to take knowledge of their faults, and either to punish, or to pardon offences at his pleasure, to order batailles, to dispose of all things that concerne the souldiars: and finally he keeps the kings sword, for which the Constable doth him homage.

Moreover vnder this dignitie *Hugh* appointed Marshalls to execute the Constables commands, as his cheefe hands, and so by these two goodly institutions, the charge D ouer armes continued in great credit, vnder the great light of the royall Maestie. Hee likewise fortified by new decrees, the royall homages of *Ban* and *Arrierban*, instituted by *Charlemagne*: and to conclude, hee made all those militarie orders, wherein *France* surpasseth all other nations, to be reduced to their ancient institution and right vs. And as good lawes spring from bad manners, so *Hugh* (hauing carefully obserued the errors of former raignes) endeoured to redresse them, and to preuent the like inconueniences. The most dangerous error had bene the multiplicitie of many soueraine masters, one King being sufficient for a whole Realme, as one Sonne is for all the world. He therefore decrees, That hereafter the title of King should not be given but to the eldest, who should haue some raigne, power, and command ouer his brethren, and they should respect him as their Lord and father, hauing no portions but his good fauour, As for the lands which their elder should assigne vnto them for their portions, they should hold them E of the Crowne, to do homage, and to be augmented & diminished at the Kings good pleasure. The aduancements of Kings bastards had much interested the State, hauing bene allowed and apportioned with the lawfull children, yea euen raised to the royall throne, as we haue seene. Therefore *Hugh* decreed, That hereafter, bastards should not onely be reiectd from the Crowne, but also from the surname of *France*, the which before was allowed them. To him likewise are due the goodly ordinances of Iustice, and of the trea- for, wherein without doubt *France* excels, so as they be well executed, according to the institutions of the golden age. Thus by these wise decrees, hee preuailed more then all the armes of his Predecessors, in preferu'ng a great Monarchie vnto this day: F supported with these goodly lawes and ordinances, wherein (without flattering the truth) we may see by the effects that which the most learned Academicke doth represent but in discourse, touching the true and perfect patterne of a well gouerned State, vnder the fatherly authoritie of a King, reuerenced by the hereditarie Law of his race, with the free consent of the people, confirmed by the Estates, counterballanced by the

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the

993. the authoritie royall, determined by the libertie of those which owe him voluntarie or A
 the realme, as it was not without cause, (if men which lived in these miseries) said that God
 had sent *Hugh* to restore the *French* Monarchie, and they avouch predictions, and pro-
 phesies of this raigne, as Oracles. Doubtlesse this masse of building, was too huger to
 continue long against so great a storme. God made use of it for a time, as he had wisely
 decreed, that is to say, to delivier the west from the blasphemies and furies of *Ma-*
homet, and there to preferue his Church. But it was necessarie this power should bee
 limited within his bounds, to the end it might be well governed, and in the end, give
 some rest vnto Christendome. This happened in his raigne, as if the building had then
 taken a firme and sure foundation.

The fruits of
 Hughs raigne.
 William
 Nanjais.

War had raigned too long, and ruined the poore subjects to enrich men of warre,
 who being seized of the strongest places, had without doubt deuoured one another,
 an ruined the Realme, if a greater authoritie had not shewed it selfe to maintaine eu-
 ery one in peace, vnder the reuerence of the Lawes, in the bosome of one common
 Countrie. This confused warlike season, had more need of a wise man to saue what
 was gotten, then of a valiant man and stirring, to make new Conquests. Such was
Hugh Capet, a wise Prince, aduised, experienced, resolute, neither dull, nor a coward,
 (as he made prooffe in the beginning of his raigne against the rebells.) And whereas he
 parted with the Crowne-lands so easily, to such as were seized thereon, seeming thereby
 to haue blemished the greatnes of his State, it was like vnto one which had much land
 lying wast, and had let it to farmers at an easie rent, yet remaining alwaies master ther-
 of, and to seize on it againe at his pleasure: else all had bin lost for want of good hus-
 bandrie, in so great and confused an abundance. For *Hugh Capet* leauing to the posses-
 sors that which he could not take from them, assured the Crowne-landes by certaine
 homages, and preserved the royall authoritie throughout the Realme. And that which
 was profitable and necessarie for the State, proued the most easie, for the gouernours
 of the prouinces and strong places, hoping to hold that which they had in hand, desi-
 red rather to obey a King with any title auailable to them and theirs, then to play
 the petty Kings at their pleasures, and commaund absolutely alone for a while, & over
 few, and be in danger to lose all as viurpers. A notable prooffe of the *Frenchmens* hu-
 mors, borne to obey a King, and not able to subsist but vnder a royaltie. The *French*
 had no lesse power, then the *Germains*, to make an electiue common weale, as they had
 done, but their honor forced with an hereditary royaltie, without the which they could
 not stand. Thus *Hugh Capet* had settled his raigne with so great wisdom and authori-
 tie, and was so fortunate in the success, as we may iustly say, he restored the Realme
 of *France*, when it was almost ruined. Hee raigned nine yeares, foure alone, and five
 with his sonne *Robert*, in great peace, beloued and honoured of all men. *France* (as after
 a long and tedious winter) puts on the new face of a pleasant spring. All men honou-
 red him, as the meanes of their assured rest. His most viual retreat was to *Paris*, the
 which was greatly augmented and beautified in his raigne, whereas other Kings be-
 fore him remained in diuise places, at *Aix la Chapelle*, *Compiigne*, *Laon*, *Soissons* and
 else where, according to occurrents and their humors. Wee haue sayd, that *Arnulphe*
 bastard to *Lothaire*, was the onely man which had fauoured *Charles* of *Lorraine* against
Hugh Capet. The historie notes this man to be peruerse, and disloyall, hauing decei-
 ued both *Charles* of *Lorraine*, and *Hugh Capet*, who had giuen him the Archbishops-
 pike of *Rouan*, in recompence of the seruice he promised him against *Charles*, to whom
 notwithstanding (contrary to his faith) hee gaue meanes to seize vpon the Cities of
Rheims, *Laon*, & *Soissis*. *Hugh* taking this presumption for a prejudice to come, learning by
 what had passed, how much the name of a bastard of *France* might import, for a colour
 to disquiet the State, and what danger there was of trouble, in the beginning of his
 new raigne, not yet well settled, he therefore resolues to suppress *Arnulphe*: but re-
 specting his qualitie, hee assembled a nationall Councell of the *French* Church, in the
 Citie of *Rheims*. This assemblee deposeth *Arnulphe*, as guilty of treachene, and a troub-

The French
 cannot subsist
 but vnder a
 royaltie.

Paris the chief
 place of
 Hughs resi-
 dence.

Hugh pro-
 ceeding a-
 gainst *Arnul-*
phes bastard to
Lothaire, who
 is deposed
 from his Bi-
 shoprick.

A bler of the publick quiet, and they substitute *Gilbert* in his place, who had bene
 Schoolemaster vnto *Robert*.

995

Afterwards *Hugh* confines him to *Orleans* with *Charles*, there to end his daies in rest.
 Pope *John* the 12. very ill satisfied with *Hugh*, for that hee had not appealed to him for
 his confirmation in this new royaltie, disannuls this decree of the Councell at *Rheims*,
 excommunicates the Bishoppes which had assisted, restores *Arnulphe*, and deprives *Gi-*
libert of the Archbishops pike of *Rouan*, and to temper this sharpe and tough proceed-
 ing with some sweetnes, he doth inuict *Gilbert* with the Archbishops pike of *Rauennas*.
 But wee shall presently see that this was a meanes to raise him to the dignitie of Pope.

Hugh doth not for all this conuend with Pope *John*, but hauing restored *Arnulphe*, hee
 took from him all meanes of troubling the state to his prejudice. It is that Pope *John*,
 of whome *Platina* writes so plainly, as the wise reader may finde in the originall it
 selfe: where hee shall reade with admiration, not only the depraued manners of that
 man, raised to so great a dignitie, whome hee disgraceth as a monster, renning him
 confusions which rained in those times: for wee reade of nothing but partialities and
 factions, one to expell another, and all to ouerthrowe the authority of the Emperour
 of *Rome*. All these practises were not made without sharpe and long intentions: as
 the history shal note the occurrents: & this my inventory shal be but a simple directi-
 on to the Originalls, where as (the pure truth speaking more freely) the reader may
 peruse it without passion.

The manners
 of Pope
John the 12.

Here beganne the great iarrs and contentions betwixt the Emperours and Popes.
 The ancient custome of the Catholike Church, practised from *Constantin* the great,
 the first Christian Emperour, was, That the Emperour should be present in the election
 of all Bishops, euen of the Bishop of *Rome*. The Popes would not allowe the Emperour
 should hold this prerogative ouer them, since the time that *Boniface* the 3. took
 vpon him the name & preheminence of vniuersall Bishop: but were chosen without
 license fro the Emperour. *John* had held the pontificall sea by vnlawful meanes, & did
 lead a dissolute life, to the discontent of many: for the rediesse whereof the Emperour
Otho comes to *Rome*, and vpon complaints, (hauing labored to reclaime this man to
 his dutie whome he found incorrigible) in the ende hee calls a Councell within *Rome*,
 where by a decree of this Assemblee *John* the 12. was deposed, and *Leo* 8. substituted in
 his place. But the Emperour is scarce gone out of *Rome*, when as behold newe fac-
 tions. *Leo* the 8. being chosen by his order, is expelled by disorder, and *Benedict* the 5.
 seated in his place. *Otho* returns and restoreth *Leo*, who vpon this occasion made a new
 decree: That in executing the ancient rule of discipline, which giues the election to
 the people and Clergie, The power to chose and consecrate the Pope, and to rule things be-
 longing to the Apostolike sea, and to establish and confirme the Bishops, should belong vnto the
 Emperour, as the head and first moderator of discipline. So the remedy was well ex-
 pounded, but not well applied: for after the restitution of *Leo*, they number seauen
 Popes, *John* the 14. *Benedict* the 6. *Donus* the 2. *Boniface* 7. *Keneard* 7. *Gregory* 5. & *John*
 15. which were one after another placed and displaced by sedition, eyther expelled, or
 imprisoned or strangled: vntill that *Gilbert* Arch-bishop of *Rauennas* (of whome wee
 haue spoken) came to be Pope, being named *Siluester* the 2. He was brought in by so
 strange a manner, as I haue horror to reade *Platina*, who saies, it was by diuillish arts.
 But the wise reader may vewe the rest of this troublesome report in the author him-
 selfe, altogether vnreprouable, being a confident seruant to the Popes: and so may
 eaies vs of this tedious toyle.

The Pope
 confirmed by
 the Empe-
 rour.

Seditions ex-
 tinction of
 Popes.

In the life of
Siluester the
 2.

Such was the Empire and the sea of *Rome*, amidst these horrible confusions, *Hugh Capet*
 whilst that our *Capet* labored to reape the breaches of his newe Kingdome. Hauing
 reigned peaceably nine yeares, he died the 22. of Nouember in the yeare 996. Leauing
 his sonne *Robert*, not only successor to the Crowne, but also of his vertues, his happi-
 nesse & his credit, in the deuout loue of the *French*. He had him by *Adelais* the daugh-
 ter of *Edmura* King of *England*, in whome hee was so happy, as not onely to see him of
 age, but also crowned King, and well married. He raigned both alone & accompanied
 with

99 6. with his sonne: beloued and honored of him and his subiects, if euer father and Prince A were. A patterne of a great States man, coming to the extremity of a desperate disease, whereunto he applied such seasonable remedies, as hee might well bee called the *Restorer of the French Monarchie*. But from him wee must ascend to God, the true gardien of this estate, meaning to preserue it by his care and wisdom, who gouernes changes by his wise prouidence, and giues vertues and successe at his pleasure.

The Monar-
chy of France
of greater
continuance
then euer any.

Now we begin a new raigne, a wiser, more happy, and longer, then the two prece-
dent, whereof the one continued but three hundred and twenty yeares, and the other
two hundred thirty eight: and this vnto *Henry the 4.* now raigning, continueth 619.
yeares, so as counting the date of it, first beginning from the yeare 420. making of
all these particulars one grosse summe, from the yeare of our Redemers coming B
into the world, we shall finde in all 1596. yeares inclusive. A terme which no State
euer attained vnto. It is true, that the bounds of this Monarchie shall not be so large,
as vnder *Charlemagne*, yet better limited: and although it seemes that *Hugh Capet*
(in yeelding the proprietie of the Crowne lands vnto the Gouernours of places,) did
diminish it: yet in effect he did augment it, in assuring the Crowne by this good hus-
bandry, being extraordinary, yet very conuenient in such extreame necessitie. And
since, all that which seemed to bee dismembred, is returned from whence it came.
We must therefore set before our eyes, all this great Monarchie, imparted to diuers
Lords, and the royall authority ouer all, as the head ouer the whole body, which hath
diuers members: giuing life and force to euery part, to exercise his proper function: C
we shall see in order (as things haue fallen out,) the greatest part of those Provinces
which were made hereditarie by this conuention of *Capet*, returne to the Crowne
again. The which I will labour to effect, so long as the light shall guide me in the di-
uersitie of these changes.

We shall now enter into a more temperate raigne then the two former. We shall
not see so many armies in field, so many victories, nor so many conquests; neyther
shall we see so many audacious and infamous outrages, so many murders and parric-
ides; so many vnnatural cruelties of children against the father, of bretheren against
bretheren, of husbands against their wives, and of wives against their husbands: we
may well note and obserue diseases, but neither so dangerous nor so tedious, as haue D
bene played on the theater of horrible Tragedies in former raignes. Doubtlesse as
the body and minde haue their proper diseases, so hath the estate of mankind. Man
cannot be alwayes sound, nor alwayes pleasant: his body and minde haue their passi-
ons in their seasons, according to the degrees which God hath prescribed them by
the course of nature. Likewise the changes are remarkable in all this Monarchie: but
this raigne iudicially considered, we may admire the notable proofes of Gods prou-
idence, who would fortifie this estate, for the preseruation of his Church in *Europe*,
whereof *France* is a notable member, and doth import much to all other nations. The
History therefore of this third raigne is most worthy of memory, for the vse whereof E
we may obserue three famous parts, to helpe the iudgement and memory.

An order for
the vse of this
third raigne.

The first from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip of Valois*: where began the controuersie of the
English against the *French*, long and lamentable for the pretension to the Crowne of
France. The second from that raigne to *Henry the third*, the last King of that branche
of *Valois*. The third begins at *Henry the 4.* now raigning, the first of the most noble
race of *Bourbon*. This Inuentary shall faithfully and briefly quote the
particularities of these last reignes, to send the Reader to
the whole Historie, to the which
we leaue him.

THE FIRST PARCELL OF THE THIRD ROYAL RACE, CALLED CAPETS.

Containing thirteene kings, from *Hugh Capet*
to *Charles the fourth*, called *the Fair*.

The names of thirteene Kings, of the
first royall branch of Capets. placing

HUGH CAPET,

For the stemme and foundation of the third royall race,
which raigne at this day.

ROBERT

PHILIP the 1.

LEWIS. the 7. called the long.

LEWIS the 8.

PHILIP the 3. called the hardie.

LEWIS the 10. called HVTIN.

HENRY.

LEWIS the 6. called the grosse.

PHILIP the 2. called AVGVSTVS

LEWIS the 9. called S. LEWIS.

PHILIP the 4. called the faire.

PHILIP the 5. surnamed the long.

CHARLES the 4. called the faire, the
last of this first branch.

From the yeare nine hundred ninetic six, vnto a thousand
three hundred twentie and eight.

ROBERT alone of that name,
37. King of France.



ROBERT began to raigne alone, in the yeare 996. and raigned 33. The raigne of
yeares. Hee had three sonnes, *Hugh, Robert, and Henry*, by his wife *Constance*, the Daughter of *William Earle of Arles*. Following the
example of his father *Hugh*, he desired to assure the Crowne in his
house, installing his heire in the right purchased to him and his, by a
decree of the States. So he crowned *Hugh* his eldest sonne at *Com-
piegne*, in the yeare 1028. But God (who was wiser then *Robert*) de-
termined to call *Hugh* to a better Crowne, for soone after he dyed: being dead, *Robert*
continued in the same desseigne, to assure his estate in his house: and obseruing a more
royall disposition in the younger, then in the elder, he preferred vertue before the
prerogative of elderthip: causing *Henry* the younger to be crowned in his life time:
decreeing by his will, that *Robert* should content himselfe with the Duchie of *Bour-
gogne*, doing homage for it to the Crowne of France. *Robert prefers
Henry's
younger sonne
to the crowne
before the
elder.*

So hauing happily disposed of his affaires, and raigned with the generall content
of his subjects, he dyed in the yeare 1031. being three score yeares old. A Prince
very fite for the time, being wise, resolute, peaceable and continent. But Pietie was on,
the Crowne of all his vertues, and the knowledge of Diuinitie seasoned with learning,
one of the flowers of this goodly crowne: for he is commended to haue bene very
deuout, and to haue loued both diuinity and humanitie. They sing Hymnes of his in-
uention, and namely that which is to the honour of holy martyrs, which begins, *O con-
stantia martyrum mirabilis*, the which bearing resemblance with the name of his wife
C *Constance*, he was wonderfully pleased with the humour she had to be honoured with
his writings, being then greatly esteemed throughout the world;

There

1010. There is nothing more dangerous in an Estate than the change of diuers masters: A
 While Kings
 and of long
 life happy
 for an estate.
 experience hath taught in former raignes. So God, who ment to confirme the
 archie in this Race, gaue a long and a happie life to these first Kings, issued from *Ca-*
pet, without any sudden change from raigeto raigne. For *Robert* raigned 33. yeares:
Henry his sonne as much, *Philip* his sonne 49. yeares, *Lewis* the 7. forty foure, *Lewis* the
 9. called *Saint Lewis* as much. All wise Princes, moderate, valiant, peaceable and
 happy. As good houses are settled, euen so Kingdomes are confirmed. As when one
 good husband succeeds an other, adding welth to welth, newe vpon olde, houses then
 growe great: euen so the long life of these good and wise Princes, was continued with
 much happy successe, as we shall see in every raigne.

This in particular is remarkable in the raigne of *Robert*. We haue sayd, the realme B
 was diuided, as it were to many masters. As there is small respect among equals,
 who seeth not what should haue succeeded betwixt so many great lords being equals,
 and especially in *France*? but *Robert* did so firmly gouerne the helme of this great
 baile in the midst of the tempestuous seas of *French* humors, as hee controulled all
 such as sought to free themselves from the Crowne: whose authority by this meanes
 was great, by the obedience which hee forced all them to yeeld that would plaie the
 mutines. He enterrayned the amity his father had with *Richard Duke of Normandie*,
 confirmed by allyance, and for that there was ialousie betwixt him and *Otho Earle of*
Chartres, he could wisely make his profit of them both.

In the beginning of his raigne one *Gautier* gouernour of *Melun* sold the place to C
 the Earle of *Chartres* aboue named, according to the manner of confused times. At
 the complaint of *Bouchard* (to whom the towne belonged,) the King commaunded
Otho to restore it vnto him, who refused to obey. *Robert* lets the *Normand* against
 him, who handles him in such sort, as in the ende the Earle humbles himselfe
 vnto the King, and deliueys vp both the place and marchant, who was hanged.

Henry brother to *Hugh Capet* was Duke of *Bourgogne*, by the deccale of his brother
Otho. *Henry* then died, and so *Bourgogne* returned to the Crowne. But passion
 perswading *Landry Earle of Nevers* to make a benefit of his right of neighbourhood,
 and time inuiting him to imbrace this occasion to fish in a troubled water, hee seized
 on *Auxerre* by intelligence. But hee was deceiued, to thinke this a time wherein all
 things were lawfull: for *Robert* goes presently to field with his army, and beseegeth D
Auxerre, where this ill aduised *Landry* was: but the Inhabitants open their gates to
 the King, and deliuey *Landry* into his hands. All the *Auxerrois* obeye, except *Au-*
lon, who after a fewe daies yeelds, and in the ende all *Bourgogne*. *Landry* guilty of
 treason, suffers an easie punishment for his rashnes. Hauing confessed his fault, he ob-
 taines pardon of *Robert*, promising all future obedience.

Thus *Robert* being master of *Bourgogne*, hee giues it to *Robert* his eldest sonne. But
Robert doubtly interested (his younger being preferred, and hee hauing a very small
 part in the State,) was not pleased with this portion. *Bourgogne*, was then distin-
 guished into *Duchie* and *Countie*, whereof the *Countie* belonged to the Empire, and
 the *Duchie* to the Realme, according to the diuision made by the Children of *Lewis*
 the gentle. At that time *Henry* the 2. Duke of *Bauiere*, surnamed the holy, held the
 Empire. *Lorraine* was the ordinarie cause of debate betwixt *France* and *Germany*. *Ro-*
bert (to ende this controuersie) meetes with *Henry* at a place called *Enol*, vpon the ri-
 uer of *Cher*, and made an accord with him, the which continues to this day. At that
 time *Gothelou* brother to the Earle of *Ardenne* held *Lorraine*.

Herevpon the hatred betwixt the Duke of *Normandy* and the Earle of *Chartres* kind-
 led in such sort, by the yeelding vp of *Melun* as they assembled their friends & seruants
 on all sides. The *Normand* calls his farthest friends to his succors, *Logman* king of *Sueden*
 and *Olane* King of *Normaye* his kinsmen. But *Robert* pacified this quarrell in time, by F
 his wisdom, shewing by the effect, how much authority employed in time may pre-
 uail, and that wee must speedily quench a small fire, the which neglected burns a
 whole forest.

There

A There were great personages in all prouinces with hereditary power, according to
 the grant made by *Hugh Capet*. In *Normandy* *Richard* the third, in *Aniou* *Geoffroy* *Grise-*
gonelle, in *Guenne* *William*, of the race of *Pepin* sonne to *Lewis* the Gentle, in *Languedoc*
Cout Mathew, in *Champagne* and *Touraine* *Odo*, all great and valiant men, with other
 worthy personages throughout the Realme: al which were rash men & of high attempts,
 but the name and royall authority of *Robert*, conteyned all these men & of high attempts,
 spirits with in the bounds of their duty and publike respect. And so this raigne passed
 quietly without any great tumults. Leauing a lesson for Princes, to ioyne wisdom A notable
 with authority, and valour with mildnes: it being as great a conquest to preferue his raigne,
 owne, as to get an other mans, and to vanquish mens minds by reason, as by force.
 B A patterne in these two raignes, of the meanes to restore an Estate,
 dismembred by the disorders of ciuill warres.

HENRY the first, the 38. King of France.



HENRY, being in possession of the realme during the life of his fa-
 ther, succeeded him in the yeare, 1031. and raigned 33. yeares. 1031.
 He had two sons, *Philip* and *Hugh*, by *Anne* the daughter of *George*,
 or *Gautier* the *Sclauon* King of the *Russians*, and one daughter, the
 which was married to *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, sonne to that *Richard* of whom we haue discoursed.

The beginning of his raigne, was rough and vnquiet, and the ende more milde and
 profitable. But *Henry* in the preferuation of his Estate, did nothing degenerate from
 the wisdom and dexterity of his father. The cause of this hard entrie, was the bro-
 thers portion, apparently vnequall and preiudiciall, although a wise father had so
 decreed it. *Queene Constance*, mother to these two Princes brethren, nourished this
 dislike, supporting *Robert* against *Henry*, that is to say, the elder against the younger.
 as oftentimes mothers haue the like humours, to loue one more then an other. Contention
 betweene the
 The

1037 The cause was plausible, that it was against the lawe, vse & customes of *France*, that the younger should be preferred before the elder in a royalty. The parties were great for *Robert*, *Constance* mother to the King, *Bauldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, and *Odo* Earle of *Champagne*, a busie man and rash. For the King, the royall maiesty, the will of his father, the forces of the Realme, and (amongest all) those of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*. The armies approach ready to fight, when as beheld *Robert* (for whose interest the question was) being a Prince of a milde and quiet disposition, giues his mother and friends (who had brought forces to his ayde) to vnderstand, that he would not be the cause to shed *Frenchmens* bloud: and that *Bourgongne* should suffice him, seeing his father had so decreed. Vpon this declaration of *Robert*, *Queene Constance* changed her mind, and sends backe her troups, embracing peace with her children. The armies were dismissed, and an agreement ratified betwixt *Henry* and *Robert*, who liued like brethren and good friends: That *Bourgongne* should remaine to *Robert* and his successors, with the title of a fealty to *France*, (which they call *Peere*) & to be Deane among the Peeres. Thus *Robert* of *France* enioyed *Bourgongne*, and left it hereditary to his heire successiue, vntill the raigne of *Iohn*, in the yeare 1360.

Robert yields vnto his brother.

But the County of *Bourgongne* and *Normandy* were the cause of much trouble in those times, during the which he kept the stakes, not onely as a spectator, but as an v-surper. This *Odo* Earle of *Champagne* (who had incensed his brother against him) lookt for a good part in *Bourgongne*, and had already won *Robert* to promise him *Sens*, who euen vpon the accord making had seized thereon: but being easily expelled by the Kings authority, he runnes an other course, to loose both himselfe and what hee had, supposing to vsurpe an other mans estate.

He held vnder the Crowne, *Champagne*, *Touraine* and the Country of *Chartres*. Hee had two sonnes, *Stephen*, and *Thibault*: yet he sought to ioyne *Bourgongne* to his other Estates, which was the cause of great troubles. We haue before made mention of *Boson* the husband of *Hermingrade*, daughter to *Lewis* the sonne of *Lewis* the Gentle, who had the Realme of *Bourgongne* and *Italy*. He had two sonnes, *Raph* and *Lewis*. *Lewis* was ouerthrowne by *Beranger* Duke of *Friul*, who easily seized on that, which remained in *Italy*, & of *Prouence*, as lying neere, and of easie access. *Raph* had the rest of *Bourgongne*, the *Couste*, *Sauoie*, & *Dauphiné*, for the Duchie of *Bourgongne* remained to the Crowne of *France*. From this *Raph*, sprong *Lewis*, and from *Lewis* another *Raph*, who liued during the raigne of *Henry*, being old, without children, and ill obeyed of his subiects.

He had two sisters, the one married to *Conrade* surnamed the *Salique*, Duke of *Francy*, who was Emperour: and an other to the Earle of *Champagne*, father to this *Odo*, who seekes to perswade *Raph* his vnckle to make him his heyre, as sonne to his eldest sister: and employes the fauour of many subiects, who desired rather a neighbour then a stranger to be their Prince. But *Raph* preferred *Conrade* before *Otho*, and sent him his testament, his crowne, and Scepter, instituting *Henry* his son and his Nephew his heire general. *Conrade* made war in *Hongary*, *Odo* embraced this occasion, & (seeing him thus embusied) he enters into *Bourgongne*, where he takes certaine citties: the rest hold at *Conrades* deuotion, being called to the inheritance: but these desseines were soone cut off. For behold the Emperour *Conrad* returns with a goodly and victorious armye, who not onely recouers againe the citties of *Bourgongne* that were lost, but also takes some in *Champagne*, so as *Odo* doth with great difficulty hold *Troyes*: hee is forced to seeke by humble petitions to his Vnckle, who giues him his owne, and forbids him to take from another. The Earle being thus suppressed, *Conrad* parles with King *Henry*, and ratifies the ancient accords, for the diuiding of *Bourgongne*, whereof wee haue spoken.

From that time, the *Germane* Emperours challenged the right and title of the Realme of *Arles*, which the Emperour *Charles* the fift shall alienate, and shal be soone diuided into sundry principalties, as we shall shew in their places. Thus the Realme of *Bourgongne* had an ende in the posterity of *Boson*. The Emperour *Conrad* being forced

Odo Earle of Champagne, seeks to seize vpon the County of Bourgongne.

A forced to go into *Italy*, after all these treaties, to redresse the confusions which grew dayly. Behold *Odo* reuiues the warre more furiously then before, and enters *Lorraine* with a strong army, but his enterprise fell vpon his owne head. For *Gothelon* Duke of *Lorraine* (confirmed by the Emperour) defeats him, burying his ambition and his life in one sepulchre, and thus much for *Bourgongne*.

Normandy gaue no lesse cause of employment to *Henry*. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, had mainteyned the hereditary loue of his father with the King, greatly relying vpon his friendship. Having resolved a long and dangerous voyage to the holy Land: he intreated him to affect the protection of *William* his bastard sonne, whome hee had made his heyre, excluding his lawfull children. This testament seemed vnreasonable to all men: but *Robert* had settled his Estate before his departure, appoynting him good Gouvernours, and putting the strongest places, and treasure into their hands: as *William* remayned Conquerour after his death, which happened in this long voyage beyond the seas. But this was not without great difficulties, in the which *Henry* kept the stakes, ballancing both parties with his authority.

Robert Duke of Normandy profess his bastard before his lawfull children.

William remaining the stronger, *Normandy* had some rest, being freed from men of warre by this occurrent. A gallant troupe of Warriors, weary to liue at home, and desirous to see the world, led by *Robert* and *Guischard* valient Gentlemen, seeking their fortunes, came into *Italy*: where they are employed in priuate quarrells, and there get so great reputation, as by their example, they drawe many to the same voyage: and an other notable swarme of braue souldiers are led thither by *Tamcred*, a man very famous for this attempt, the partialities of *Italy* giue them occasions and meanes to seize vpon *Ponille*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, as the history describes at large. This briefly may suffice to note the Estate of this raigne.

Happy success of the Normans in Italy.

Thus *Henry* passeth his raigne amidst these troubles, being too light to shake the body of an Estate, following the example of his Grandfather, and Father, he causeth *Philip* his sonne to be crowned King, being but seuen yeares old: and gaue him *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* for Tutor and regent of the Realme. He liued little after his Coronation, the which he hastened by reason of his indisposition, and so he died 55. yeares old, in the yeare 1061. Beloued and lamented of all his subiects, whom he intreated with much mildnes some yeares before his death: the beginning of his raigne being disquieted with the feare of ciuill dissention, and the end crowned with a plentiful rest.

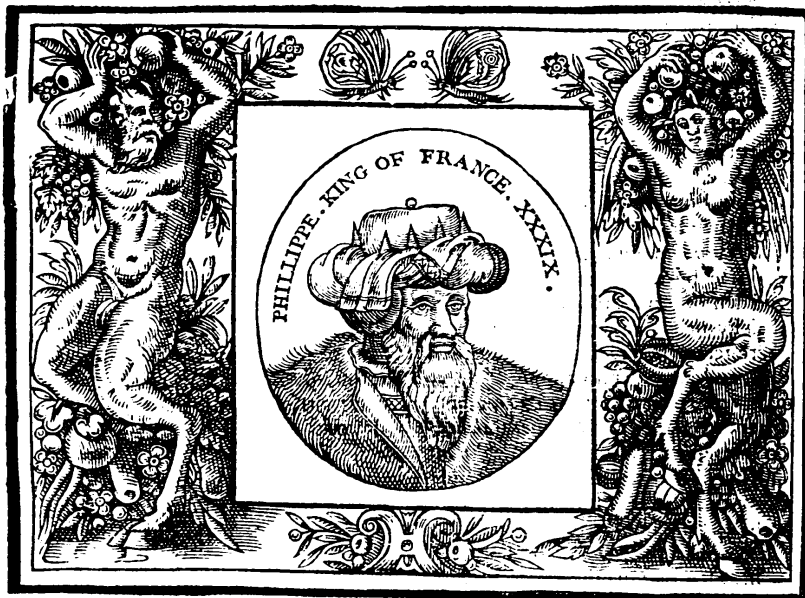
Robert dies.

N

PHILIP



PHILIP the first, the 39. King of France.



1061.
Baldwin Re-
gent in Philip's
minoritie.



According to King *Henries* decree, *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, A tooke vpon him the government of yong King *Philips* person, (already confirmed by his coronation,) & of the affaires of the realme with quietnes: hauing the reputation of a good & wise man, although he were not pleasing to them all. For certaine Noblemen of *Gasconie* did crosse him, charging him with ambition, as if he would make himselfe a King, like to other Regents, whereof the memorie was yet fresh in all *Frenchmens* mindes. But his integritie and wisdom (preferuing his credit

with the greatest part of the *French*) gaue him meanes to subdue the rebellious *Gasccons*, who made this their pretence, to fish in a troubled streame, during the minoritie B of the young King.

Baldwin doth not winke at this repulse, neither doth he suffer it to passe unpunished, He armes wisely, with a shew to go against the *Sarrazins*, which sometimes did overrunne the frontiers of *France*, bordering vpon *Spaine*. This zeale hauing moued many to accompanie him, he punished the rebels in *Gasconie*, and preuented many which began to mutine in sundry places of the realme, as shall appeare in the future raignes. It is the ordinarie ebbing and flowing of worldly things, in the impatience of the *French*, neuer to lue long in one estate. Vce haue now passed aboue seuentie yeares in peace, in these three raignes: this Prince shall adde fortie nine more of great tranquillitie to this realme. But setting before our eyes the horrible confusions in other C parts, it doth shew vs plainly the occasions, whereby the disease grew in the State, which in the ende bred so long and dangerous a seauer by ciuill warre. For why doth

Baldwin pun-
ished the re-
bels of Gas-
conie.

39. King of France.

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A doth a history represent vnto vs the effect known vnto al men, if it touch not the causes 1061.
and motiues of these great euent, the which succeed not presently, but by degrees, as a
Clocke which carried by contrary motiues strikes the houre at the time appointed a-
mongst all the minutes. This iudgement is necessary for the right vie of what wee
reade. The Kings minority passed quietly by the wise government of *Baldwin*, who
hauing accompanied his pupill to the age of 15. yeares, leaues him his temporall
realme in peace, and seekes an eternall Crowne in heauen: being greatly lamented of
the good, leauing a memorable example of a good tutor to a King, and a wise Regent of
a realme. *Philip* takes in hand the helme of the Estate, beholding from a safe harbour
the stormes of other nations, which exceed in pernicious furies, not foreseeing the
seeds cast by himselfe in the bosome of his owne realme, & that his example giues li-
berties to his subiects to the like disorder.

Baldwin dies
much lamen-
ted.

A wise Prince, but disloyall, taking couetousnes and ambition for his Councillors, The dispositi-
seeking onely his owne profit, and contemning that plaine simplicitie, which had pur-
chased so much happines to his father & grand-fathers, & to himselfe a respectiue cre-
dit withall the *French*, and immortall praise to his posterity. A looking glasse for Kings
& Princes without any deceit, wherein they may vewe the true causes of the happines
of their Estates. *Flanders*, *England* and *Italy*, beganne first before that *France* entred, who
shall act a long and tedious part vpon this stage. *Baldwin* of whom we haue made men-
tion, left two sonnes, *Baldwin* and *Robert*, with their mother *Richilde*. Their Vncle *Robert*
C the *Frison* preceded the inheritance to belong vnto him: or at the least the guardianship
of his Nephewes. *Richilde* and the states opposed to both his demands; so as they grew
to words, and then to warre. King *Philip* (as their soueraigne) ought to bee ludge to
compound their quarrels, but he labors to kindle them, seeking his own profit in the
garboiles. *Robert* the *Frison* preuentis him, with promises to do what hee pleased. Hee
winnes him and gets a promise to be succoured against the right of his Nephewes. But
Richilde mother to these pupills, knowing the Kings humour, goes vnto him to crosse
Roberts desseins, who brought nothing but words.

This woman brought money with her good behauiour, and wonne him against *Ro-
bert*, who discontent with the King; assembles his other means, and wonne him against *Ro-
bert*, who discontent with the King; assembles his other means, and goes to field with his
D army, and gets part of the Country: *Richilde* flies to *Philip*, who comes himselfe with a
very great army, and enters *Flanders*. His meaning was to make a benefit of their com-
mon quarrell. But it fell out otherwise, by his prouidence who doth pull downe one &
raile vp another, alwaies iustly, although the causes be vnknowne vnto vs. *Robert* de-
feates the King and his Nephewes. After this victory hee is receiued Earle of *Flanders*,
without any discontent of the King for the distressed pupills: who relying no more on
him, fled for succor to *Thierry* Bishop of *Liege*: who makes an accord. That *Robert* the
Frison should haue the Earledome of *Flanders*, & giue his Nephewes some recompence.
After this peaceable possession of the Earledome of *Flanders*, *Philip* became a decre
friend to *Robert*, forgetting the good offices hee had receiued from his tutor, measuring
E friendship by profit. Such was the state of *Flanders*. *England* had a greater change:
we haue sayd that *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* had instituted *William* his bastard sonne
his heire, and that hee had gotten possession of the Duchie, but behold a greater happi-
nesse attends him. *Edward* King of *England* hauing receiued much kinde from him,
and knowing him fit for the government of the realme, names him his heire by his tes-
tament: by vertue whereof (notwithstanding all the policy and force, that *Herould*,
brother to the Queene could vse) *William* is receiued King of *England*, and crowned in
a solemne assemble of the *English*, homage is done vnto him, as to their lawfull Lord:
& this great dignity continued in his posterity. *Philip* sees this new power impatiently, yet
yet can he not preuent it, but God hath prepared it as a rod to correct this realme, by
the three sonnes which *William* left to succeed in his Estates, *Robert*, *William* and *Henry*.
Ambition is the Leuaine of these warres, it shewed it selfe soone after the birth of this
new power grown to the Dukes of *Normandy*, (whose first breeding we haue scene in
the second race) by the increase of the realme of *England*.

The vncle
supplaceth his
Nephewes for
the County
of *Flanders*.

Philip forsake
Baldwin's
Children at
their neede.
In *England*.

Philip discon-
tented at
William's
advancement
to the crowne
of *England*.

1061. Robert and Henry the sonnes of William, come to the King at Conflans vpon Oise. As they play at Chess with Lewis the sonne of King Philip, there fell some contention among these yong Princes, and from iniurious words, they fell to blowes: Lewis called Henry the sonne of a Bastard, Henry struck at him with the Chess-board, and had slaine him, if Robert had not staied him. This blow being giuen, Robert and Henry made all hast to saue themselves in Normandy: where they incensed both heauen and earth with their complaints. From this light beginning, grew all the troubles which disquieted these two Estates during 400. yeares, vpon diuers occasions. Robert & Henry being escaped, the fathers so imbrace the quarrell for their children, as they fall to armes. Philip goes to field, and takes Vernon depending of Normandie. Robert goes out of Normandie and doth seize vpon Beauuouis. King William parts from England, and lands in France, with a great and mighty power, and inuades Xaintonge and Poitou. Behold the first check of a dangerous game. Philip moued with these losses, enters into Normandie with a great and mighty armie: but he cures not one wound in making of another. William on the other side, runnes and spoiles all the Country, euen vnto the gates of Paris, where hee entered not then, but his posteritie did after him. Hee dies soone after, but the quarrell suruiued in his children, who augmented this hereditarie hatred in many forts.

The Leuaine of dissention betwixt France and England.

The English enter into Guienne.

Confusion in Italy betwixt the Emperour and Popes.

The Popes usurpation.

While they began to weaue this web, Italy was in no better estate, being full of horrible combustions, and the cause was so much the more lamentable, for that the mischief came from them, from whom all good was to be expected. We haue formerly spoken of the deuisions growne betwixt the Emperours and the Popes of Rome, for their preheminences. In all ancient times the Popes were subiect & to be summoned before the Emperour, who had authority to create them, & to depose them that were vnworthy of their charges: to call Synods, and to confirme all things which concerned the outward government of the Church. The Pope on the other side maintains, that all this authority was his, as vniuersall Bishop, hauing power to bind and loose, & to iudge of all men, and all causes, as the soueraigne Iudge of the Church, not to bee iudged by any man: and so to dispose absolutely of all matters, as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill, as Monarch in the Church, not only armed with power of excommunication to damne rebels, and authority to remit finnes: but hauing also the temporall sword, with soueraigne authority ouer Emperours, Kings and Princes of the earth, to place and displace, and to dispose of their estates.

Hereafter we shall find in euery raigne, some memorable example of this soueraigne authority. This raigne giues a very notable one. After the death of the Emperour Conrad, called Salique, Henry the 3. of that name, (hauing happily gouerned the Empire) left it to his sonne Henry the 4. yet very yong, so as the Popes during this weaknesse of the Empire, had meanes to fortifie themselves: and so embracing this occasion, Gregory the 7. called Hildebrand, did prohibite the Emperour all authority ouer the Clergie, and forbade (vpon paine of excommunication) to haue any recourse vnto him for the collation of benefices, or for any thing else that depended on the Church. Henry moued with so great an affront, lets Gregory vnderstand, that this his decree was contrary to the ancient orders, & the vse of the Catholike Church. Vpon this refusal, he lets him know, that hee will maintaine the rights of the Empire, and complains to the Clergie of Rome in an open assembly. Gregorie calls an other, wherein hee doth excommunicate Henry and all his adherents, and sends forth his Bull into all parts, whereby hee declares him excommunicate and degraded of the Empire, and in his place cauleth Rodolph Duke of Suenia to be chosen Emperour.

Strange confusions betwixt the Emperour and the Pope.

Thus there growes two factions in Italy, and in Germany, one for the Emperour, and the other for the Pope: behold two armies leuied of these factions, ready to shed Christians blood: nine batailles were giuen vpon the quarrell of these preheminences. In the end, Rodolphe the new Emperour is taken and slaine by Godfrey of Bouillon, who followed the Emperour Henry the fourth: who after this victorie, assembled a great Councell at Bresse, where as Gregorie the seuenth is excommunicated, and Clement Bishop of Rauenna appointed to succeed him, they condu& him to Rome with

A with an armie, & take the Citty after a long siege; whereas the new Pope is solemnly installed, and Henry the 4. Emperour restored by the decree of Clement. But this was not all, those which were opposit to the Emperour, chose in the place of Gregory, Urban the 2. and their party growing strong, the confusions increased, opposing one Emperour against another. Herman of Luxembourg to Henry, and after him Egbert Marquis of Saxony: the which were taken by Henry, and slaine one after another. Urban hath other practises against Henry, hee animates his owne sonne by his first wife against him, forcing all the lawes of nature. And as Henry had suppressed the practises of his eldest sonne, Pope Paschall who succeeded Urban the 2. succeeds him euen in the like most filthy practises, incensing his other sonne Henry, whom the father intended to make Emperour, relying on him as on his child, beioued aboue all the rest. So this sonne (bewitched by ill counsell) found meanes to seize on his Father, depriving him first of the Empire, and then of his life. The Pope added to this death a new disgrace, causing by his thundring Bulls, the body of Henry to be digged out of his graue. These were the fruites of their serious controuersies, for preheminance not onely vnknowne to the ancient Church, nor practised by the Apostles, but expresse forbidden by the holy mouth of the sonne of God.

The Pope incenseth the sonne against the father, who takes from him both his Empire & his life.

The Popes malice against the Emperour being dead.

The Popes one after another (troubled with these crosses) had recourse vnto our Philip, so had Henry the 4. being a prisoner to his sonne, but the respect of his common friends, made him to keepe the stakes, and to be a spectator of these lamentable confusions. And yet many orders were erected by the Popes, amidst these disorders, that of the regular Chanoines, for a difference of the secular; the Chartreux, Templers, Benedictines, and Carmes. Thus Philip a witness of others miseries, raignes peaceably, during this age full of confusion, both in Church and State.

The Emperour had reduced the realme of Bourgogne to the Imperiall iurisdiction, distinguished as wee haue sayd: but during these disorders, the whole body was dissolved, and reduced to an other forme; as when one is wearie of an old garment. The industrie of such as held the Citties and Countie in their possession, made foure peeces of this garment. The one was for Otto of Flanders, which is the Countie about Bescancon, with the title of an Earldome, whereof it carries yet the name. The other for Berald of Saxony, who enioyed Sawoy. The third for Guigne the sarr Earle of Grifinaudan, who from little, grew to great in the confusions of times, hauing taken the chiefe Citties of the Country, and in the end, Grenoble the capitall Citty, as he became absolute Lord of all that Prouince: the which hee called Dauphiné, in fauour of his Sonne, who hauing married the Daughter of the Earle of Albon and Viennois, named Dauphin, would carry the same name, holding himselfe honoured by so worthy an allyance. The fourth peece is Provence, one of the goodlyest and richest, both for the fertilitie of the Countie, and commoditie of Ports, most convenient in all the Mediterranean Sea: this was fallen into the hands of Berengers successors, by the meanes before specified.

The beginning of the estates of Dauphiné, Sawoy, Provence, and Franche Comté.

E So the Empire lost the command of these foure Prouinces, which fell to foure diuers Lords, leauing yet in Dauphiné some traces of the ancient name, without any effect, for they yet call it the Empire in their common language, as wee haue sayd elsewhere. But as during the raigne of our Philip these confusions were notable, so voyagers to the Holy Land, is worthy to be carefully obserued. The proiect was to deliuer the Christians of Asia, oppressed by the furious tyranie of the Mahometaines, and to repeople the land, the which God had honoured with the first fruits of his Church. This zeale of Christians was commendable. I would to God they had at this day changed their disordered passions, glutted with their owne blood, into so holy a resolution, vniting their mindes and forces against the common enemy of all Christendome. The occasion was giuen by a French Gentleman called Peter the Hermite, who hauing long traueled in the East, and seene the miseries of the Christians among the Barbarians, the manners of the Leuantines: and the commodities and discommodities of the Prouinces of Asia,

The motive of this enterprise

1061 *Asia*, nearest to the Holy Land: he laide a plot with *Simeon* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, to A solicit all Christian Kings and Princes, to imploy their forces for the conquest of the Holy land. The event was answerable to the proiect: for being come to *Rome* to Pope *Urban* the 2. he did so well lay open the estate and importance of this action, as being satisfied by him, he resolues to inuite all the Kings, Princes, Potentates, States, Comonalties, Lords and Gentlemen of Christendome thereunto. To this end hee calls a Councell at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, where he assisted himselfe, and induced the whole assemblie by his perswasions, with great efficacie, as they resolved neither to spare their persons nor estates, in the execution of so important a worke.

The names of such as went to the Holy Land.

Godfrey of *Bouillon*, sonne to *Eustace* Earle of *Boulogne* upon the Sea, being Duke of *Lorraine* by his Vncle *Godfrey* the Crooke-back, the sonne of *Geibelon*, a great and a B generous Prince, offered himselfe the first to this expedition, and was chosen chiefe of this famous action. The Emperour and all Christian Princes, promised to contribute their meanes, some their persons. A troupe of all the selected Nobilitie of *Europe*, did willingly consecrate themselves. The most apparent were *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, brothers to *Godfrey*, *Hugh* the great, Earle of *Vernandois*, brother to *Philip* King of *France*, *Robert* the *Frison* Earle of *Flanders*, *Robert* the second sonne to *William* the Bastard, Duke of *Normandie* and King of *England*, *Stephen* Earle of *Blois* and *Chartres*, *Aimar* Bishop of *Puy*, *William* Bishop of *Oranges*, *Raimond* Earle of *Tolose* and *Saint Gilles*, *Baldwin* Earle of *Hainault*, *Baldwin* Earle of *Reibel*, *Bohemond* Duke of *Apoulie*, *Garnier* Earle of *Crez*, *Hainpin* Earle of *Bourges*, *Ysaard* Earle of *Die*, *Ramond* Earle of *Oranges*, *William* Earle of *Forcé*, *Stephen* Earle of *Aumal*, *Hugh* Earle of *S. Pol*, *Rotron* Earle of *Perche*, and many others, worthy to be registred in this Historie, I haue onely noted such as I could finde out.

All *Europe* was moued with this voyage, *France*, *Germanie*, *Italy*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Hongarie*, *Denmarke*, and *Sueden*: *Spain* onely failed, being at that time much troubled to keepe their owne home from the *Sarrazins*, who were lodged euen in their bowels. *France* did contribute more then all the rest of Christendom. The zeale which moued these generous and valiant men, made them to hazard all, Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, sold and ingaged their Seigneuries, to furnish themselves in this affected voyage, at what price soeuer. *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, chiefe of the D armie, sold the Seigneurie of *Bouillon*, to *Aubert* Bishop of *Liege*, and *Metz* to the Inhabitants: *Robert* Duke of *Normandie*, ingaged all his lands to his brother *William* King of *England*: *Herpin* Earle of *Berry*, his Earledome to King *Philip*. A sale farre more honorable for the sellers then for the buyers. There was a quarrell betwixt the children of *Tancred* the *Norman* (of whom we haue spoken) who by his valour had conquered *Scitile*, *Calabria*, & *Apulia* (a province from light beginnings. It seemed to be immortal, the question being betwixt wildfull Kintmen; but this zeale did so pacifie their quarrels as they brought aboue twenty thousand braue men to the army, with their own persons. In euery Towne there was nothing but men making their provisions, the wayes were full ofouldiers, horses, & baggage, which repaired to the *Rendezuons*; the Ports, Harbours, and Seas swarmed with ships and vessels, to transport our generous *Argonauts*, they being guided with this holy zeale, to settle the State of Christians in the Holy land. The number of the armie is diuersly reported. Some write they were six hundred thousand fighting men, others restraine it onely to a hundred thousand. The first number were more likely, for what were that in *Europe*, but for our wretched dissensions? But that which they add is to be considered. That many else well affected, were kept back by reason of the dissensions betwixt the Emperours and Popes: so as *Germanie* (a great nurserie of men of warre,) sent very few: and *Italy* fewer, being dispensed withall by the Pope, who had ingaged others. See the ordinarie frutes of home-bred quarrels, the which fortifies the enemies of Christendome. Some writers of iudgment adde, that Pope *Urban* did cunningly vse the Christians zeale, to weaken the Emperour and his Partisans, that hee might preuaile with more facilitie, causing them to marche in this action, and retaining such as were at his deuotion. This is their opinion

A as the wise reader may verifie in their places. The sequell will shewe that this voyage did nothing mortifie the quarrell, betwixt the Emperour & the Pope, the which was renewed after a tragick maner. We follow the traces of truth as euery thing hath succeeded. Here we discourse of the beginnings and motiues of this war, we shall see the end and issue of this great preparation. Let vs reurne to the haue to our *Argonauts*, the trumpets sound, they are all ready to set saile.

Godfrey diuided his army into three fleets, making the *Rendezuons* at *Constantinople*, whether he had sent his Ambassadors to *Alexis* Emperour of *Greece*, who entering into ialousie of so great an army, made some difficulty to grant him ports: yet in the end hee yeilded, and gaue him an honorable entertainment. The departure of these Christian Aduenturers was in the yeare 1096, the first day of Aprill. Behold our *Latins* arrived in safe port, (thus hereafter wee shall call them, to distinguish them from the *Greekes* being Christians, & friends: & the *Turkes* *Leuantins* enemies. They undertooke no small worke, neither went they to take possession of an empty inheritance, The *Turkes* and *Mahometains* their enemies, were Lords of *Asia*, from the realme of *Pontus* (towards the Mediterranean sea) vnto *Hellepont*: after they had expelled the *Greekes*, overthrowne the forces of the *Caliphes* of *Babylon* and *Egipt*, and had seized on *Palestina*, *Iudea*, and all the rest of the Kingdome of *Israell*, from the entry of the holie Land vnto *Libanus*. *Jerusalem* was in their hands. Their estate (springing from weak beginnings) encreased dayly. *Soliman* *Belchiaros* was their sit *Sultan* or Emperour, who quickned with so hot a summons of Christians, assembled his forces together, stood vpon his gard, and prepared to fight.

The Malactian, command.

Godfrey (taking the aduice of *Alexis*, Emperour of *Greece*, who made shew to imploy all his meanes to aduance the common cause) resolved to passe into *Chalcedone*, and beginning with the Citties of *Asia* to make his passage more easie. Hee had sent *Peter* the Hermit before, the first trumpet of this warre, with *Gaultier* (who was a better soldier) and some troupes to discover the Country, but both together making scarce one good Captaine, suffred themselves to be beaten by the *Turkes*: so as *Godfrey* sends in their place one called *Regnaud* or *Raimond*, who makes profession to know the Country, but he speeds worse, suiting himselfe to be beate by the *Turkes*, and to see his life, herenounced the Christian religion, abandoning all that had followed him to the slaughter. This was a foretelling of ill successe.

The Christiantroupes were defeated by the *Turkes*.

The army marching by *Asia* the lesse, first they besiege *Nicomedia* the lesse, & takes it, then they attempt *Nicea* a City of *Bethinia* (famous for the first generall Councell which was held against *Arrius*). The *Sultan* had thrust *Mahomet* into it, one of his braverest Captaines, yet was it taken by assault by the Christians after two and twenty daies siege. The *Sultan* had his army in field, the which approached to fauour the besieged, and to saue the remainder of this ship-wracke, and likewise to hold the Citties in obedience, which stood amazed. *Nicea* being yeilded, there were some skirmishes so fauorable for the *Latins*, as *Soliman* retires his army to the mountaines, & leaues the plaines E & Citties to *Godfrey*, who putt vp with this happy successe, and leauing a good gard in *Nicea*, he passeth through *Bethinia* and comes to *Heraclea*, the which yeelds presently, and goes on with such successe, as in lesse then foure yeares he subdued all the goodliest Provinces of *Asia*, that is to say *Lycaonia*, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Siria*, *Mesopotamia* and *Comagene*, as the wise reader may see in the Originalls of the whole History without making of any particular relation in this discourse.

Godfrey winnes the greatest part of *Asia*.

These happy and gamefull conquests strooke as great a terror in *Soliman* and the *Leuantins*, as it purchased honour and reputation to *Godfrey* and the Christians: so as hauing taken *Antioche*, *Tripoly*, and other renowned Citties they came into *Iudea* and *Jerusalem* with a victorious courage. Thus *Jerusalem* is besieged with such diligence and resolution, as after eight and thirty daies it is taken by assault, and all the *Turkes* cut in peeces. The poore inhabitants without armes are carefully preferred, to purchase a double victory to the *Latins*, of valour in fighting well, and of clemency in

Iudea and *Jerusalem* taken. *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* chosen King of *Jerusalem*.

1109. in sparing the vanquished. The City wone, the *Latins* assemblen in counceill, & with one comon consent choose *Godefrey of Bouillon King of Ierusalem*. All the royall ornaments were taken & accepted by him, except the Crowne of gold, the which he would haue of thornes, like to that of our sauour Iesus Christ, to augment the price of gold & precious stones dedicated to his Crowne by a Holy humility, and a religious acknowledgement of the victory, which the Son of God hath gotten by his blood, to giue vs in Heauen the Crowne of immortal life. This famous act chanced in the yeare 1099. in the moneth of March.

Having put *Godefrey* and the Christians in possession of the Holy Land, let vs returne into *France* to our *Philip*, not without grieve to see the dissention betwixt the Emperour and Pope, who were nothing reconciled by the voyage to the holy Land. The increase of this newe power, purchased in *England* to the Sonnes of *William* the Conquerour, gaue him no small occasion to looke to his affaires, and the rather, for that this newe King of *England* had begonneto make a breach in his Estate, taking *Xaintonge* and *Poisou* Countries very important, being members of one of the principall Prouinces of his realme, foreseeing also that *Normandy* would bandy it selfe against *France* without all respect.

William had leit three sonnes of great hope: *William* furnamed *Rufus* King of *England*, *Robert* Duke of *Normandie* (whome wee haue left in the holy Land) and *Henry* Earle of *Maine* withall his treasure. *Philip* therefore to secure his Estate (following the example of his Ancestors) caused *Lewis* his soune, (whome hee had by *Berthe*, daughter to *C Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*) to bee Crowned King. There was a scandalous breach in this marriage, for *Philip* falling in loue with *Bertrade* the wife of *Fouques* Earle of *Anjou*, puts away *Berthe*, and afterwards (hauing reiected *Bertrade*), hee receiued *Berthe* againe, being mother to King *Lewis*, to whome hauing resigned the crowne at *Orleans*, hee died at *Melun* in the yeare of grace 1109. of his age 57. and of his raigne 49. hauing raigned long to settle his Estate, but not without a leuaine of much trouble to come, hauing degenerated from the vertues of his grand-fathers and father. He was disloyall, couetous, louing nothing but his owne profit, pittilesse, ingrate: and one who sowed dangerous seeds of much mischief, which began to bud in the raigne ensuing.



LEWIS

LEWIS the 6. called the grose
the 40. King.



AS wee foresee a storme by the clouds that rise, by the darke mists of the thicke ayre, pierced through with sparkles like the shining of a close fire, and by the motiues of the water, driuen with a violent and sudden wind, euen so there be *symtomes* & fits in an estate, which foretell the alterations which shall intue: the which fall not all at one instant, but the subiect being gathered together, in proceesse of time, breakes forth when it can no longer hold. There is this difference betwixt naturall things and those which belong to man, for that men can well discern what the wether will be, but he is blind in that which concerns himselfe, and neuer beleeues vntill he feels the blow, falling into the danger which he flies, by his owne fault, neuer wise but after danger. *France* had inioyed peace aboue a hundred yeares, vnder these forepassed raignes: shee now growes wearie. This raigne is a preamble to a mournfull song, which shall make them to weepe that reioyced in the fruition of so long rest. The name of royall authoritie held all those great men backe which had any interest therein, the wisdom of *Capet*, *Robert*, *Henry*, and *Philip*, had so bridled them, as they willingly obeyed.

Now they are of an other humor. The Duke of *Normandie* (who since *Capet* had bene obedient and affectionate to the Crowne,) seeing himselfe strengthened with the Realme of *England*, hee frames all his practises to ouerthrow this order, by rebellions and tumults. *Lewis* had scarce performed his fathers funeralls, before the fire of rebellion kindled in diuers parts of the realme: and (as if the Kings youth had bene a blemish to his dignitie,) every one will play the pettie King. The places neere vnto *Paris* began these first reuolts, by reason of the many great houses thereabouts.

Corbett

1109

Corbeil had an Earle, Chartres another, Piseaux in Beause had one, Crecy had his Lord, A Marle his, Pomponne his, and so diuers other Seigneuries had euery one their particular Lord. But as a disease stirres vp all the humors in a weake bodie, so all that were discontented with Lewis, gather together into one head, to afflict him vnder the countenance of the King of England. They were for a time suppressed, yet this was but to open a vaine, and not to cure the feuer. Guy of Crecy, the Lord Piseaux, Landelin Earle of Dammartin, Thibaud Earle of Champagne, and Brye, Pean of Loure in Paris, Milon of Montlehery, and Philippe the bastard of King Philippe, all ioyntly play the martines and rise against their King. At the same instant, Henry King of England goes to field, his priuate quarrell was for the Towne of Gisors, seated vpon the river of Epre, on the confines of Normandie. But this small proceffe was soone ended, for Lewis hauing defeated the English nere vnto Gisors, hee forced Henry to retyre, and afterwaids punished all these rebell's, increasing his reuenues by their confiscations.

Rebe's suppressed and punished.

But the quarrell betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, did hatch a more dangerous procees for France. We haue sayd that Henry the 5. banded against his father Henry the 4. (who had associated him to the Empire) and had cast him into prison by the Popes Councell, where this poore man died for griefe. Henry the 5. wonderfully troubled in conscience, and vexed with daily approches, that hee had violated the Imperiall rights, resolved to haue his reuenge of Pope Pascale, the author of this cruell and vnkind Councell. To conclude, he comes, and that with so great a resolution, as in few dayes, hee assembles three score thousand foote, and thirte thousand horset with this army hee goes into Italie, and hauing taken and spoiled Nourre, Pontremolo and Arrezzo, hee comes a Conqueror to the gates of Rome, the which were opened without any resistance.

The Emperour greets for his victory with a salute.

The Emperour comes to Rome and receiveth the Pope to take an oath.

Being entred the Cittie, and causing the Pope and Colledge to assemble, he makes knowne vnto them the rights of the Empire, as Pope Leo the eight had acknowledged them to Otho the second Emperour, and before him Adrian to Charlemagne, according to the decree of the Councell at Rome, contained in the fixte third distinction: and to conclude, he forced him to take the oath of fidelity, as to the true and lawfull Emperour, and then returns with his army. Pope Pascale extremely moued with this affront, calls a Councell, wherein he protests to haue bene forced by Henry, so by consequence pronounceth, that whatsoever he had promised was of no force, and after all these royles he died. Gelsus succeeded him both in place and hatred against the Emperour Henry: but being too weake of himselfe, neither hauing any such friend as the King of France (according to the triall so often made, time out of minde) he comes into France, but he died at Cluny: and in his place Calixtus, son to the Earle of Bourgonne was chosen Pope. The reputation of the place from whence he was descended was great, so as he being a Frenchman, easily called a Councell in France, to the great satisfaction of the French. It was held at Rheims, where by an ecclesiasticall decree, he declared Henry an enemy to the Church, and degraded of the Imperiall dignity.

The Emperour degraded by the Popes decree, in a Councell at Rheims.

As this ignominious decree did moue the Emperour, so did it minister matter to the King of England his brother in lawe, to imbrace all occasions to annoy Lewis his capitall enemy: for seeing this Councell had bin held in France, and consisted chiefly of the French Church: it was very apparant that the Kings fauour was very prejudiciall to the Emperours affaires. The English sayles not to harpe vpon this string to the Emperour, being already incensed by the thing it selfe: promising him all his meanes, & encouraging him to enter France on the one side, whilst that he came on the other with all the forces of Normandie and England. The party was not small, neither had Lewis small cause to feare, being incountred by two such enemies. But God shewed him the rod, and referred the punishment for another season: for as the Emperour was going to field, the Germaine Princes (foreseeing the misery of a warre vnder taken lightly vpon despight, and weighing the importance of neighbourhood) gaue him to vnderstand that he ought not to attempt warre against the King of France, without declaring vnto him

The Emperour and King of England ioyne against France.

143

A him the causes of his discontent. Hee therefore sends his Ambassadors to this end. Lewis doth wisely answer him, that hee is exceedingly sorrie, to see the two great Pillers of the Church so shaken by these diffentions: and that it was to bee feared, the whole building would bee ruined. So as being a friend to both, hee desired greatly to be a mediator of concord, and not to carrie coales to increase the fire, too much kindled already, the which ought to be quenched for the good and quiet of all Christendome: This Ambassage was pleasing and preuailed for the good and quiet of all our disames, and was content to make Lewis a mediator for an accord betwixt him, the Pope, to the great griefe of the King of England, who expected a long continuance of this iarr. The composition was made at Wormes, very beneficiall for the Pope, in the yeare 1122. whereby Henry grants him the installing of Bishops, and other benefices: This did ease the fore, but not cure it: as the sequell of the Historie will shew. While that Princes haue leisure to contend, the poore people dye for hunger in many places of Europe. This famine was exceeding great in Flanders, who then had for their Earle, Charles surnamed the good, for his good disposition, and great charitie to the poore. He sought by all meanes to releuee them. But as barrenesse was one of the causes of this famine, for the cruell couetousnesse of the rich, was a great hinderance to the commoditie of victuals: whereby there grew as remarkable an act, as the successe was strange, the particular report whereof, the reader must pardon in the breifenesse of our stile.

The French King and the Emperour reconciled.

Notable troubles in Flanders.

C There were three brethren at Bruges, of the chiefe of the Countrie, the which had gathered together a great quantitie of graine, and would not sell it, expecting a greater death, which might cause a greater price, that is Bertholphe Wendefstrate, Pouost of S. Donna, and Chanceller of Flanders: Lambert and Bouffard Wendefstrate brethren: and another rich Bourgeois called Lambert, one of the chiefe of the Cittie. This dignity of Prouost and Chanceller was so great, as hee supplied the Princes place in his absence. Vpon the peoples complaint, the Earle decrees, that all the graniers of these great houses should be opened, and the Corne sold to the people at a reasonable rate. The Comission was giuen to Thamar, Almoner of the Earles house, as a thing befitting his charge: he caused the graniers of these rich Bourgeses to be opened, the corne is sold to the people, and the money deliuered to the owners. The people being releued by the courageous care of Thamar, commend him. The Wendefstrates and Lambert (greatly discontented with this sale, wherein they held themselves interested) cause many indignities to be done vnto him. Lambert is directly accused by informations, being a very audacious young man, and the Wendefstrates were touched therewith. The Earle offended with these audacious attempts, repaired them by iustice: threatening Lambert that if he continued, he would severely punish him.

There was also another complaint, made by an old Abbot against the Prouost, to whom the Earle spake roughly, commanding him to restore vnto the Abbot what he ought him. These free admonitions of the good Earle Charles, did so alter the proud & trecherous minds of these Cittizens, as they resolved to kill him: his milde facilitie giuing these wicked spirits both courage to attempt, and boldnesse to execute. And the end is answerable to their wicked desseine. As the good Earle Charles went ill accompanied in the morning to his deuotion, to the Church of S. Donna, on Ashwednesday, behold a troope of yong mad men, led by this Lambert, comes vnto him, (being vnarmed on his knees in a Chappell, the Priest attired in his ornaments at the Altar,) the Earle holding forth his arme to giue his almes to a poore woman, & without any warning they beat him downe with their swords, & kill him, and so forcing all to giue way, they seeke for Thamar, whom they find & massacre, with so great a furie, as they leaue him vpon the place hewed into many peeces. Their troope increaseth, and they flie to the Pallace, where all are amazed: and finding it without gard, without keyes, & without any gate shut, they enter it with horrible cries, they kill, sack, and spoile: and running from thence into the Cittie, they commit the like in those houses which they knew best affected to the good Earle Charles. This furious crueltie was accompanied with an ouerweening indiscretion, as if they had made some goodly conquest, they braue

Trecherie against the good Earle of Flanders.

The Earle of Flanders and his Almoner murdered.

Crueltie in the City of Bruges.

1117. braue it, and play the maisters without feare of any punishment. The people exceedingly grieved to see these barbarous cruelties against their good Prince, whom they loued as a father, durst not speake a word during this surye, whereas this troupe of murderers commaunded absolutely. But the wisest Citizens fled to *Lewis*, as to their Soueraigne Lord. *Lewis* comes to *Bruges* with great speede: these butchers attending their misery, shut themselves into the great Tower of *S. Donas*. *Lewis* doth first bury the body of this good Earle honourably, (the which had lien without sepulchre) and then doth punish the murderers and their complices rigourously.

Lewis King of
France punisheth
the
rebells.

But this is not all. He must prouide for the Earledome, remayning without a Lord, by the death of *Count Charles* deceased without children. There wanted no pretendants, *William of Ypre* sonne to *Philip of Flanders*, the second sonne of *Robert the Fri-son*. *King Henry of England* (who desired greatly to ioyne this goodly Countie with his *Normandy*) *Stephen of Blois* Earle of *Montreuil* and *Bologne*: *Baldwin* Earle of *Hainault*, and *William* the sonne of *Robert* called *Count-house* brother to the King of *England*, but his sworne enemy, hauing vied his father ill and kept him prisoner.

Lewis was soueraigne Iudge of this controuersy, *Flanders* depending on the crowne of *France*. He assigned all the pretendants of the City of *Arras*: signifying that his intent was to do him iustice, but in effect he inclined to fauour: adiudging this Earledome of *Flanders* to the last, that is to *William of Normandy*, to binde him with more strict bounds against his kinsman. On the other side the *Flemings* assemble at *Ypre*, and chole *William of Lee* Lord of *Ypre*. The King aduanceth with his forces to *Ypre*, to preuent this popular election, where he enters the stonger, and forceth *William* to renounce it. From thence he goes to all other good Cities: where by his authority, he causeth *William of Normandy* to be receiued for lawfull Earle, and puts him in solemne possession by a publike act. But his fauour had ill bestowed this goodly inheritance of an vnworthy man, whose fury depriued him presently. *Lewis* hauing installed him, returns into *France*. *William* instead of winning his new subiects by equity and mildnesse, begins to oppress them after a rigorous and imperious manner: by instringing of their priuileges, ostentations of his authority, taxes, subsidies, newe impositions, and by all other meanes which Princes (that seeke to loose their Estates) hold to torment their subiects. He had so far exceeded, as the Cities without any waunting resolute to provide a better Earle, and to this intent they seeke a head.

William of
Normandy
made Earle of
Flanders.

He oppresseth
his new
subiects.

The memorie of their good Earle, makes them to cast their eyes vpon him that hath most right to this inheritance, as the neere kinsman, which is *Thierry* son to the Duke of *Alsacia*, and of *Gertrude* daughter to *Robert the Frison*. The *Flemings* inreat him to come into their country, promising him all assistance to conquer the State. He comes, and is receiued with an extraordinary ioy by all the people. All the Cities assemble, to acknowledge him by order, and dismisse *William of Normandy*, who seeing a flat repulse by this people thus freed, repayres to *Lewis* for succour in this extremity. *Lewis* sayles him not, his army marcheth with great speed: hee himselfe comes in person, and is receiued into *Arras*: from thence he adorne *Thierry*, to come and answer before him as his soueraigne, by what warrant hee carries himselfe for Earle: this commons is made vnto him at *Ypre*, whether he had retired himselfe. Hauing condemned him by default, he approacheth his army to *Ypre*, to vex the inhabitants. *Thierry* sallies forth with a notable troupe of men: they ioyne, the fight is fierce, but the check fales vpon *Thierries* forces, who with much a doe, saues himselfe in *Alost*.

The *Flemings*
choo'z them a
new Earle.

Thierry the
new Earle of
Flanders de-
feated.

William of
Normandy
drives in *Flanders*.

William pursues him, and approacheth the towne, summoning the Inhabitants to obey and to deliuer vp *Thierry* as an Vsurper. But he was not aduised that one with a Crossebow, shot an arrow at him, and pierced him through the arme. Behold hee wounded and within two dayes he dies. *Thierry* and the *Flemings* send presently to *Lewis* to beseech him to receiue them into fauour, whereby he may be assured of their faithfull seruice. *Lewis* consents, and confirms him: and hauing caused him to take

A take the oath of fidelity, and receiued his homage after the manner of his Ancestors, he returns into *France*. But *Flanders* continued not long in quiet, as we shall see hereafter.

Troubles in
Bourbonois.

To these stitres of *Flanders*, were added some garboyles in *Bourbonois* and *Auuer-gne*. *Archibauld* Earle of *Bourbon* was deceased, leauing one sonne of the same name, but a young man: and a brother called *Hamon*, who abusing the time in the weakenorie of his Nephew, would make himselfe Maister of *Bourbonois*, pretending the Earledome to appertaine vnto him by the death of his elder brother, to whom hee must succeed in order, as the yongest of the house. The mother and friends of *Archibauld*, opposed against *Hamon*, the right of representation (inuiolable in *France* in great houses) which is, that the sonne of the eldest brother, represents the Father, and without doubt succeeds in all his rights, to enioy them, as if he himselfe liued; for that the Father reuiues in the Sonne. *Hamon* building his chiefe interest vpon force, would not admit any reason that made for his Nephew: so as the matter was brought before the King: who by the aduise of his Councell, declares *Archibauld* the lawfull heire, and puts *Hamon* from his pretensions, commanding him to leaue the possession of *Bourbonois* free to his Nephew. This *Archibauld* did afterwards marrie his daughter *Beatrice* to *Robert* Earle of *Clermont* in *Beauuois*, sonne to the King *S. Lewis*, and of this marriage by the royall stemme, is descended the most famous race of *Bourbon*, the which at this day doth happily enioy the Crowne and realme of *France*.

1123.
The stecke of
the houle of
Bourbon.

C But *Hamon* (who held some places in *Bourbonois*) would not leaue the possession, refusing to obey the Kings commandement, relying vpon the fauour of *Enslache* Earle of *Auuer-gne*, who sought to free himselfe. There was a priuate subiect of complaint against him, hauing displaced the Bishop of *Clermont* against the Kings will. These occasions drew the King into *Bourbonois*, where hauing besieged *Hamon*, he ended this controuersie in fauour of *Archibauld*. The affaires of *Auuer-gne* were more difficult, by reason of *William* Duke of *Guienne*, who imbraced the cause for the Earle of *Auuer-gne*, pretending that he was his vassall. This quarrell seemed to take a long course, but it was pacified by this meanes.

Lewis had six sonnes, *Philip*, *Lewis*, *Henry*, another *Philip*, *Peter*, *Robert*, and one Daughter, *Constance*. He had crowned his eldest sonne *Philip*, who dyed by a strange accident: going to take the aire on horseback, a Hog passed vnder the bellie of his horse, the which being scared, did shake this young King so violently, as he threw him downe, and so bruised him, as within few dayes after hee died. This vnexpected death hauing much troubled *Lewis*, made him to provide for the rest of his children: and the libertie of the time among so many of his subiects (which did check his authority by their greatnesse) moued him to looke more carefully therevnto, to make him great, whom he had appointed his successor in the realme about the rest. *Lewis* was his second sonne, whom he resolved to crowne King in his Brothers place, and to many him.

Philip eldest
sonne to *Lewis*
is died by a
strange acci-
dent.

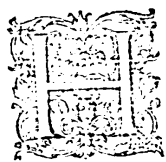
E *Guienne* is one of the worthiest members of this estate, the Dukes were yet of the remainders of great *Charlemagne*, as we haue seene. *William* was then Duke, and had but one Daughter to bee heire to this great and rich Countie. *Lewis* resolves to take this Daughter for his sonne, and so to end all strife. This Daughter was called *Ellenor*, she was given in marriage to *Lewis*, which was called the yong: to distinguish him from his father *Lewis*, with whom he reigned. *Lewis* expected a great aduancement by this alliance, but the event wil shew that he had not reckoned with God above. As for his other children, he leaues them to the discretion of the eldest, whom he had resolved to make their superior, both in authoritie and power, that they might depend onely vpon his fauour. He made *Henry* his third sonne, Bishop of *Beauuois*, the other *Philip* Archdeacon of *Paris*: *Peter* Earle of *Courteney*; *Robert* Earle of *Drux*, and married his onely daughter *Constance* to *Raimond* Earle of *Saint Gilles* and *Tholouse*; which shewes that it was a great house; as we shall note in our Theater of *Langudoc*: but the course of the historie shall make vs see plainly that this alliance did not war-

1137. *raunt Raimond* from the miseries that fell vpon him after this raigne. *Lewis* the Groſſe A hauing thus provided for his estate, dyed, aged 61. in the yeare of grace 1137. the 25. of October, leaving one Sonne seiled in his Realme, with an apparent peace, yet breeding great troubles for the State, hauing reigned twenty and nine yeares.

LEWIS the 7. called the yong, 41. King of France.



The State of
this raigne.



He began to raigne in the yeare 1137. and reigned 43. yeares. This A long raigne was nothing happy, and contained nothing in it that was memorable, but that the foundation was laide for a long calamitie for France. The subiect was the more notable, for that the mischance came from thence, from whence good was to be expected, which was from the heire of *Cusene*. In hope and expectation of rest: but in effect a lesson of lamentable confusion. He had almost ruined the Monarchie, and transported it vnto Strangers. The estate of *France* being thus seiled, and some muriners suppressed (who in the beginning of this raigne had seiled the sunne) *France* continued in great quiet, and the accord made betwix the King, *Henry* the 5. Emperour, and the Popes had pacified the dissentions, which had troubled all Christendome. But the affaires of the Christians in the East, were not any waye able to their happy and victorious beginning, so as all the Kings and Princes of *Europe* were called by extreame necessitie vnto their succours. Such was their estate, as all things fell out happily in *Asia* to *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, and that the taking of the Holy Land and *Ierusalem*, did seeme an absolute conquest to the Christians: but the Turkes on the other side slept not: they enter *Palestina* with an armie of six hundred

The Christi-
ans affaires in
the East.

A hundred thousand men (as the *Greece* Historie of those times doth witness) *Godfrey* 1137. fights with them, the combat was great, and the issue happy for the Christians, if the death of that great and famous Prince had not followed soone after, and too soone for the affaires of Christendome, which began greatly to decline by his decease.

Baldwin his brother was chosen in his place. A Prince valiant enough, but vnfortunate. At his first entrie, he very indiscreetly charged a great troupe of *Sarraxins*, where he was beaten with so great dishonour, as euen then he lost both courage and authority: although during his raigne (which was seuen yeares) *Tyre* & *Apamea*, (which they call *Raphanea*) notable Cities, were added to this new Kingdome of the Christians. *Fouques* Earle of *Anion*, his sonne in law, succeeded him: but hee was scarce in possession, when as he was slaine a hunting with a fall; leaving two children, *Baldwin* and *Amalry*, and the affaires so dismembred, as they could no longer stand: pressed within by deuisions, and without by a dangerous warre: so as all these goodly Provinces gotten with so great facilitie, were through these ciuill dissentions among Christians, lost within few dayes. Behold new Ambassadors from these yong Princes, and all the great States in *Asia*: To the Pope, Emperour, and King of *France*, imploring their aides, elsie they were vndone, to the shame of Christendome, and triumph of those miscreants. *Lucius* the 2. was then Pope. *Conrad* of *Sueuia* Emperour. And *Lewis* King of *France*. *S. Bernard* (whom they called the Mellifluous Doctor, for his sacred & diuine eloquence) liued then, hauing wonne great reputation with the *French*, for his doctrine & holinesse.

The Christi-
ans looke all in
the East.

C The Pope imploied him much, to perswade the King to embrace this action, and to succour their afflicted bretheren. *Lewis* resolues easily, his zeale being strengthened by the perswasions of this holy man. *Conrad* of *Sueuia* tooke the like resolution, so as they are both well affected, to employ all their meanes to crosse the complots of these miscreants, and to settle the Christians affaires in the holy land: when as behold a great mischance which had almost hindred all their resolutions.

The Emperour
and King of
France resolue
to succour the
Christians.

Alberic Archbishop of *Bourges* being dead, the Pope without the Kings priuie, (to get footing in *France* of his absolute authority, which he had so much disputed with the Emperour) advanced to the Archbishopricke of *Bourges*, a favorite of his named *Peter*, and sent him with his Bulls to take possession of the place. *Lewis* (who had alwayes supported the Sea of *Rome* in all their quarrels; who had seene his Father ready to enter into a deadly warre with the Emperour vpon this occasion: who moreover prepared himselfe at the Popes perswasion, to employ, not onely his treasure, but his owne person, in a voyage to the East, for the common good of all Christendome:) seeing this act of the Pope directly contrary to the liberties of the *French* Church; was mightily discontented with this his proceeding, as if he purposely meant to braue him at his owne doore. It is a priuilege time out of minde of the Kings of *France*, that they admit not any Ecclesiasticall dignities, preferred by the Pope, or chosen by the people, if he be not agreeable to themselves. The reason is apparent, to auoide either disloyaltie, ignorance or ill life, in such as are advanced to these dignities: our Kings hauing right to be soueraine ouer-seers of the Church. The King would not allow of *Peter* thus advanced to this dignity, although the Chapter of *Bourges* had given their consent to the Popes decree. *Peter* (being reiectcd) had recourse to *Thibaud* Earle of *Champagne*, & to the Earle of *Blous*, men discontented with the King, and onely fit to be opposed. But to this dissent there was added a greater at the same instant. *Raoul* Earle of *Vermendois* had put away his wife *Gilbert*, the daughter of *Roger* Lord of *Chasteau-briant*, vpon suspicion that she had bene prodigall of her honour, without any proofes to conuince her. But iealousie made him to see that plainly, which was concealed to others: so as he put her away, and tooke *Peronnelle*, the Bastard Daughter of *William* Duke of *Guienne* in her place, being aduowed sister to Queene *Elenor*, and her deere friend. *Gilbert* complaines to the Pope, being reiectcd (as hee pretended) without cause, and demands Iustice. The Pope commands *Raoul* to receiue his wife againe, and to put away *Peronnelle*, as vnlawfull, and (for not obeying) doth excommunicate him. The King intreats the Pope for *Peronnelle*, but he preuailes not: for hee sends *Tues* into *France* as his Legat,

The Pope &
King of *France*
at Iaire.

143. to reuieue the first censure, not onely against the Earle, but also against the Bishops A which had consented to the diuorce of *Gilbert*, forbidding them any more to exercise their charges. The Earle *Thibaud* had vnderaken to haue the Pope obeyed; to the great dislike of the King, as it were attempting it of purpose to offend him. *Lewis* moued with this affront, went against *Thibaud*: And at the first takes *Vitry*, and not onely sackes the Towne, but in disdaine of the Pope, caused the Churches to bee spoiled: and many being fled out of the villages, to saue themselves from the furie of the disordred troupes, had retired themselves into a Temple, as to a place of safetie: *Lewis* giues such libertie to his Souldiers, as they set fire of the place, and burne fiftene hundred persons, men and women. The horror of this Massacre offended all good men, but especially *Lewis*, who was so much grieved as hee could not bee comforted. Misfortune is good for some thing. *Lewis* loathing the voyage to the East, for the fore-sayd occasions, was easily confirmed by Saint *Bernard*, who had perswaded him to yeeld all succours to the afflicted Christians, for a reparation of so execrable a fact, committed by his commandement, vpon so many poore innocents: And likewise he imbarcked *Conrad* the Emperour and the *Germanes*. These two great Princes, carried with one zeale, and ynitied in one will to this worke, make great preparations for the voyage. *Conrad* armes three score thousand horse, and an infinite number of foote, and hee himselfe is chiefe of this goodly Armie, taking the way of *Hongarie* to *Constantinople*, through the Countrie of *Alexis* his brother in lawe, Emperour of *Greece*: hee arriued some moneths before *Lewis*; for the Emperour parted in Februarye, and *Lewis* went to field in Maye, and takes the same course the Emperour had done.

The Kings Armie was nothing inferiour to the Emperours: and so much the more remarkable, for that Queene *Elenor* desired to accompany her husband in the voyage: so as after the King and Queene's example, all *France* thought to flie into the East. They sent a Distaffe and a Spindle to all those that were fit for Armes, if they marched not with this troupe of braue Warriors. *Conrad* arriued first at *Constantinople*: And so he returned much sooner into *Germanie*. Hauing passed into *Asia* by the *Bosphorus* of *Thrace*, it was likely that all should yeeld to so mightie an Armie: but it tell out otherwise then he had desigined. All the Citties wonne at the first voyage were almost lost; and the Christians ill gouernment was so well knowne, as the Turkes made head in all places. The Emperour measuring his triumph by the number of his men, contemned the enemy, and was negligent in his proceedings: Hauing referred the prouision to *Alexis* Emperour of the East, his brother in lawe, he found little Bread, and store of enemies in all places. So as what by Hunger and the Sword, scarce the tenth part of his men come to his friends in the Holy Land, where hee found them all amazed.

Lewis (warned by *Conrad's* example) did somewhat better in the beginning: for being refreshed at *Constantinople*, and other Citties of *Greece*: he passed the Chaneil into *Asia* happily: where hauing beaten the enemy, hee came without losse to *Athalia* and hauing caused his Fleete (which was at *Rhodes*) to come to the friends Ports of *Palestina*, he arriued by land safe with all his troupes at *Antioche*, where hee was honourable receiued by *Raimond* Earle of Saint *Gilles* his brother in lawe: In the meane time the Emperour besiegeth *Ascalon* alone, but preuailes not. *Lewis* arriues at *Ierusalem*, whether *Conrad* comes likewise. After they had visited the places of deuotion, they resolute to besiege *Damas* in *Siria*, a Cittie very important for the commerce of *Iudea*; but after a long and fruitlesse siege, all are dispersed. The Emperour who came first, retournes first. The King stayed not long after him. There were foure yeares spent in this fruitlesse voyage, with much paine and cost, and not onely without fruit, but it also tooke away the terror of Christian armies in these miscreants, and left the affaires of *Asia* in faire worse estate, then when they came. There was yet another inconuenience. The Emperour *Alexis* (a friend at their entrie) shewed himselfe an enemy to them both at their departure. *Conrad* saued himselfe as well as he could, more fearing the

A horrible massacre committed by the soldiers of *Lewis*, and by his consent.

The Emperour and *Lewis* go into the East.

The Emperours voyage to no profit.

The Emperour of *Greece* deals treacherously with the Emperour & King.

A the treacherie of the *Greekes*, then the crueltie of the *Turkes*. *Lewis* prouides in time to haue the Fleete of *Sicile* come for his conuoy, else had hee lost both himselfe and his treasure, the which had bene a meanes for the *Greekes* to make their peace with the *Turkes*, and open warre against the other Christians, being better then themselves. This shamefull and preiudiciall departure, was hurtfull to the whole Christian Church. But there was a greater losse for *Lewis*, very trouble some to himselfe, and preiudiciall to all *France*: for Queene *Elenor* his wife, (who made profession to go visit the holy places,) suffered her eyes to be abused with an vnchaste and filthy lust, which tainted her honour, and the King her husbands heart, with an ourragious ielousie. This woman accustomed to the liberties of Time and Place, had so abandoned her selfe to the pleasures of the East, as the stenche of her incontinencie was publike to the whole world, before her husband had any notice thereof: her impudencie did so farre exceed, as shee would dishonourable haue stayed in *Antioche*, and left her husband: presuming to cloake her shame with a shew of Religion: saying without blushing, that she could be no more the wife of *Lewis*, to whom shee was Cousin in the fourth degree, preferring the loue of a Iester, named *Saladin*, of the *Sarrasin* race, before the greatnesse of a King of *France*, her lawfull husband. *Lewis* being much disquieted, perswades this woman to returne, (a heauier burthen to his minde, then to his ship,) being returned to his house, hee frees himselfe with all the speed he can. And whereas hee should haue cast this insatiate woman into the Riuer, being no more his wife, and retained her Dowrie iustly gotten, she playing bankerout of her honour: hee calles a Councell at *Baugency* to haue her diuorced, the which was granted, vnder colour of this farre fetcht consanguinitie. But his desire was to bee freed from her. So retaining two Daughters, borne vnder the vale of their marriage: hee restores vnto *Elenor* all her Countie of *Guienne*, that is, he puts into the hands of his furious enemy a Torche to set his whole Realme on fire: for so soone as shee sees her selfe freed from the subiection and feare of a husband, shee stayed not long to acquaint her selfe with *Henry* King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandie*, the greatest and most capitall enemy that *Lewis* had. So hee obtained *Guienne* by the voluntary cession which *Lewis* made, to haue the better meanes to annoy him and his whole realme.

Moreover, *Lewis* payde deere for so great a discomoditie, for the Pope would not giue him a dispence to marrie againe, without a great summe of money, to be employed in the warres of the Holy Land: and to finish this worke, hee tooke to Wife *Constance*, the Daughter of *Alphonso* King of *Galicia*, being a weake friend, and farre off. This marriage was not greatly conuenient, neither for his owne quiet, nor the peace of his subiects. This subiect of deadly rancor, encreasing the hatred of these two neighbour Monarkes of *France* and *England*, burst forth soone by dangerous effects. The benefit of the new purchase of *Guienne*, was the cause of that perillous warre, the which had so long, and so lamentable continuance. *William* Duke of *Guienne*, Grand-father by the Father to Queene *Elenor*, had married: the onely Daughter of the first *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouse*, who had ingaged the sayd Countie to *Raimond* Earle of Saint *Gilles*, who since also called himselfe Earle of *Tholouse*, being seized of the sayd Countie, and enioyed it quietly vnder the Kings obedience. *Henry* King of *England* offers the money to *Raimond*, to redeeme it, and demands the Earldome as his Wives right: Vpon his refusal, he armes, enters into *Quercy*, takes *Cahors*, spoiles the Countie, and besiegeth *Tholouse*. *Lewis* (intreated by *Raimond*) for the Earldome of *Tholouse*, comes to quenche this fire: Being arriued, and the two Armies readie to ioyne, a peace was made betwixt the two Kings, by the marriage of *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Lewis*, with *Henry* the eldest Sonne of *Henry* King of *England*: But for that shee was very young, and not yet marriageable, shee was deliuered into *Henry* the Fathers hands, vntill shee were of fitt age to marry.

Lewis had now buried his wife *Constance*, who left him but two Daughters, without any heyres male: so as being desirous to haue a successor, hee made no delay to marry, and tooke to his third Wife, *Alix* the Daughter of *Thibaud* Earle of *Champagne*.

The Emperour and King of *France* make a shamefull returne from the East.

Queene *Elenor* vnchaste.

Lewis pretends a cause to be diuorced from *Elenor*, and restores all her Countie.

Elenor marries with *Henry* King of *England*.

Lewis marries againe.

The first war between *France* and *England*, takes its rise from the Earldome of *Tholouse*.

The two kings reconciled by a marriage.

1151. *pagne*, his vassall, and newly reconciled, but not greatly affected vnto him, vnill that A time. Hee had a Sonne presently by her, whom hee called *Dieu Donne*, or giuen of God, as an acknowledgement that God had sent him, at his and his subiects praers, This is hee that shall succeed him. I should begin to descibe his raigne, but order commands me to relate what happened, during the raigne of *Lewis*, in the neighbour nations of *England* and *Italy*, wherein *Lewis* had great crosses.

Henry King of *England* had two sonnes by *Elenor*: *Richard* and *Geoffrey*; and by his first wife hee had *Henry*, who was made sure to *Marguerite* of *France*, of whom wee haue spoken. The Father caused him to be crowned, to settle him in his life time, and tyed the *English* vnto him by homage. A young Prince, ambitious, audacious, ill aduised and rash, who cannot long containe himselfe with the taste of this new authoritie, but will play the King with his Father. And although his Fathers admonitions restrained him for awhile: yet this ambitious humour still burst forth: So as the Father from milde admonitions came to threats, the insolencie of this young Prince increasing dayly: Some yeares passed whilest this fire lay smothered, very long for young *Henry*, to whom the Fathers life seemed too tedious, and the children of the second wife grew by the care of *Elenor* their Mother. *Henry* the Father, discontented with his Sonne, and fearing that in consummating the marriage betwixt him and the Daughter of *France*, the young Prince would grow proud, augmenting his traime and State, and (through the fauour of King *Lewis* his Father in Lawe) attempt something preiudiciall to his authoritie: Hee delayed the accomplishment of this marriage, although the Virgin were of more then sufficient yeares to marrie. To this mischief was added another more shamefull, for that *Henry* the Father caused this Princeesse to be carefully kept, the which should bee his Daughter in Lawe, fearing least his Sonne should violently take her away, and marry her. *Elenor* falls into ialousie, as if *Henry* had abused her: And it was easie to settle this conceit in her sonne in Lawe *Henries* head, who had the chiefe interest in this delay: And to publish this scandalous report vnto the people, to make the old man more odious vnto the whole world. A malicious and importune woman, borne for a great plague to both these Estates. As men doe commonly adore the Sunne rising: so there wanted no Sicophants in Court to flatter the eares of this young King, and likewise to incense the two Kings one against the other, in flattering their passions.

Thus *Henry* transported by these occasions, complains to *Lewis* of the double wrong his Father did him, both in the delay of his marriage, and deniall of his authoritie. And as *Lewis* at his request had giuen some admonitions vnto *Henry*, in the end this passionate young Prince came to *Paris*, where beeing well receiued, hee enters League with *Lewis*, to make warre against his Father, and to disquiet him in diuers parts. *William* King of *Scotland* is an associate, vpon condition that *Henry* shall giue him the Countie of *Northumberland* adioyning vnto *Scotland*, for his charges in the warres. *Henry* the father (aduertised of all these preparations) moues not, hoping that reason should reclaime his Sonne, and to this end hee sends an honourable Ambassage to *Lewis*, and to his Sonne, being in *France*: the which made them more resolute, an vsuall thing in such as are fought vnto. *Elenor* adds more to this dissention (great enough of it selfe,) to crosse the affaires of her old husband, with whom shee stood in vey bad termes. Shee doth bandie her two Sonnes *Richard* and *Geoffrey* against the Father, causing them to ioyne with their Brother *Henry*, who is puffed vp wonderfully here-with, hauing his bretheren for companions of his furie. The warre breakes forth amongst them, the Kings Armie enters into *Normandie*, the which obeyed the Father. *Henry* the Sonne takes some places, and ingageth some men of warre with great promises, and by great assurances of good, the which was not in his power to performe. *Henry* the Father (hauing provided for *England* against *William* King of *Scottes*) passeth into *Normandie*, where laye all the burthen of the warre and Armes with great speede: The coldnesse of his age was chafed by the liuely apprehension of so many indignities. The greatest part of his subiects detested the

presump-

A presumption of this Sonne, neither could they allowe of *Lewis* his proceedings, who had done better in casting Water then Oyle, into this home-bred fire. *Lewis* besieged *Vernueil*, and fearing to be forced to raise the siege, vnder colour of a parley with *Henry*, he takes the Towne, and sends forces from other parts into *England*, to cause new broyles. *Richard* Duke of *Guienne* by his Mothers right, makes warre there: but all these vnlawfull attempts haue no successe. The *French* that passed into *England* are beaten: & *Richard* preuailes not against his Father, to whom most of the Citties yeeld daily, & leaue the Sonne. *Richard* drawne to his duty by the respects of Nature, which cannot be denied, & forced by necessitie, desires to parley with his Father. He is receiued into grace, and deales with his brother *Henry* for the like reconciliation. *Lewis* finding *Henries* disposition, allowes of it. They send Ambassadors of either side. This vnciuill & vnlawfull warre was ended by this accord. That the Father should remaine alone in the Royall authoritie: acknowledged and obeyed of all his sonnes, that he should giue honorable allowances to eyther of them, according to their degrees: That the marriage of *Henric* with *Marguerite* the eldest Daughter of King *Lewis*, should be consummated: and that *Alix* his other Daughter, should be giuen in marriage to *Richard*, the other Sonne of *Henry*, to make an absolute accord. Thus this Tragedie seemed to end with a Comedie: But there shall be change of subiects vpon another Scaffold.

As these things passed in *England*, *Italy* was nothing quieter, by the dissentions that were reuiued betwixt the Emperours and Pope. After the death of *Conrad*: *Frederick* surnamed *Barberousse*, is created Emperour, of whom Histories yeeld an honourable testimonie of his wisdom and valour. Hauing pacified *Germanie*, he came into *Italy*, to repaire the confusions bred both by long absence, and the death of *Conrad*. The Emperour hauing punished the *Veronians* and the *Milanois*, had incensed Pope *Adrian*, who supported them, (the factions of *Guelphes* and *Gibelins* beeing confusedly spread throughout all the Citties) so as hee was ready to excommunicate him, when as death stayed this storme, leauing it ready to his successors. The Schisme which grew in the Sea of *Rome* by these factions, stayed the blowe, some hauing called *Victor*, as most affectionate to the Emperours partie: others *Alexander*, as his sworn enemy. To remedie this deuision, *Frederick* calles a Councell at *Pavia*, and sends to both the Popes to come thither: *Victor* comes, and offers to performe what should be decreed. *Alexander* on the other side makes the old answer (these be the words of the Historie.) That the Pope was not to be iudged by any man liuing, and that hee neither ought, nor would appeare. The Councell being thus dissolued, without any good conclusion; the Emperour for the making of an accorde, intricates *Lewis* King of *France*, *Henry* King of *England*, and the Kings of *Scotland* and *Bohemia*, to meete in some conuenient place for a parley. *Dijon* was appointed, as bordering vpon the Empire: They meete, but their conference did aggrauate the quarrell. *Lewis* was wholly for *Alexander*, who had likewise gained the *Venetians*, and the greatest part of *Italy*. The issue of this parley was open force, the which *Frederick* employed against the *Milanois*, being the principall cause of this dissention: whome hee did punish seuerely, hauing taken, spoiled, and sackt their Cittie, ruined it utterly, causing Salt to be sowne there, & punishing the authors of this rebellion capitally. *Alexander* not able to resist *Frederick*, retires himselfe into *France*, from whence he planted his battery against the Emperour. The *Milanois* (sauing what they could in this shipwrack) begin to build their City, vnder the fauour of Pope *Alexander*, & to make new desseignes against *Frederick*, who returns into *Italy*, makes himselfe maister of *Genoa*, from whence their means came, defeats the *Romaines* in a pitched field, takes *Rome*, & causeth another Pope called *Calixtus*, to be created in the place of *Alexander* the 3. *Alexander* saues himselfe at *Venice*. Otho the sonne of *Frederick* folows after to take him with 75. galleis. But the chance turned, for he himselfe was taken by *Cian* Generall of the *Venetians*, and carried prisoner to *Venice*. The *Frederick* grew more mild, & accepted of such conditions of peace as *Alexander* had prescribed. That he should craue absolutions on his knees, and himselfe should lead his armie into *Asia*. So as *Frederick* comes to *Venice*, and being prostrate at the Popes feet

1171. in a sollempne assemblie, he asketh pardon. The Pope sets his foote vpon his neck, and cries with a lowd voyce: *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis*. The Emperour moued with this disgrace, answers. *Non tibi sed Petro*. The Pope replies: *Et mihi & Petro*. This brauado of *Alexander* seemed so strange to some of his traine, as *Theodore Marquis of Misnia*, trembling and gnashing his teeth with choller, was held back by the reines of respect: yet hee runnes to the Emperour and takes him vp. The Pope fearing least these *Germanes* should offer him some violence, being amazed, casts himselfe about *Fredericks* neck, whome euen now hee held vnder his seete, beseeching him to preferue him from his traine. The Emperour giues him his word, for hee was the stronger both within the Cittie and without, hauing humbled himselfe for no other respect, but for the reuerence of Religion, and the zeale of publick peace.

This famous acte happened at *Venice*, in the yeare 1171. in the presence of the Ambassador of the Kings and Princes of the greatest States of *Europe*, that were Mediators of this Accord. From *Venice*, *Frederick* went into the East with a goodly Armie, according to his promise: And the dissention was well pacified by his humilitie, but not altogether suppressed in *Italy*, for it reuiued afterwards, as wee shall see in the continuance of this Historie. Thus the Christians liued, whilst their enemies preuailed dayly in *Asia*, to the great and shamefull losse of all Christendome. Such was the estate of the Church and Empire, vnder the raigne of *Lewis* the 7.

1179. *Lewis* caused his sonne *Philip* to bee solemnly Crowned at *Rheims*, at the age of foureteene yeares, in the yeare of Grace 1179. Hee betrothed him to *Isabel* the Daughter of *Baldwin* Earle of *Hainault*, and hauing thus disposed of his affaires, hee dyed the yeare following 1180. An vnwise Prince, and vnhappy with all his pollicies, leauing a Leuin of great miseries to his posteritie. Doubtlesse the greatest pollicie is to bee an honest man. This assured peace caused the Vniuersitie of *Paris* to flourish, as farre as those obscure times would permit. *Gratian*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Comestor*, learned men liued in that age. The inexcusable confusion which raigned in the Church, was a iust subiect of complaint to the good, as appears by the writings of *Peter of Blois*, *Thon de Saraburck* Bishop of *Chartres*, and *Bernard* Abbot of *Cisteaux*, great and worthy men, Their Bookes liue after their deaths, wherein the wise Reader may see, an ample and free Commentary of this Text, the which the Historie suffers me not to dilate of.

The Emperour
subiects him-
selfe basely to
the Pope.

Lewis dyed.

Complains
age, all the
abuses of the
Church.



PHILIP

PHILIP the 2. called Augustus,
or Gods Gift, the 42. King
of France.



A He title of *Augustus* giuen to *Philip*, is worthy of his person and raigne: who not onely preferred the *French* Monarchie, amidst so many sorts of enemies and difficulties: but enlarged it with many Prouinces, (diuided to diuers proprietaries by *Hugh Capet*) and vniited them to the Crowne: for this cause hee was also called Conquerour. The beginning of his raigne was a preface of happiness, for there appeared in his face a great shew of a good disposition, inclined to pietie, iustice, and modestie, being strong, quick, vigilant, valiant, and astute. Hee did consecrate the first frutes of his raigne, to purge the corruptions which raigned among the people: Blasphemies, Playes, Dicing houses, publicke dissolutions in infamous places, *Tauernes* and Tippling houses. Hee made goodly lawes which our age reads and scornes, doing the contrary with all impunitie, but whilst hee raigned they were duly obserued.

B The Iewes were mightily dispersed throughout the Realme, who (besides their obstinate superstition, yfessed excessive Vsurie, and were supported for some great benefit, by the Pope and other Princes and States, where as they haue liberty at this day, to liue after their owne manner. *Philip* expelled them, although they obtained a returre for money: yet in the end they were banished out of all the territories of the *French* obedience, and so continue vnto this day. This was a small apprenticeship, and an entrance of much more happy paine, the which hee should vndergoe, both within and without the Realme, in great and troublesome affaires, as a famous subiect worthy of his valour. *England*, *Flanders*, and *Asia*, provided varietie and change of worke to employ his raigne, the which continued fortie foure yeares: but the change of his

An excellent
King and an
excellent
raigne.

His disposi-
tion.

The Iewes
banished out
of France.

1190. his intricate marriages troubled him more then all his affaires, as the progresse of our A discourse followeth.

Competitors
for the gouern-
ment of the
state.

Troubles in
Flanders for
the bauldome
of Vermandois

Men, sonne
to Henry the
King of Eng-
land, dyes be-
fore the father

Warre with
England.

Philip of
France and
Richard of
England make
a peace.

The Christi-
ans (stake in
Asia very mi-
serable.

In the beginning there was emulation who should be neerest to gouerne him. Philip Earle of Flanders, and the Duke of Guienne were competitors. The one as Vnckle to the young Queene *Isabell* his wife, and named by his Father *Lewis*: The other as his neerest Kintman, and both the one and the other had great meanes to preuaile: but *Richard* was the stronger, as well by the Kings fauour, as by the forces of England, of whence he was an Infant, and well beloued of *Henry* his brother, who then reigned. Behold the King is imbarcked against the Earle of Flanders, by the aduise of his Council: The subiect of their quarrell was for *Vermandois*, which the Earle enioyed, the King demanded it, being no longer his, by the decease of *Alix* dead without child-
B dren, and therefore must returne to the Crowne: From wordes they go to armes. Their troupes being in field and ready to fight, a peace was made, with this condition, That Count Philip should enioy Vermandois, during his life, and after his decease it should
C returne to the Crowne. But this peace continued not long among these Princes. The King could not loue his Wife *Isabel*; It seemes this was the cheefe cause of the dislike the King had against the Earle of Flanders her Vnckle. In the end hee put her away, in the year 1188. from which time Philip loued *Richard* Duke of Guienne.

But this good agreement continued not long, by reason of another controuersie betwixt him and the English. *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Lewis* the 7. sister to Philip, married to *Henry* of England as we haue said, dyed then without Children. Philip doth pre-
C sently redemand his Sister, dowrie, which was the Countrie of *Vexin*. The King of England is loth to leaue the possession, so as they fall to Armes, and the mischiefe increa-
sed by this occasion. *Henry*, first sonne to old *Henry* dyed. *Richard* Duke of Guienne his brother, (who might haue compounded this quarrell) being called to the Crowne, embraceth the action with all eagernesse: And to crosse Philip by an important
D distinction, (like to olde *Henry*) auoides the blowe in Normandie, and enters *Languedoc* by Guienne into the Countie of *Tholouse*, renewing the old quarrel he had against Count *Raimond*. Philip being assailed in two places, is nothing amased: Hauing leuied an Armie with all celeritie, hee enters the English pale. Where he lodenly takes *Chastel-
caux*, *Buzareis*, *Argenton*, *Leuonx*, *Montrichard*, *Montsoreau*, *Vandosme*, with other
D Townes: and passing on, hee batters and takes *Mans*: and hauing waded through the Riuer of *Loire*, he presents himselfe before *Tours*, which yeelds at the terror of his forces. Old *Henry* amazed at the sodaine valour of this young Prince, faints, and oppressed with grieue, dyes at *Chison*, in the year 1190. leauing his Realme to his Sonne *Richard*, but not his Malice: For presently after his Coronation, hee concludes a peace with Philip vpon a cause very honourable to them both.

The Christians affaires in Asia declined still. The Pope perswaded the Kings of France and England with many reasons, and the zeale of the common interest of Christendome, made them resolute. They became good friends, with an intent to make a voyage together to the Holy Land, to the incredible content of all their subiects. But
E whilest they prepare for this voyage, let vs passe into Asia, to visit the afflicted Christians. After the fruitlesse returne of the Emperor *Conrad*, and of *Lewis* King of France, things went from bad to worse, hauing caused the Christian forces to loose their reputation with the Turkes, being growne proud with this vaine shew of Armes. *Baldwin* dyes after the fruitlesse attempts of these great Princes: *Amaury* his Brother succeeds him, who toyled himselfe in Egypt, against Sultan *Sarracon*, and *Saladin* his successor: Hee was releued by the coming of *Fredericke Barbarosse*, who failed not to performe what he had promised to Pope *Alexander*. But the Christians found small comfort in his coming: The forces of the Empire (which were great) being disper-
sed by the death of the Emperour. *Amaury* likewise dyes, who leaues one Sonne named *Baldwin*, both young and a Lepar, so as hauing voluntarily resigned the charge, finding himselfe vnfit, he did inuest his Nephew *Baldwin*, the sonne of *William Longsword*, Marquis of *Monferrat*, and of *Sibell* his Sister: and considering the weaknesse
of

A of his age, he appoints *Raimond* Earle of Tripoli for his Tutor. Hence sprung a horri-
ble diffention among the Christians: for *Sibille* (by whom the right came to *Baldwin* her sonne, after the death of Marquis *William*) was married to *Guy* of Lusignan, who was seized of the young Infant. Hee is now his Tutor by force, the child dyes, and
B *Guy* of a Tutor becomes a King, (not without great suspition of treacherie against the Infant) and in the end they fall to warre. Euery one doth strengthen himselfe for this goodly realme; and they are incensed with greater fury, then when they ioyntly made warre against the Infidels. *Guy* seekes for succour of *Saladin* Sultan of Egypt, who embraceth this occasion, and runnes with a great Armie to besiege *Tiberiades*. The Christians assemble and are defeated in a set battaile. The Crosse is taken by *Saladin* and
C carried in triumph. Then was *Tripoly* deliuered into his hands, and the Earle *Raymond* found dead in his bedd, when as hee should haue reigned; to teach all men how to trust Infidels. *Saladin* passeth on, hee seekegeth, takes and sacks *Ierusalem*, and in this amazement, *Pioloimais*, *Azot*, *Barneth* and *Ascalon* yeeld vnto him. These victorious conquests of *Saladin*, were accompanied with great mildnesse to the people whom he had subdued, that by this wise course, the Miscreant might encounter the Christi-
ans disorders, by a notable example of vertue. Moreouer, there happened another tragical confusion: *Alexis* a young man of fifteene yeares, sonne to *Emanuel* the Emperour (issued from that *Alexis*, of whom wee haue spoken in the beginning of this Easterne warre) was cruelly slaine by his Tutor *Andronicus*, and he himselfe after-
ward, by *Isaac*, and the people of *Constantinople*, who had called him to the Empire. Such was the sick estate of the East, when as our Kings were sollicked to go and visit it, in the year 1190.

Philip calles a Parliament at Paris to settle his estate: they dissuade him from the voyage, but zeale transported him, and made him fight with impossibilities: So great efficacy this resolution had to go to this warre, which seemed to be the gaine of their soules health, as the Historie saith, great charges were imposed vpon such as went
D north the voyage, to pay the tenth of all their reuenues, both spirituall and temporall, called for this occasion the *Saladins* Tenths. *Richard* King of England came with manie Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Barons, great Lords, and an infinite number of young Gentlemen. The Kings sweare a brotherly and inuolable League: but the continuall and private entrecountre by the way, bred a familiaritie, and this familiarity engendred a contempt, and contempt hatred, as the course of the History will shew. A notable
E lesson for Kings and Princes, to teach them how farre they should conuerse familiarly. Hauing crossed the Seas with some difficulties, in the end they come into Syria. The loss of the Crosse made them to besiege *Acon*, the which they take very valiantly, after great losse of their men: but the Crosse would not bee found, As the Originall saith.

The plague fell among their troupes: euery one talkes of returning. Philip speakes
F of a returne, and *Richard* made some diffentie, least that Philip in his labours should attempt some thing in his territories of France. Philip hauing assured him by other returns, and passing by Rome, comes sa'e into France: Hauing left the greatest part of his forces in the East, vnder the command of *Odo* Duke of *Bourgonie*. *Richard* remaining alone, was better obeyed of the Armie, and atchieued great and memorable exploits against *Saladin*, being already amazed by the taking of *Acon*. Hee defeated *Ozzer* and *Tassa*, hauing repeopled them with Christian Colonies, and
G hee was kept from this enterprize by reason of the Winter, so was hee forced to leaue Asia vpon this occasion, and returne into England. During his voyage and Philips, there had passed some kinde speeches, by reason of *Alix* Sister to Philip, and the wife of *Richard*, who in great diffidence said: That he had neuer toucht her: & that she should neuer come neere him, blaming her, as if shee had bene prodigall of her honour, by a monstrous Incest with his Father. Notwithstanding all shewes at their parting,
yet

The Christi-
ans in Asia
Cruell warres.

The Infidels
make their
profit by their
diffentions.

The Emperour
of Grece, mur-
dered by his
Tutor.

King Philip &
Richard King
of England
made a voyage
to the East.

The great fa-
miliaritie a-
mong Kings
breeds con-
tempt and
hatred.

Richard King
of England
exploit in Asia

106 I. yet this did sticke in *Philippes* stomake, who at his returne found his Sister *Alix* at Saint *Germaine* in *Laie*, whether she was retired, expecting his returne, who failed not to seeke all means of reuenge: *Richard* had left his brother *John* in *England* to gouerne the State in his absence. *Philippe* solicitts him and promisseth him all his meanes, with his Sister *Alix* (being vnworthely reiecte) for a gage of his loue. But *Elenor* the mother of these Princes, kept *John* in awe from ioyning openly with *Philip* against his absent brother, yet could she not restraine *John* from giuing his word to *Philip*, who failes not to seaze courtely, seing his faith plighte and the reuerence of the cause which held *Richard* from his house would not suffer him to worke openly. So he takes *Gisors* by intelligence, and all the other Townes of *Vexin*, which were in controuersie. These newes gaue *Richard* iust cause to resolue vpon his returne: but it cost him deere, for

Philippe stirs vp *John* against his brother *Richard* King of *England*.

Richard makes a truce with *Saladin* vpon vnreasonable conditions.

Richard King of *England* staied by the Emperour, & mact to pay a ranome.

Strange marriages of *Philip*.

An Aduocate vnknowne pleads against the King for his wife *Gelberge*.

Philip relents and takes *Gelberge* againe.

Saladin (whom he had kept in awe sence the taking of *Acon*,) well informed of his necessity & resolution, makes him to buy a truce for five yeares at a deere rate: yeelding him vp all that had beene taken sence the comming of the two kings into *Asia*, and so the Bloud, Time and Cost, spent in this conquest, were lost in an hower by the ill gouernment of our Kings.

Richard hauing left the absolute comande of the affaires of *Asia*, to *Henry* Earle of *Campegne*, takes his way for *England*; but as he came to *Vienna*, in *Austria*, he was knowne and staied, first by *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, and then by *Henry* the Emperour, for some discontent he had against him. Thus *Richard* was retained 22. monethes, and not deliuered but for a ranome of an hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was then a great and notable summe. This was the successe of that long and dangerous Easterne voiage, crossed with so many toyles, takings and yeeldings vp; and with such troublesome consequences for both Kings and both Realmes: for the quarrell ended not vpon King *Richards* release out of prison as we shall see. *Richard* being returned into

England, he sought all meanes of reuenge for the wrongs he supposed to haue receyued vnworthely of *Philip* in his absence and calamitie. But let vs returne to *Philip*, he had put a way *Isabel*, & taken *Alix* the daughter of the King of *Hungary*, who liued not long with him. She being dead, he tooke *Gelberge* sister to the King of *Denmarke*, whom like wise he put away, and in her place married *Marie* the daughter of the Duke of *Moravia*. After a long and bitter controuersie vpon the repudiation of *Gelberge*, the king remaining obstinate in his resolution, yet in end he receiued her againe beyond all hope and ended his daies with her, sending backe *Marie* with honorable meanes to liue in this kind of solitary life, in manner of a widow. But our Inuentry may not excuse it selfe vpon the breuitie of the stile, without reporting the manner which *Philip* held in receyuing *Gelberge* after so long and obstinate a sute. The King of *Denmarke* pursued vehemently in the Court of *Rome*; for the honor and quiet of his sister reiecte *Philip* not able to auoid the decision of the cause: And yet resolute not to receiue *Gelberge*, prepares his Aduocates to shew the reasons which had moued him to put her away.

The cause was to bee pleaded before the Popes Legate in the great Hall of the Bishops Pallace at *Paris*; thertier they runne of all sides. In this great and sollemne assembly, *Philippes* Aduocates pleaded wonderfullie well for him against his wife, but no man appeared for her. As the Cryer had demanded three times if there were any one to speake for *Gelberge*, and that silence should be held for a consent: behould a yong man vnknowne, steppes forth of the presse, and demands audience: It was granted him with great attention. King *Philip* assitting, euery mans eares were open to heare this Aduocate, but especially *Philippes*, who was toucht and ranshed with the free and plaine discourse of truth which he heard from the mouth of this newe Aduocate, so as they might perceiue him to change his countenance. After this yong man had ended his discourse, hee returnes into the presse againe, and was neuer seene more, neither could they leame what he was, who had sent him, nor whence he came. The Iudges were amazed, and the cause was remitted to the Councell. *Philip* without any stay in Court, goes to *Horfe*, and rides presently to *Bois de Vincennes*, whether he had confined *Gelberge*: hauing imbraced her, hee receiues

A receiues her into fauour, and passed the rest of his dayes with her in nuptiall loue. By *Isabel* he had *Lewis*, the 8 of that name, whome (during his life) he employed in affaires, and left him the Crowne. But the peace of his house was blemished by these crooked changes, whereby we may obserue by the disquieted mind of this worthy Prince, that there is nothing absolutely perfect in humaine affaires. He which could surmount the infolencies of his enimies, could not vanquish his owne passions. He that could get elie, where, could not preferre that which was most pretious, that is, the peace of his howie and of his bed: and which is more of his soule: who could not liue quietly a midst these comynual debates bred and nourished in his bosome. This was the banker which was prepared for him at his returne, after so many broiles passed in the voiage of the east.

B *Flanders* and *England* ministred him matter of troubles all his life time, and he requited his enimies with the like, ouer whome he had victorious aduantages, *Balauine* Sonne to *Baldwin* Earle of *Huinsault* and *Namur*, called the fourth, and of *Marguerit* of *Alsacia* the Heire of *Flanders*, by the deccasse of her brother *Philip*, (dead of late in the East,) was then seased of these goodly *Seigneuries*: whereunto he had added *Vernandois*, the which he pretended to belong vnto him by a certaine agreement: but in effect it was by the right of conueniencie: the which he had seazed on in *Philips* absence. who at his returne recouered it from him by force, with the countrey of *Artois*; the which he gaue to his Sonne *Lewis* being now growne great, who tooke possession and receyued homage from them of the Country. Moreouer *Philip* caused *Baldwin*, to doe homage (as his vassal,) for *Flanders* and other Lands of the Low countries, noted by that name at *Paris*, according to the sollempnities required: from thence he marcheth into *Normandie*, takes *Gisors* and the Countrey of *Vexin*, giuing it for a dourie to his sister *Alix* being put away by *Richard*; whome he had married againe to the Earle of *Ponthieu*. But soderly there are complaints from *England*. That *Philip* did breake his promise. He replies. That seing his sister was nothing to *Richard*, there was no reason he should enioye her dourie. But this quarell must proceed farther, *Richard*, receiues his brother *John* into fauour, and pardons what is past, so as he will serue him faithfully against *Philip*, and be no more seduced by his practises. It chanced moreouer that *Otho* of *Saxony*, the Son of *Richards* sister, was chofe Emperour, in his absence, being then in *England*, fro whence

Philip had sentry wares against the King of *England*: the Earle of *Flanders*.

D he presently departs, assisted with his Vncles meanes, the which hereafter shall import him much. *Richard* seing how much *Tholouse* did import him for his countries of *Guienne*, enters into a strict League of friendship with *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse*, the a widower by the death of *Constance*, Aunte to *Philip*, giuing him *Joane* his sister in marriage, the widowe of *William* King of *Sicilia*.

At these were preparatiues of great warre against *France*. And could *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders* be well satisfied being intreated as we haue seene *Richard* ioynes with him. They resolue to make warre against *Philip* in diuers places, Hauing assembled forces their, *Baldwine* enters into *Artois*, *Richard* into *Vexin* (contries then in Controuersie) whereby realso the warre should begin, seing the processe was bred there, *Philip* without any amazement prouids for *Artois*, sending forces thether vnder the command of his Sonne *Lewis*. He him selfe marcheth in person against *Richard*, who beseegeed *Coreceile*, the which he releued in despite of him. *Richard* not able to hinder these succors, takes his way into the Contrie of *Beauuogin* and ipoyles it, *Philip* doth the like in *Normandie*. All tends to trouble, by the willfulness of these two Princes: when as the Pope (some say *Celestin* others *Innocent* 3.) sends his Noncio to exhort them to peace. This perswasion staied it not, but only made a diersion of their armes: for *Richard* supposing that *Philip* could not abide the blow, being engaged in *Normandie*, he marcheth into *Berry*, and being assisted with all his forces of *Guienne*, beseegeeth *Yssoudun*, hauing wasted and ipoyled all the country. *Philip* beseegeed *Vernon* (although the name be diuersly coared *Vernon* *Vernueil* or *Aumale*) he leaues the Towne and flies to *Richard* to draw him to fight: who finding himselfe to weake retyres to his towne & *Philip* returnes to his seege, and wins the Towne not withstanding all the attempts of *Richard*, who now takes breth to seeke his reuenge; but God had otherwise disposed, with whome all Princes ought to account

Warres with *Richard* King of *England*.

1223. coumpt for their actions, who laughs at men when they vex themselves most. A During his abode at *Limoges*, hee was aduertised that one of his men at armes had found a great treasure in the ground. This Souldiar fearing to bee ill rewarded by *Richard*, flies to a small Towne of *Limosin*, which the Historie called *Caillac* or *Castin*, held by the *French*: although it were of the Province of *Guienne*, then belonging to the *English*. *Richard* besiegeth it, but as hee approached too neere the walles, hee was wounded with an Arrow in the left arme. His desire to follow this siege, makes him to neglect his wound, which impaires not being drest: He takes the Towne, but the man saues himselfe, hauing hidden his treasure, so as *Richard* tooke not the treasure which hee hunted after, with a desire so vnseemely for a great Prince, but insted of taking gold, death surprised him, who leauing his lite vpon so light an occasion, leaues a notable example of the vanitie of this world, in the lightnesse of humane spirits, who suffer themselves to bee transported with couetousnesse, a miserable councillor both to great and small. This death did somewhat temper the bitternesse of their dissensions, but it did not quench it betwixt *France* and *England*.

Richard King of England dyes.

John succeeds Richard, and makes peace with Philip.

War betwixt John King of England, and Arthur his Nephew.

John murders his Nephew Arthur.

The cure of a cruell warre.

John declared guilty of murder & felony by the law.

Voce Innocentius: reproth his ambicity.

John had right to succeed in the Realme of *England*, as brother suruiuing the King deceased; but *Arthur* Duke of *Brittanie*, sonne to *Goffrey* the other brother: as wee haue said, pretended the Crowne to belong vnto him, as the sonne of the elder, *Eleanor* their mother being yet liuing. *John* was reueined by the *English*, so as being in possession, he had the better and stronger title. *Philip* fauoured *Arthur*, but hee meant to make his profit of the Brothers diuision, and to keepe the stakes. Being fought vnto by *John* the new King of *England*, (who had then nothing of greater import then his friendship.) hee concludes a peace with him, vpon condition: That *John* should yeeld vp all that his Brother had taken in *Berry*, and neuer pretend any thing of that which *Philip* had taken *Vexin* in these latter warres: and that *Eleanor* (Mother to *John*) Duchesse of *Guienne*, should doe homage to the King for that Province, as depending of the Crowne of *France*. This accord is ratified by a new alliance, the which created no loue. *Lewis* the Sonne of *Angiers*, takes to Wife *Blanche* the Daughter of *Alphonse* King of *Castill*, and of *Johns* Sister, being his Niece. In the meane time *Philip* fauours *Arthur* vnder hand, who (assisted by his meanes) takes the Citie of *Tours* to his great content. *Arthur* doth him homage presently for the Countries of *Touraine*, *Anion* and *Maine*, and so passeth on and takes *Mirabeau*, where *Eleanor* his G and-mother was, resolving to proceed on further, but the Almighty GOD stayed his course. For *John* comes, besiegeth and takes *Mirabeau* againe, and *Arthur* his Nephew likewise.

Eleanor exceedingly afflicted with these diuisions, dyes for griefe, and *John* puts his Nephew *Arthur* (whom he held Prisoner) to death, to extinguishe all controuersies, for the title of the Realme: although this death were cloaked as accidentally false out for for. w. Hence springing a cruell Warre: *Constance* the Mother of *Arthur* Duchesse of *Brittanie*, demands iustice of *Philip*, as her Soueraigne: *Philip* adiores *John*, and (for not appearing) hee condemnes him as guilty of the crime imposed, and of felonie, in disobeying of his commandements. Hee proclaimes him an enemy, and doth confiscate all hee held of the Crowne. This sentence is seconded by open force, to make the execution thereof more easie: The *Brittons* and *Poitouins*, (wonderfully grieved with this cruell fact) arme and come to *Philip*. So *John* abandoned of all, flies to Pope *Innocent* the third, accusing *Philip* of the breach of his faith, in making Warre against him. *Innocent* the third declaring that the breach of faith belonged properly to his authority, and so by consequence carrying himselfe for Soueraigne Iudge of the controuersie betwixt the two Kings: commands both the one and the other, to lay aside Armes, and to suffer the Churches in peace: threatening to curse his realme that should disobey his authority. *Philip* shewes, that hee hath neyther broken his faith nor peace with *John*: But that hee being his vassalle, had slaine his Nephew, in the territories of his obedience, as it appeared by good proofes, so as it was not reasonable the holie authoritie of the Church, should serue as a defence or support for

A for his impunity in so detestable a crime, seeing the punishments of subiects and vassals, appertained to the Prince by all diuine and humane Lawes. But there were new complaints to the Pope against *Philip*: that finding himselfe oppressed with war, he imposed certain tenths vpon the Clergy, to ease the people, who complained of their burthens. He did not exact this of the Church by his owne decree, but had assembled a Nationall Councell at *Sossons* to that end. The Pope said, this was done against his authority, and not only threatned *Philip* by his Censure, but also all the Clergy that had assisted at this Assembly. *Philip* lets him vnderstand; That (touching the Clergy of the Realme) it was necessary that out of their abundance they should helpe to beare the charge for their common preservation: the which hee would discharge when as the necessity ceased. And hauing thus sent backe, the Popes *Nuncio*, he pursues *John*, so as in fewe dayes he becomes master of all *Normandy*, the which had bene deuoted from the Crowne since the yeare 883, as we haue said.

Normandy being thus reduced to obedience, with an admirable celerity. *Poitou* doth likewise yeeld vnto him. *John* vpon this Alarm comes to *Rachelle*, and from thence passeth into *Anion*, but in vaine. He takes and vnpeoples *Angers*, and seekes to seize vpon *Brittanie*, being well garded through the care of their Duke *Guy*; so as hee knows not which way to turne him: when as sodainly behold new occasions in *Flanders*, the which he feedes all he can to kindle new troubles, whereby he hopes to finde some rest: but his death shall seale all these toyles, as due punishments for his blind couetousnesse and horrible parricide. He seekes all meanes possible to trouble *Philip* with the tune of *France*: *Flanders* ministers matter by this meanes. We haue formerly spoken of *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, after he had done his homage to *Philip*, he resolves to passe into *Asia* to succor the afflicted Christians. Hee had two Daughters, *Joane* and *Marguerit*, the which hee left in the gard of *Philip* Earle of *Namour* their Vncle, with the Kings good lyking; who required the eldest to giue her in marriage to *Ferrand* of *Portugal* to the dislike of the *Flemings*; and in the end he tooke her himselfe, when as he hoped for profit. *John* employing all his meanes, he first vseth this instrument to oppose him against *Philip* in his ayde. *Otho* the Emperor his Nephew ioynes with him in such sort, as *France* was in great danger of ruine, by so great forces, in so resolute an Enterprise.

Great enemies against Philip.

D *Philip* takes counsell for his passage into *England* finding so good successe in his atayres. *Ferrand* hauing openly in Counsell dissuaded this attempt, shewing it to bee both vniust and impossible, he made many of the cheefe to wauer, ouer whom *Philip* commanded with great respect, and among the rest, *Reginold* Earle of *Bullen*, of whom he had great neede, for his descent into *England*. Holding him in suspence, he sought to make triall of his faith, offering him a French Garrison, the which he refused; whereupon *Philip* comes to *Bullen*, where the people giue him entry, and *Count Regnauld* (defcouering himselfe) retires into *Flanders* to *Ferrand*. The league was great against *Philip*, being incoumtered by two so great enemies, neighbours and vnitid: but *Otho* the Emperor swaid most, hauing promised to assist *John* his Vncle with all his meanes in this warre. But the issue of this great League was not answerable to their desseigne. *Philip* foreseees this storme, and resolves to prevent it. Hee goes to field, seizeth vpon *Cassal*, *Ypre*, and *Lisle*, and takes assurance of the Cities of *Gand* and *Bruges*, employing his sonne *Lewis* in these exploits, hauing meanes thereby to be in sundry places, by so faithfull a Lieutenant. On the other side, *Count Ferrand* falls vpon *Tournais*, and hauing taken *Tournay*, he crosseth *Philips* disseignes, *John* hauing sent an Army to Sea-defeats the Kings Fleete at *Dan*, and hauing passed into *France*, he recouers *Poitou*. In the meane time, the Emperor *Otho* comes downe with a great and mighty army, in the which they number a hundred and fifty thousand foote, and a notable troupe of horse not specified. There were great Captaines on eyther side. Against the King were *Ferrand* and *Reginold* resolute men, who had fury and hope to encourage them. *Otho* the Emperour brought his Honour with the Imperiall Eagle in the view of all *Europe*. *John* hauing intelligence of some stirres in *England*, retunes with speede, leauing his

A dangerous league against Philip.

1215. army to his Confederats, and providing to send vnto them vpon all occasions. On A Philips side, his greatest aduantage was in his owne person, which did shine like the Sunne. Lewis likewise was there; Odo Duke of *Bourgonne*, and the Earle of *S. Paul* held the first ranks. The common souldiers were nothing inferiour to their enemies in courage. Yet the surmounted them in number and expectation of victory: for who would doubt, but the greatest number should vanquish. But the soueraigne Iudge of victories had otherwise decreed; whom Philip had called on, in this extreame danger. He fought to encounter his enemies a part, but God had prepared him a greater triumphe in a greater Combate. The Armies were betwixt *Lisle* and *Tournay*, where there was a Riuer to be passed by a bridge. Philip takes it, and whilest the Army passed in their ranks, he sleeps; being awaked, they giue him intelligence, that the Emperor had passed the Riuer at a Foard, meaning to charge him behinde. Philip when he had prayed vnto God (a circumstance very profitablie obserued in the history) meaning to preuent him; he causeth those troupes to turne head which had passed the Riuer, and that with such celerity, as they came vpon their enemies backes. The Combate was furious on eyther side, vnder the most famous Ensignes of the world. On the one side, was the Eagle holding a Dragon in his Talents: on the other side, the *Auriflaine* or standard of *France*. The *Germaines*, *Dutch* and *English*, shot at the King, the *French* at the Emperor. the King was in extreame danger, ouerthrowne vnder his horse, the which was slaine, and rescued by *Hugh of Marueil*. The fame of which fact, is more honourable to his posterity, then the Lordship of *Ville-bois* which C was giuen him by the King, in recompence of so worthy a seruice. The Emperor *Otho* hauing fought valiantly, was in great danger, and had fallen into the Kings hands, as the Earles *Ferrand* and *Reginald* did, hauing performed as much as Great and Valiant Captaines might do. But God would punish (both in the Emperour and in them) the rashnesse of an vnecessary war. The slaughter was great on either side: bloud vnjustly spilt through ambition and couetousnes were reprochfull causes of a voluntary losse. The signes of an absolute victory remayne to our *Augustus*. The Field, Ensignes yea and the Imperiall Eagle, (the which was torne in steed of tearing) the chiefe commanders, the Campe and the dead bodies. Philip added Clemency to this victory of his valour, dismissing all the baser prisoners, and honouring the Nobility with good D vltage, and their liberty. He retained *Ferrand* and *Reginald* prisoners, whom he accused of ingratitude and rashnes, to haue rebelled without cause against their Lord and benefactor. he led them in triumphe to *Paris*, where he made a stately entry, drawing them chayned in Litters, and condemned them to perpetual prison. *Reginald* to *Pyronne* and *Ferrand* to the *Loivre* at *Paris*. All *France* made Bonfires, for this happy successe: and Philip built a Temple in honor of the holy Virgen which de called *Victory*, nere vnto *Senlis*. By a decree of the Parliament at *Paris*, the Earledome of *Flanders* was adjudged vnto the King as forfeited who gaue it againe to *Jane* the heyre of the sayd Earledome, being not guilty of her husbands trechery.

This memorabill victory called the battell of *Boyuens* chanced in the yeare 1215. the 25. of Iuly. To make his triumph absolute, Philip gaue free passage to the *Germaines*; and *Otho* the Emperor being returned to his house (willingly resigned the Empire, & died of a pining griefe, which neuer left him after that shamefull flight, hauing willingly fought his owne misery: in supporting wrong against right, and serching danger, to perish in danger. A notable example which shewes; That victories come from the Eternall, that mortall man dies before his time by his owne rashnes, and that no vnjust warre can bee successefull.

But what shall become of *John* the onely motiue of this warre? while the Emperour, and the Earles of *Flanders* and *Bullen* (great Princes whom he had imbarcked) be at warre; hee remains at home free from blowes attending the euent. Seeing his Confederates thus defeated, hee feares the whole storme will fall vpon him, what doth hee? hee playes at Double or Quit, and flies to *Innocent* the fourth as to his Sanctuary. And being forced to saue his Estate in this extremity, he resolues to giue him

Philip in danger of his life in the battell.

Philip's victory at Boyuens against the Emperor.

Ferrand and Reginald prisoners in triumph.

The Emperor dies for griefe of his losse & disgrace.

A him a good part. The Popes hatred, with the power of *France*, was the last end of his downe fall. The Pope had excommunicated him, not onely for the parricide of his Nephew *Arthur*, but for the ill vltage of his Clergie. To purchase to discontinue an absolute, there needed a great satisfaction. He therefore sends confident men in all haste to *Innocent* 4. humbly beseeching him to pittie him in his calamity. That if it would please him to receive him into fauour, and protect him against the King of *France*, he would bind the realme of *England* and *Seigneurie* of *Ireland*, to hold of him and his successors, and in signe of obedience to pay him a yearly tribute of a thousand markes of silver. This ranke offer caused *John's* Ambassadors to be well entertained. *Innocent* lends his Legat presently to absolute him, to passe the contract, and to receiue the homages of fealty, as well of him (as of his subiects) *John* is absolved, & hauing laid his Crowne, Scepter, Cloake B Sword and Kings (the royal ensigns of a King) at the Legats feet, he doth him homage for his realme of *England*, kissing his feete as his tributarie; and binds the *English* to the like duty by a sollemne oth. He was also willing to discharge that which he had taken from his Clergie. This shalbe the means to make him loose both his estate and life. This hapned in the yeare 1215. These things performed in *England*, the Legat returns into *France*, and denoneth vnto Philip in the Popes name. That hee should suffer *John* to enioyne his realme of *England* in peace, and freely to possesse the lands which he held by homage of the Crowne of *France*. Moreover that he should satisfie the great complaints which the Clergie of his realme had made against him, restoring that which he had exacted C from them during the warres, vpon paine of excommunication, if hee did not presently obey. Philip promisseth to submit himselfe: and before the Legats departure, hee frees the Clergie of his realme of the tenths which he had exacted for the charge of the warres, according to the decree of a Nationall Councell held at *Soissons*.

John liues at peace in *England*, for that which concerned Philip: but see, hee is the instrument of his owne misery. Being exhault of meanes, through the long and chargeable warres, wherewith *England* had bene afflicted, hee had bound himselfe to the Pope, to restore vnto the Clergie, all such summes of money as he had extorted from them, during his troubles: and for want of payment, he sees an excommunication ready, the which was reuoked, but vpon condition of obedience. Thus freeing the Clergie, hee surchargeth the people: and pressed by the Pope to satisfie his command, hee oppresseth his subiects, by extraordinarie impositions, and tyrannicall exactions, adding force to his commands. So as it fell out, that as hee could not helpe the one without hurting the other, and that the people hate him commonly, that wrongs them: behold the *English* make strange complaints in Parliament against *John*, who doth incense them the more by his rigorous answers. The *English* seeing themselves reiecte by their King, flie to extraordinarie remedies: and being denyed iustice by him that should giue it they seeke it else where, chosing a King in the place of a Tyrant. *France* was their onely refuge in these extremities, and therefore they send the chiefe Noblemen of the realme to Philip, to offer him the Crowne of *England*, promising to obey E him as their lawfull King. Philip (who desired nothing more) makes shewe to refuse it: pretending both the truce made with *John*, and his worde passed to the Pope, but vnder hand he sends them his sonne *Lewis*, his faithfull Lieutenant, giuing him a traine fit for his person in so great an exploit.

Lewis hauing taken hostages of the *English*, (for assurance of their faith,) hee passeth into *England*, being receiued of them all with great ioy, as the Prince from whom they attended their health and quiet: Hee makes his entrie into *London*, which was the Rendezvous of his most confident friends, and by their example many Cities come and offer him obedience. In the meane time, complaints come to Philip from Pope *Innocent*, as if hee had broken his faith: and threats, if hee did not repair it. Philip denies any breach of faith. They bee (sayd he) the discontents of the *English* against *John*, whom they accuse to haue slaine *Arthur* their lawfull King: and hauing treelied to make a new election, they repaired to his Sonne, who was of age to gouerne himselfe, for whose errors hee was not answerable. But attending the end of this sute, let

John makes the realme of *England* tributarie to the Pope.

John doth homage to the Popes Legat.

John oppresseth his subiects, the cause of his ruine.

The *English* reiect *John* and offer the realme to Philip.

Lewis of *France* receiued by the *English*.

The Pope sends to Philip for *John*.

1217. The Pope lends to Philip for John.

let vs returne to England. John held strong places; Winchester (whether hee had retired himselfe) Windsor or Windsor, Norwich and Dover, hee had likewise factions in other Citties. Lewis (having received homage from many of them) commandeth his Armie to marche, to reduce the Citties to obedience, who for the most part receiued him willingly. Norwich yeeldes without any dispute: from thence hee goes to Dover, (having attempted the Captaine by meanes of his brother, whom hee held prisoner,) hee resolues to take it by force, and in the meane time hee beseegeth Windsor by some Noblemen of his partie. John sleepe not, hee makes a vertue of necessitie, employing all his meanes to leue men, and to keepe what remained. But behold an accident which ends both his sure and his life. One of his Capitaines brings him certaine troupes to releue Winchester, where hee attended the siege. but they were charged by Lewis his men. John seeing his people to perish, some by the Sword, and the rest drowned, flying to saue themselves, oppressed in his confidence, not able to endure the reuenging furies of his Nephews blood vniustly spilt, hee falls to adesparring griefe, and shortly after dyes, suffering the punishment of his iniustice and crueltie. Leaving a notable example and president to all men, neuer to hope for good by doing euill, although the offender growe obdurate by the delaye of punishment. This was after eightene yeares patience, during the which John reigned with much trouble, a slave to his furious passions, the which is a cruell and insupportable commander.

King John dies for griefe.

The English change their opinion.

Thus the decree of Gods iust iudgement against John the parricide, was put in execution in the yeare 1217. But this death of John did not settle Lewis in his new royalty, as it was expected. The discontent of the English dyes with John, and the loue of their lawfull Prince reuiues in his Sonne Henry. God limits the bounds of States, which mans striving cannot exceede. The Sea is a large Ditch to deuide England from France: the Pyrenei Spaine: and the Alpes Italy, if audacious Ambition and Couetousnesse would not attempt to force Nature. The English (pleased with his death that made them to languish) cast their eye vpon their lawfull King. The Pope interposeth his authoritie for Henry against Lewis; Who desirous to preferue what hee had gotten, prepares his forces, when as the losse of his Fleete (comming from France to England) makes him to change his resolution, yeelding to reason and time: restoring another man his right and estate, to keepe his owne at home the surer and safer.

The English receive Henry the sonne of John, and dissmile Lewis of France.

Thus Henry the third, the Sonne of John, was receiued King of England, and Lewis returned into France, but Johns posteritie shall bee reuenged of the Children of Lewis, with more and greater blowes then hee had giuen. Lewis (being returned into France) findes worke at home, to imploye him in Warre, which hee fought beyond the Seas. The occasion was to make head against the Albigeois, of whome wee will discourse in his life, and not interrupt the course of this raigne. It is now time to finish this tedious relation of Philips actions, and to shew the conclusion of his life. Hee did confiscate the Earldome of Auvergne, and vnitid it vnto the Crowne, taking it from Guy, being found guilty of Rebellion, this was his last acte. All the remainder of his dayes were consecrated to make good lawes, for the well governing of the Realme. At Paris hee did institute the Pruiost of Marchants, and the Sheriffes, for the politike gouvernement thereof, hee caused the Citie to bee Paued, being before verye noysome, by reason of the dirt and mire: Hee buile the Halles and the Louvre, being beautified since by Henry the second with a goodly Pavilion, and the rest of the new Lodging: Wherevnto King Henry the fourth that now reignes, doth adde a Gallerie of admirable beautie, if the necessitie of his affaires suffer him to Crowne the restauration of his Estate, by the finishing of this great building. Hee walled in Bois de Vincennes, and replenished it with Deare and with diuers other sortes of wilde Beasts: hee finished that admirable and sumptuous building of our Ladyes Church, wherof the foundation was onely layde vnkowne by whome.

Hee

A Hee made lawes against Vsurie, Players, Iuglers, and Dycing houses. An enemy to publicke dissolutions, and a friend to good order and iustice. Hee releued the people ouer-charged by reason of the Warres. Hee restored vnto the Clergie all the reuenues hee had taken from them during his greatest affaires. And thus hee employed this last acte of his life to gouerne the Realme, to the which hee had vnitid a good parte of that which was alienated by Hughe Capet. That is all Normandie, a good part of Guienne, the Earldomes of Anjou, Touraine, Maine, Vermandois, Cambresis, Vallois, Clermont, Beaumont, Auvergne, Ponthieu, Alençon, Limosin, Vandomme, Damartin, Mortaigne, and Anmale. Wee shall hereafter see, how the rest of the Crowne Landes returned according to the diuers means which GOD gaue by the good gouernment of our Kings.

Landes vnitid to the Crowne.

Philip imployd his peaceable olde age in this sort, when as God did summon him to leaue his Realme to take possession of a better. Hee was verye sicke of a quartaine Ague, which kept him long languishing in his bed, giuing him meanes to meditate vpon his death, and to provide for the Estate of his Realme; leaving a good guide, whom hee had leasure and meanes to fashion: yet could hee not make him the perfect heire of his Vertues and Happinesse. Although Lewis his Sonne were not vicious, yet had hee nothing excellent to make him apparent among other Kings. He would not Crowne him in his life time, being taught by the late and neighbour example of the ill gouernment of England, betwixt the Father and the Sonne, finding his forces to faile him by the continuance of this Feauer, hee made his Will. In the which hee delt bountifully with his Seruants, according to their deserts; hee gaue great Legacies towards the Christians Warre in the East, and to the Templers, who were then held in great reputation, to bee verie necessarie for the garde of Christendome: Hee gaue new rents to Hospitalls and to very many Churches.

And so hee died in peace, the yeare 1223. the first of Iulie, in the age of fiftie and nine yeares, beloued and lamented of his subiects. Hee was fiftene yeares old when hee began to raigne, and gouerned forty and foure yeares: hee left two Sonnes, Lewis and Philip, and one Daughter called Marguerite. Vnhappie in his house, and verye happy in his raigne. His minoritie was reasonable good, but his age was verie reuerend, Crowned with all the contents a mortall man could desire in this mortall life, hauing left many testimonies of his Vertues, to make his memorie deere and respected of his posteritie. His estate peaceable: his heire knowne and beloued of his subiects, and of age and experience to gouerne himselfe, and to force obedience. A Prince rightly called Augustus, whom wee may number among the greatest. Hee was most Religious, Wife, Moderate, Valiant, Discreete and Happy, a loue of Iustice, of order, and of policie, friend to the people, enemy to Disorders, Dissolutions and publicke Violence: Charitable, Liberall, and Iudicious to giue with Discretion. To conclude, the Pattern of a great King, by whome our Kings should take example, to learne how to gouerne the Helme of an estate, in the tempests and stormes of manie toyles and confusions, and by the managing and successe of his raigne, to gather this goodly Porcfe, or rather to take this passport for the confirmation and greatnesse of Kings: That a vertuous King is in the ende happie, howsoeuer hee bee compassed in with difficulties. But before wee enter into a new raigne, order requires that wee obserue the estate of the Church and Empire. Fredericks humilie to the Pope, had somewhat calmed the violence of these factions, and his voyage to the Holye Land, to performe his full obedience, seemed to bring a perfect peace to Christendome: when as behold a newe cause of troubles.

His death.

Lewis his conditions.

Estate of the Empire.

Frederick going for Asia, had with the consent of the Princes of the Empire, confirmed his eldest Sonne Henry Emperour, but hee being dead, and his Sonne Henry to succede him, Pope Innocent opposed an other Emperour, which was this Otto, of whome wee haue spoken, and did excommunicate Henry in hatred of his Father Fredericks. Otto ambitious of commande, caused Henry to bee murdered in his Chamber. But it chanced, that hauing committed this fact, hee went to receiue that disgrace him.

The Pope opposed against the Emperour.

The Emperour was killed by Otto who succeeded him.

1223. disgrace in *France*, which was his death: and *Frederick* the second succeeded him, for as A
Of Italy. he lived when as our *Augustus* left the Crowne to his Sonne *Lewis*.

In the meane time the *Guelphes* maintained the Popes factions withall vehemencie, and the *Gibelins* that of the Emperour. The Cities swelled with these humors, which distracted their mindes into sundrie factions, whereof grew those cruell contentions, euen in their owne bowels, the which haue continued long with irreconcilable hatred. At *Rome*, the *Vrsins* and *Sabelles* against the *Colannois*, *Frangepans*, *Cesarins* and others. At *Florence*, the *Medicis*, *Ricci*, *Bondelons*, *Amidees*, *Cerehis*, against the *Strossi*, *Saluati*, *Passi*, *Albicci* and *Donati*. At *Genoa*, the *Elisques*, *Grimaldi*, *Fregoses*, against the *Spinoles*, *Adornes*, *Dorics*, and so at *Bologna*, *Milan*, *Ferrara*, *Mantona*, *Luques* and other Cities, which by these dissensions haue lost their liberties, and are fallen into the hands of diuerse Princes: *Venice* was wise in these deuisions, preserving her libertie against both factions, whilst the rest dismembred, and ruined one another. The Popes had still an eye vpon *France*, to confirme their authoritie there, as they had done in *Sicilia* and *England*, not ceasing vpon euery light occasion to censure it, or to threaten it with their censures. But our Kings by the wise Councell of their Parliament at *Paris* restrained them: not suffering them to vsurpe any thing ouer their royall prerogatiue, and the libertie of the *French* Church. But howsoeuer (the Imperiall State being made subiect to the Pope) the way was easie to draw all the Kings and Princes of *Christendome* to obedience: and to aduance their throne about the rest. Their great reuenues, and the shew of their stately and sumptuous traine, kept the people in obedience: but the deuoute respect of religion (the strictest bond to tye soules) was the fundamentall support of this soueraigne authoritie: the which not being limited within the bounds of mortall life, without doubt struck an vnauoidable terror into mens consciences, ouer which it had power. So as the Pope gaue lawe to all men, and who soeuer obeyed not what they commanded, he was excommunicated by this spirituall authoritie of the Keyes, which they say doe open and shut Paradice, binde and loose sinnes. This beleefe setled in the mindes of Christians, bred a great deuotion and respect in them, and did minister daily new meanes to encrease it. At that time sprung vp many orders of religious Friars and Monkes, and out of *S. Bernards* Schoole (very famous in those times) from this streame grew two branches. One was called *The poore in Lions*, the other *the humble of Italy*: which hued of Almes, and conuersed with other men, expounding the Scriptures, and reproving the abuses of the Church, with the like zeale and libertie as we see at this day in the writings of *S. Bernard*.

This free and plaine reprehension displeased the Pope, who suppressed these two orders with his censures: and confining the disciples of *S. Bernard* to *Cisteraux*, he confirmed 4. new orders of religions. The *Franciscans* instituted by *Francis* an *Italian*, the *Iacobins* by *Dominick* a *Spaniard*: *Carmelites* by *Albert* Patriarke of *Ierusalem*, & the *Augustines* by *Innocent* the third. The Vniuersities of *France*, *Germanie* and *Italy*, were carefully entertained, by meanes of the great reuenues of the Church, to settle and augment the Popes authoritie, the which was mightily encreased, by the diligence and dexteritie of such as instructed the youth, easie to receiue such impressions as were giuen them, especially their teachers, hauing great power ouer their soules. Such was the estate both of the Empire and of the Church, when as *Lewis* the 8. entred the royall throne, after the decease of his father *Philip Augustus*.

LEWIS

The heads of
Guelphs and
Gibelins.

The Popes
soueraigne au-
thoritie ouer
Christendome.

Orders of re-
ligious men.

Lewis the eight, Father to Saint Lewis the 43. King of France



A LEWIS was thirty yeares old when he beganne to raigne, in the year 1223. & was crowned with his wife *Blanch* being then the mother of many children. Hee diid in the year 1226. hauing reigned but three yeares, neither noted for his vices, nor comended for his vertues: only famous in that, *He was Sonne to an excellent father, & father to an excellent Sonne*: bearing his name, not being famous inough of himselfe. His father employed him confidently but with small successe. He desiqueted *England*, but reaped no benifit. That which is most remarkable in his raigne, *Languedoc* (one of the goodliest and richest Prouinces of the *French* monarchy) began to returne to the Crowne, fro the which it was dismembred by *Hugh Capet*, and left as an inheritance to the Earles, the means was by the ruine of *Coût Raimond* chiefe of the *Albigensis*. B The *Albigensis* take their name of a diocese in *Languedoc*, whereof the head is *Alby* the Bishoprike of this large Prouince, but this name was common to the whole party. for that a priuate impressiō (deuided from the common beleefe of Christians, which hath caused them to be held for heretikes) tooke its beginning with this people of high *Languedoc*, and so was dispersed into other Prouinces. In this difference of religion we may obserue diuers humors, iudgements and censures. In so great an vn-certainty I will report plainly what is written by the most approoued Authors, not giuing any iudgement (the which belongs to the reader) neither will I shew my selfe passionate in a matter which I report as an interpreter, or truthman. *Platina* the Popes Secretary. In those daies (saith he) sprong up an heresie at *Tholouse*, the which (by the care of Pope *Innocent*) *S. Dominik* suppressed, with exceeding great diligence, with the helpe of *Simon Montfort*, in the raigne for they were infierced not only to use disputation of words, but armes also, so great credit had this heresie gotten. *Paulus Emilius* sayth. The vertue of *Dominik* was very apparet, in beating downe the heresie of the *Albigensis*. This infection tooke first footing in the Earldome of *Tholouse* (of whō the *Albigensis* depend) & had infected the neighbor Cities. They called our Popes the Bishops of the wicked, & our Church the Synagoge of hel. They contemned mariages, & held that for holy, which is execrable. To ioyne theselues carnally with women without order. They are held enemies of all goodmen: Pope *Innocent* decreed a holy war against the and sent his Legats

1223.
His raigne &
death.

The manners
of Lewis the
eight.

Languedoc
returnes to
the Crowne.

Diuers opini-
ons touch-
ing the
Albigensis.

In the raig-
ne of *Philip Au-*
gustus.

The opinions
of the *Albi-*
gensis as some
write.

1223. Legats into all partes to exhort them to make war against so execrable a sect. But the Lord of A Haslan (to who this history is much indebted) saith. Although they held bad opinions, yet that did not so much incense the Pope & great Princes against the, as the liberty of their speech, blaming the vices and dissolutions of Princes and of the Clergy, yea taxing the Popes life and actions. This was the chiefe point which made them generally to be hated. King Augustus incensed by the Clergy of his realme (who charged the Albigeois with all kinds of heresies, for that they blamed & detested their vices) intreated Pope Innocent to interpose his authority.

The Earle of Tholouse was the head of this faction of the Albigeois, but hee was not alone. The Earles of Foix and of Comminges, Gaston of Foix and Roger of Comminges, (very renowned men in their time) were of that partie: and Alphonso King of Arragon had ioyned in the same cause with them. The Countreies of Languedoc, B Dauphiné, Guienne, Gascony and Provence were full of them. Tholouse, Carcasonne, Alby, Castelnaud and Castres in Albigeois, Narbone, Beziers, Saint Gilles, Arles and Auignon, are directly noted in this history. The first subject of this tumult was the discontent the people had against the Clergy, discontented with their leude & disordered life: from discontent grewe contempt, and in the end a quarrel, and so open warre.

The occasion of this warre.

The Clergy thus contemned fled to Pope Innocent the 3. who sent the Cardinall of Saint Maria in Porticu, and Nicholas Bishop of Tusculum with Preachers, who went through all the Country but preuailed nothing, for that the Earle did visibly fauour this contempt of his subjects, being transported with the like humor. Vpon the Legats report, Pope Innocent decrees a sentence of excommunication against Count Raymond, C and sends Peter of Chasseauneuf his Legat to publish it, but he was slaine. Innocent wonderfully displeased with this murder, sends Gallon for his Legat, and by him doth command King Philip to arme against Count Raymond and his subjects, as against hereticks and sworn enemies to the Church, and doth likewise command Odo Duke of Bour-gogne and William Earle of Neuers to ioine in this warre. The assembly was held at Paris, whether repaired a great number of the Clergy, and there they resolved vpon a Croisade as against infidells. The Arch-bishoppes of Tholouse, Roan and Sens: the Bishoppes of Lisieux, Bayeux, Chartres, Comminges, Coferans, Lodeux, Beziers, and many Abbots contributed first great summes of money, to quench the fire before it passe farther, Simon Earle of Montfort were vnto Paris a braue and valiant Capitaine, issued from a bastard of Robert King of France) is chosen generall of this army, this was in the yeare a thousand two hundred & ten. The army enters into Languedoc, where the Kings name was respected as their Soueraigne, but the Citties would not open their gates to their enemies army, who (they sayd) abused the Kings authority. Vpon their refusal all Simon threatens to beseege them; Beziers was first attempted, and with such cruell successe, as hauing taken it, the blood flowed by the losse of threescore thousand persons: and in the ende it was spoiled, sackt, burnt and made desolate. All other Townes being terrified, yielded at first summons. Carcasonne held out, but it was taken by composition. That the Inhabitants should depart all naked, onely their priuy partes covered, and halters about their neckes. Castelnaud likewise would not obey, yet in the end it yielded, and Simon caused fifty men to be burned aliue. Alby obeyes without force. E Lauaur by the resolution of Gerarde the Lady of the place, did resist, but the Towne was taken by force, and this woman cast into a well: Amaury a gentleman of the Contry, (who had maintayned the seege against Simon,) was hanged. By these fearefull examples, Castres, Rabastens, Gaillae, la Cause, Puy Laurence, Saint Antonin, and Saint Marcell yeeld; Cahors followes, but Moissie beeing obstinate, was taken and spoiled. This sodaine execution amazed Count Raymond, who hauing excused himself, touching the Legates death, and beeing so neere allied vnto the King his Brother in Lawe, hee attended nothing lesse then an army against him: yea hearing of the Le- uie, and seeing it to march, hee feared not that which was put in execution against his subjects. He conceiued it had been onely to countenance the sermons of S. Dominike who accompanied the army with a notable number of Clergy men. Beeing awaked with so great a losse, hee seekes out all his meanes and friends to oppose them against Count Simon of Montfort, who was wonderfully feared by reason of so victorious a suc- cesse.

The Popes Legat slaine by the Albigeois.

An army against the Albigeois.

A wonderfull slaughter of the Albigeois.

In the raigne of Philip Augustus.

Strange executions done by Simon of Montfort.

A cesse. King Alphonso of Arragon, and the Earles of Cominges and Foix, bring him great I 2 r s. troupes. Incouraged by these examples to their preservation, Raymond employes all hee can, his armie (as they say) consisted of a hundred thousand men. As this armie of the Albigeois led by Count Raymond, goes to field to recouer their lost Townes. Simon opposeth himselfe courageously with farre lesser forces, and yet ouerthrew these great numbers with little losse. Alphonso was slaine in this defeat, the taking & sack of Tholouse followed, where there died twenty thousand men by the victors sword. I he Citties of Rouergue & Agenois (terrified with this seuerer proceeding), yielded obedience vnto Simon. I his hapned in the yeare 1215. the place of the bataille is diuersly reported, at Muret or at Mirebeau. After this strange & ruinous defeat, Count Raymond, seeing himselfe spoiled of his possessions, retires into Spaine to the Estats of K. Alphonso, attending means to repaire his affaires in better season. In the meane time Simon doth promise himselfe the property of all Raymonds estates, the which he had gotten with his Sword: but for that it was apparent, that the King of France would hardly grant so goodly a Prouince, taken from his kinsman to one of his subjects. Simon therefore flies vnto the Pope, by whose authority this war was chiefly engaged, & from whom he attended his chiefe recompence, hauing laboured for him. Innocent the 3. finding that Philip (who would not desist in his pursuit against John King of England, notwithstanding his interdiction) would not be moued now by his simple authority, to leaue so important a peece: he assembles a great Councell, meaning to force the King to yeeld vnto his will. The Patriarkes of C Ierusalem and Constantinople were there in person, and those of Antioche and Alexandria sent their deputies, there were 70. Archbishops, 400. Bishops, and 1000. Abbots & Priors. The Emperors of the East & West: the Kings of France, England, Spaine, Ierusalem, Cipres, and other Kings, Princes, and great estates had their Ambassadors. By a decree of this notable assembly Count Raymond was excommunicated with all his associates, & his lands adiudged to Simon of Montfort, for his seruice done (and to do) to the Catholike Church. Philip could not gain say this decree, confirmed in a manner by the consent of the whole world. He therfore receiued Simon to homage, for the Prouince of Languedoc, where hee tooke peaceable possession: but he did not long enioy it: for seeing himselfe inuelted, he began to oppresse his new subjects. An Ele is lost with ouer griping. The D people of Languedoc finding themselves oppressed with this insupportable burthen of Simon, they resolve to call home their Count Raymond, who was retired into Spaine, to seeke some meanes to recouer the possession of his estate. His case was not desperate, for hee enioyed the Earldomes of Vinareiz, Venaisan, and the City of Auignon, places kept by his subjects during these occurrences, whether Simons forces were not yet come. Raymond (being called by his subjects) retunes into Languedoc, accompanied with a notable troupe of Arragonois, being discontented for the death of their King Alphonso. The whole Countrey banded against Simon, hauing him as a vsurper, and detesting him as a tyrant, for doubtlesse vniust & violent things cannot continue. Whilest that Simon seekes to bridle the Citties of his new conquests, leaping from place to place, with an infinite toile, behold Raymond is receiued into Tholouse: by intelligence, & with great ioy of the inhabitants. Simon abandons all the rest, and flies thither: but he finds a stop, for coming to the gates of the City, as he approached neere the walles to parley, he was hurt in the head with a stone, wherof he died. The example of Tholouse made the grea- Simon of t part of the subdued Citties to reuolt. Simon of Montfort left two sonnes, Guy and Amaury: vpon the reuolt of Tholouse, the one seizeth vpon Carcasonne, the other of Narbonne: but Guy was slaine in Carcasonne by the Inhabitants, who were the stronger. Amaury hauing fortified Narbonne, repaires to Philip Augustus, beseeching him to succor him in his necessity. Philip had the Wolfe by the eare: for as on the one side he desired this goodly Prouince for himselfe, rather then for the children of Simon of Montfort, so hee was also restrained by the authority of the Pope and Councell. He therfore sends his sonne Lewis into Languedoc, to reduce the Countrey to his obedience. But he had scarce taken any one Castell, when as his fathers death calls him home. So as Count Raymond & his subjects of Languedoc had time to reuiue their spirits, & recouer many places gotten by Simon. The King of England would neither assist nor send to the coronation of Lewis, although

Count Raymond and his counte-derates detea- ned by Simon of Montfort.

The Councell of Latium.

The Earldome of Tholouse given to Simon of Montfort by the Pope.

Simon hated by his subjects of Languedoc, for his oppression & tyranny.

Simon of Montfort left two sonnes, Guy and Amaury, before Tholouse.

Count Raymond recouered againe in Languedoc.

1223. though he were held as Duke of *Guienne*. This occasion moued *Lewis* to warre against him; whereby he got *Niort* and *Rochel*: and *Sauary* of *Mauleon* Gouvernour for the English, retired to his seruice. This losse made the warre more violent. *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, brother to *Henry* King of *England*, passed into *France* with a goodly armie; and hauing taken *S. Maure*, *Langon*, and *Reolle* (Townes seated vpon the Riuer of *Garonne*) and defeated some *French* troupes, he made way for a truce, which was fauourable for both parties: But especially for *Lewis*, being desirous to settle matters in *Languedoc*, the which troubled him, for the daily proceedings of the *Albigois*: yet was hee loth to labour for another. For this reason he treats with *Amaury* Earle of *Montfort*, touching the right he had to that Countie: with whom hee preuailed the more easily, for that hauing lost the greatest part of the Prouince, he was not able to hold the rest with the Kings dislike, to whom hee resigned it, by order of a decree, made by the Pope in the Councell of *Latran*: and in recompence hee made him Constable of *France*, with the consent of Pope *Honorius*. Hauing compounded with the Children of *Simon Montfort*, hee resolved to winne Count *Raymond* to his deuotion, and to perswade him to lay aside armes, whereof hee did see the euent to be very doubtfull. His intent was to vnite this rich Prouince of *Languedoc* to the Crowne. But reason which saith that no man thinks his owne too much: the respect which great men do vsually beare one to another, and the alliance which the house of *France* had with the Countie of *Tholouse*, were great restraints for the courtousnesse of *Lewis*. But how soeuer, he determined to make him selfe the stronger, & to prescribe them a law. To this end he leuied a great Armie, furnished with his Edicts, by the which hee thunders against these poore *Albigois*, as Heretikes and Rebels. These Edicts were of force, whereas his authoritie was respected. Count *Raymond* (considering with him selfe the cruell beginning of this warre, and the continuance of the like miserie in these second armes, fearing to imbarke him selfe the third time with a people against his King) is easily perswaded by *Lewis* to reconcile him selfe to Pope *Honorius*. Thus *Raymond* leauing to oppose him selfe, yeelds to *Lewis*, and perswades the Earle of *Cominges* (the chiefe agent of his designes) to the like obedience. Thus both of them abandon the people, & go to *Rome*, they make their peace with the Pope, and leaue the *Albigois* to the mercie of *Lewis*, who seeing them without a head, imbrace this occasion to their ruine. High and base *Languedoc* was wholly in his power, by *Raymonds* departure. *Auignon* remained with many other places in the Countie of *Venaisin*, and in *Prouence*. He besiegeth *Auignon* and takes it, from thence he passeth into *Prouence*, where as all yeelds to his will. The Countiees of *Vinaret* and *Die* yeelds without blowes, and many families were made desolate, by the rigour of these Edicts, which did forsake both bodies and goods. The house of *Montfort*, one of the greatest of *Vinaret*, hauing followed the *Albigois* partie (being cursed) makes his peace, by meanes of the Towne of *Argentiere*, giuen to the Bishop of *Tuilers*, who enioyneth it vnto this day. These poore miserable people were disperied here and there, and such as remained in the Countie, were forced to acknowledge the Pope, as Soueraigne pastor of the Church. This heat was for a while restrained, but the seeds were not rooted out: as we shall see in the following raignes.

Lewis hauing thus subdued the *Albigois*, gaue order to suppress them, if they should rise againe: appointing the Marshall *Foy* of the house of *Mycpois*, to command his forces, and leauing the Lord of *Beauieu* for Gouvernour and Lieutenant generall of *Languedoc*, he tooke his way towards *France*. But coming to *Montpensier* in *Auuergne*, hee dyed in the year 1225. the 27. of October, leauing foure sonnes by his Wife *Blanche*. *Lewis* which succeeded him: *Robert* Earle of *Arthois*, who dyed in *Mores*. *Alphonso* Earle of *Poitiers*, and *Charles* Earle of *Anjou*, who shall be Earle of *Prouence*, and King of *Sicilia* and *Ierusalem*. In this year the *Flemings* were much disquieted by meanes of an Impostor, who said he was their Prince: but hee receiued condigne punishment for his rashnesse, and by his death this error vanished, wherewith many had bene bewitched. *Lewis* the eldest sonne of *France*, succeeding his father, goes now to sit in the royall Throne.

Lewis compounds for *Languedoc*, with the loan of *Simon Montfort*.

Count *Raymond* surrenders himselfe vnto the Pope.

Defolation of the *Albigois* by *Lewis*.

Lewis dyes.

Lewis the 9. called Saint Lewis, the 44. King of France.



HE piety and good disposition of this Prince, consecrated to the happy memory of his posterity, represented vnto *France* goodly first fruites: but his age (not yet capable to gouerne the helme of this Monarchie: (suffred him onely to take the first and most precious gage of his lawfull and hereditarie right: for being but twelue yeares old, he was crowned at *Rheims*, but his mother *Blanche* (a wise and couragious Princessse) tooke vpon her the gouernment of his person and Realme: according to the decree of *Lewis* the 8. who knowing her capacitie, had appointed her for Regent.

He began to raigne in the year 1227. *Blanche* had much honour in the education and instruction of her Sonne, the which purchased her the free consent of the Estates assembled at *Paris* to be admitted Regent: but this was not pleasing to the Princes of the bloud: who pretended this prerogative to appertaine vnto them; and not to a woman and a stranger borne. From these discontents, sprung two warres in *France*, in the beginning of this raigne, the which were suppressed, not onely by the discretion of *Blanche*, but also by the wisdom and valour of young *Lewis*, who then played his parte with so good successe, as he purchased great credit in his youth.

The heads of this faction were *Philip* Earle of *Bologne*, Vncle to the King by the Fathers side: *Robert* Earle of *Champagne*: *Peter* of *Dreux* Duke of *Brittanie*, and *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* his Brother: Princes of the bloud, valiant and factious men, who had imbarke many of the Nobility, vnder a goodly pretext. That it was not reasonable a Spanish woman, (abusing the Kings minoritie,) should gouerne the Realme at her pleasure, and by the Councell of Spaniards, whom she aduanced, reiecting the Princes, keeping back the Naturall *French* from all preferments. But that which was most to be feared,

Blanche regent of the King and Realme.

A Faction in *France* for the Regent.

1227. feared in this occurrent of affaires, was that *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse*, who had so a great a subiect of discontent against the King (being spoiled of the greatest part of his estate) should ioyne with that partie, and drawe his cousin the Earle of *Prouence* into the same quarrell: Men which were neither dull witted, nor goutie handed, and who were nothing altered in minde, although they had made a good shew, yeelding to necessity: the which *Blanche* preuented happily, winning Count *Raymond* (who now began to rise in *Languedock*) by the mariage of *Isaone* his only Daughter with *Alphonso* the Kings brother, and Earle of *Poitiers*, vpon condition that *Raymond* should enioy it during his life, and that after his death the said *Alphonso* should succeed in the right of his wife, and if they had no issue, the Earldome with all the dependances, should returne to the Crowne as to his first beginning. Thus *Languedock* shaken at the first by *Armes* (as we haue said) was honourable vnto the Crowne of *France*, by this accord, as the Historie will hereafter shew in the raigne of *Philip* sonne to our *Lewis*. By the like meanes she drew *Robert* Earle of *Champagne* vnto her, a very factious man, and did not onely thereby weaken the party of these discontented Princes thus disioyned, by withdrawing the most sufficient man they had, but also shee employed him against them. There remained a *Triumvirate*, the which shee deuided. They made a good shew, but *Blanche* did cunningly countermine them, discovering their actions euen within their Cabinets, where shee found access by money. In the end their practise must breake forth. The Earle of *Bologne* fortified *Calais*, and the Duke of *Brittaine* with the Earle of *Dreux*, did purposely demand some of the Crowne lands, which they knew well, that *Blanche* would not yeeld vnto, as Inalienable; whereby they might pretend some colour to rebell. They now go to armes, and at the first seize vpon *Saint James of Beiron* and of *Belesme*. *Blanche* flies to the Maiestie of the King, and threatens these armed Princes to proclaime them rebels, and guiltie of high treason, if they obey not. The confederate Princes answer: That they most humbly beseeche his Maiestie to giue them free access to complaine of his Mother, who abused both his name and his authoritie: *Blanche* admits them, being well aduertised by the Earle of *Champagne*, that their intent was, (vnder colour of this parley) to seize vpon the Kings person. Their desire was to haue this meeting at *Vendosme*, but they had layde their ambush neerer to surprise him by the way. They had advanced their troupes to *Corbeil*, when as the King parted from *Paris*: being attired at *Mont-leher*, newes came that the troupes marched to surprise him. The King retires to the Castell (then being of some strength) and *Blanche* giues it out that the King is in a manner besieged, The *Parisians* arme speedily, and goe in great troupes to fetch their King, to make the Leaguers thereby more odious, and to confirme the Queenes authoritie.

Languedock
annexed to
the Crowne
by marriage.

Blanche sup-
plants the dis-
contented
Princes.

Lewis in dan-
ger to be sur-
prised by his
rebels.

The League
broken.

Lewis makes a
progreffe
throughout
his realme.

These Princes being thus discouered, depart from *Corbeil*, and enter *Champagne* in hatred of the Earle, who had forsaken them to follow the Kings partie: But *Lewis* taking him into his protection, and marching towards them with his men at armes, all their desseignes came to nothing: And yet they had imbarcked the Duke of *Lorraine* and the King of *England* in this quarrell. *Lewis* hauing expelled them *Champagne*, follows his course, takes *Angiers* without any contradiction, belonging then vnto the *Brittens*, and from thence hee marcheth into *Brittaine*. Terror opens the Gates of all the Cities. The Earle of *Dreux* leaues his Brother, who (seeing himselfe abandoned of them all (but first of iudgement) confesseth his fault, and doth homage to the King for *Brittaine*: and by this rebellion, he gets the name of *Mauclerc*, hauing so ill employed his time, as to suffer himselfe to bee vanquished by a Child and a Woman. These troubles thus pacified (to the dishonor of the Authors) the young King wonne great reputation, and his Mothers wisdom was generally commended, who thought it fitt that her Sonne should see scene of all his subiects. As hee went this progresse, hee receiued homage from all his Nobilitie, and ordained many things according to occurrents. It chanced that hauing erected *Poitou* to an Earledome, and giuen it to *Alphonso* his brother: *Hugh* Earle of *Marche*, (which lyes within *Poitou*,) would not acknowledge *Alphonso* for his Lord: His Wife *Isabell*, Mother

A Mother to King *Henry of England*, (who had bene first married to King *Iohn*) was the motiue; scorning to subiect her selfe to an Earle of *Poitou*. This ambitious passion was the cause of great Warre: First shee drewe in the Earle of *Luignan*, vnder the same pretext, (for that there had bene Kings of *Ieruusalem* and *Cipres*, issued out of this Noble house) and afterwards the King of *England*. The first tumult not preuented, had almost surprisid *Lewis* within *Saumur*, and this Woman transported with pride and hatred, sought to make him away eyther by poison or sword, kindling the Warre in *England* by hired Preachers. In the end, after the two armies had made great spoile in *Poitou*, *Xantonge* and *Angoulmois*, both of friend and enemy, a peace was concluded with the *English*, vpon condition, that *La Marche* should remaine in *France*. This was the end of that feminine rage, ridiculous in the issue, but lamentable for the poore people, who alwayes pay for the folly and malice of Princes. *Prouence* was gouerned by the *Berengiers* (as wee haue sayd) since the ouerthrow of *Lewis* the Sonne of *Boson*: and then in the hands of *Raymond Berenger*, a fierce and cruell man: who had so incensed his subiects, being impatient and turbulent of themselves: as they had recourse to *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse* his neere Kinman, to install him in their Earles place, with whom they would haue no more correspondence. Being ready to arme, the felicitie of *Lewis* pacified all. *Raymond* Earle of *Prouence* had foure Daughters, *Marguerite* which was wife to our *Lewis* the ninth, and Queene of *France*. *Elenor* which was married to *Henry* King of *England*: *Sanchia* to *Richard* his brother Duke of *Cornwaile*, and *Beatrix* which was to marry: Daughters of great hapines: hauing had three Kings, and a Royall Prince. The Earle of *Prouence* would hardly haue bene comprouled by *Lewis*, but GOD (who meant to plant a generall peace in *France*, by the hand of this good King) buried *Raymond* with his rage in one Tombe, taking him out of the world, whome a whole world could not containe. *Lewis* after the decease of *Raymond*, pacified the *Prouencals*, in marrying his brother *Charles* the Earle of *Aniou*, with *Beatrix* the Daughter of their Earle, to their great content: adding (in fauour of this marriage) *Marne* to *Aniou*: And since this *Charles* was King of *Sicilia*, *Robert* the younger brother was Earle of *Arthois*. By this meanes his bretheren remained satisfied, *Alphonso* being Earle of *Poitou* and *Tholouse*, by his portion and mariage. *Charles* Earle of *Prouence* and *Aniou*, and *Robert* Earle of *Arthois*, and the Realme continued in happy peace. These things thus happily performed by *Lewis*, hee employed his care in the reformation of the Realme, beginning first with himselfe and his household: then did he plant Religion and Iustice (the principall Pillers of a State) for the good and ease of the people. Hee lead a life worthy of a King, louing and honoring Religion with much zeale and respect, taking delight in the reading of the holy Scriptures, the which hee caused to be Translated into the *French* tongue, which I haue scene in a Gentlemans custodie, carrying this title. Hee did great honor Clergie men, being worthy of their places, and was a seuerer censor of them that did abuse it, whom hee charged to liue according to their Canons, and to shew themselves patternes of good life to the people. That they should bee preferred to Ecclesiasticall dignities according to order, in all libertie, and should enioy their reuenues without lett. That the exactions and insupportable charges imposed by the Court of Rome (these are the words of his Edict) on the realme of *France*, by the which it was mightily impouerished, and which hereafter might be leued, should not in any sort be leued without apparent cause, his expresse command, and the approbation of the *French* Church. He had a good soule, being iust, sober, modest, temperate in his eating and drinking, in his talke, habits, and conuersation, neither melancholic nor exceeding merry: circumspect, of a good iudgement, staied, charitable, moderate, vigilant, and seuerer in the obseruation of that hee had decreed. And as the Prince is the rule of his house, hee either chose seruants of his owne humor, or else his seruants framed themselves vnto his disposition: so as his Court was like vnto a well ordred Church. His traine was royall and stately, according to the times: but there was nothing superfluous nor lost: so as hee had his Treasurie replenished to giue to such as deserued.

1227.

Prouence
comes to
Charles of *An-*
iou a sonne of
France.

Lewis his dis-
position.

The Patrone
of an excellent
Prince.

1227. He paid his seruants wel, yet he gouerned his treasure in such sort, as his officers could hardly steale from him, and such as offended he punished with so exact a seruitude, as the rest feared to commit the like. The orders for his treasure are registred in his Ordinances, where you may see them at large. He loued learning and learned men; and delighted to read and heare good workes: tauturing his Vniuersitie of *Paris*, and drawing the *Parisians* to loue Schollers: so as in his time the Vniuersitie of *Paris* had great prerogatiues, as the eldest Daughter of our Kings. The realme was corrupted with the iniustice & extortion of former raignes, by the sale of offices: being most certaine, that what we buy in grolle, we must sell by retails. He did therefore expressly prohibite these sales, and supplied such places as were voide, according to the merits of persons, after due examination, to draw good men, and of vnderstanding, to apply themselves to studie. He punished the abuses of Iudges feuerely, as appears by his orders made to that end. And that which caused him to be much honoured, he gave free audience to his subiects complaints, and especially at *Bois de Vincennes*, where he tooke delight, and often times (being set vnder a Tree very simply) like a Father giuing his Children counsell. He was a capitall enemy to sutes, commanding the Iudges expressly to doe speedy Iustice; so as sutes were then laide aside, and compromises did end an infinite number of controuersies. But his chiefe care was in sparing, for to ease the people: abating the taxes and subsidies imposed on them by his Predecessors: and he did so husband the publike revenues, as he had sufficient for his taine and his great affaires, and yet a surplusage to releue poore Widowes and Orphelins, to feed and instruct Children, marry their Daughters, cure the diseased, and the remainder was to build Churches. There are many in this great City of *Paris* and about it, built or repaired by him. But he said, that the chiefe Stones of Gods Temple were liuing, and they must rather beautifie the Church with good manners then rich wallies: words which he had learned out of *S. Bernard*. But these Christian-like vertues were lodged in a royall brest, fit for the gouernment of this royall estate, Heroike, Valiant, Wise, and A true. Yet *Lewis* was more inclined to peace then Warre, louing better a good and fruitfull rest, then the doubtfull and turbulent euents of Waire. God likewise sent a greater peace to his Realme, then vnder any King that euer liued: and with so great authoritie and obedience, as there was neither great nor small, but held himselfe most happy to obey so good and happy a Prince. Hee was likewise well garded, for all his Subiects were his garde, and hee enjoyed the peoples hearts by good vsage. The people called him Father, the Nobilitie their Head, Religion her Defendor, the Church her Protector, the Lawes their Gardien and Tutor: and Armes their *Atars*, by the terror whereof he kept the most rebellious in awe, both within and without the Realme: For after the pacification of the former troubles, suppressed in the Spring. There was not any tumult within the Realme, neither durst any one mutine against him.

But to crowne these blessings of GOD, the peace of his house was ioyned to the publike. *Blanche* his Mother had her humours extremely louing the sweete of command: but shee resigned the Regencie to her Sonne, when as hee came to age, and discharged her selfe in open Parliament, to the great content of all men. *Lewis* and his subiects loued and honoured her much, being generally well respected for the good education shee had giuen the King her Sonne, and the happinesse of her wife gouernment. Queene *Marguerite* (the Wife of *Lewis*) was much beloued and respected of her husband, but not so by her Mother in Lawe *Blanche*, being zealous of the loue which *Lewis* did beare her, and of the credit shee had in his fauour, and generally throughout the Realme: but shee could wisely beare with the humors of her Mother in Lawe, for the loue of *Lewis*, a wife and a milde Pinceesse, wholly of her husbands humour, whose Continencie is commended to haue loued none but this woman, by whome hee had fise Sonnes, and foure Daughters, the gages of their inuolable loue. To this good gouernment was added, the strict loue and amitie hee had with his Brethren, and the respect they bare vnto him. Worthy considerations of our Historie, and considerable in our corrupted age.

The

A The manuscript of these miserable *Albigensis* adds, That euen as the Pope would haue continued his persecution against them, and that the Marshall *de La Foy* (so called for that he was as it were the cheefe Champion of the immortall war decreed against the *Albigensis*) prepared for a new search to roote out the remainders. *Lewis* would not allow of it, saying, that they must perswade them by reason, & not constrain them by force, whereby many families were preferred in those Prouinces. They called them *Valdenses*, either for that the greatest part of the retired into the Vallies & Mountains of *Sauoy*, *Vinaretz*, *Dicis*, & *Prouince*, where the chiefe seed was preferred at *Merindol*, *Lormarin* and *Cabrieres*, or of the name of *Peter Valdo*, one of their most renowned Doctors, or that the *Valles of Piedmont* haue preferred the families, from father to sonne vnto this day.

In those times also liued *Gulielmus de Saint Amore* a Doctor of *Paris*, and *Chanoine of Beauvais*, exclaiming both by word & writing, against the abuses of the Church: and namely against this planting of Monks. Pope *Alexander* pronounced him an heretike, and armed *Thomas Aquinas* and *Bonauenture* (men of violent spirits, & well read in *Aristoles Philosophie*) against him, but hee prevailed against these reprobates. The writings of either part make mention, and the issue of their controuersie is apparent. France enjoyed a perfect and plentiful Peace, when as *Italie* and *Germanie* were afflicted with cruell and tragicall dissensions, by the implacable quarrells of the Popes and Emperours, as if they had beene hired to multiplie the miseries of Christendome by

C their importune hatred. The subiect of the old quarrell continued: the Popes would haue *Italie*, and the Emperours would not yeeld it. *Rome* (which had beene the head of the Empire,) was then the seat of their Pontificall authoritie, belonging wholly to the Pope, the Emperour hauing no more command there. This vsurpation had beene gotten by degrees, but they pretended the like of the whole Countie, first they would seize vpon what lay neerest vnto *Rome*, then vpon *Calabria*, *Appulia*, and *Abbruzzo*, euen vnto *Lombardie* the which they left to the *Germanes*, *French*, and *Venetians*, to contend for, hoping in the end to carry it, after a long strife of the Contenders, who should leaue the possession more easie to their successors. To conclude, in the end the Imperiall foueraignty being banished out of *Italie*, it was dismembred by diuers Lords, &

D the realme of *Naples* & *Lombardie* were made the subiect of long & bloody wars, betwixt the *French*, *Spaniards* & *Venetians*. This raigne was a witnes about thirtie & three yeares of these disorders, by Excommunications, Depositions, Armes, taking and sacking of Cities and Countie, vnder the Empire of *Frederick* the second, who opposed himselfe against *Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Celestin*, *Innocent* the fourth, *Gregorie* the 9. Popes, with such Pollicies, Trecheries, and vnkind cruelties, as I am ashamed to set to viewe these scandales of Christendome, whilest that our dissensions doe settle a free Empire for the blasphemies of *Mahomet* in the East. As the Popes proiects were to become absolute masters of *Italie*, so their ordinarie course was to flie vnto *France* when they felt themselves the weaker to vse their meanes in necessitie, and to vsurpe vpon them by all occasions, as wee haue seene, and shall see by that which followes.

To *Otho* the Emperour (who wilfully went to seeke his owne ruine in *France*) succeeded this *Frederick* the second, grand-child to *Frederick Barbarossa*, of whom we haue spoken: a Generous, wife, and Learned Prince, who being scarce seated in the Empire, (hauing giuen *Innocent* the third the Earledome of *Fondi* in the realme of *Naples*, to bee proclaymed Emperour) when as *Honorius* successor to *Innocent* the third, caused a part of *Tuscanie* and *Apulia* to bee surprised by certaine Noblemen of the Countie, esteeming the conquest the more easie, for that *Frederick* was newly aduanced to the dignitie, hauing neyther courage nor power to oppose himselfe against his surpris, and euen in the fresh memorie of so many affronts which the Popes had done to his Predecessor *Frederick*. But he was ignorant of his disposition, being resolute not to suffer the Imperiall dignitie to be any thing blemished by him. *Frederick* goes into *Italie*, with an army, recouers what had beene taken, and punisheth the rebels.

Honorius seeing himselfe the weaker, flies to his accustomed meanes. To his sub-

Q 3

mination.

1227.
The rest of
the *Albigensis*.

Lewis teaches
them by reason.

Why they
were called
Valdenses.

Estates of the
Empire and
the Church.

The Pope
seeks to drive
the Emperour
out of *Italy*.

The Emperour
goes
with an army
against the
Pope and his
confederates.

A worthy
saying of a
goodly Prince.

A happy
peace in the
raigne of
Lewis.

A happy
gouernment.

1227. *minations and Ecclesiasticall terrours* (these are the very words of the History) against the force & subtilties of the French. He did first excommunicate Frederick; then he flies to France, and doth stirre up Henry the Sonne of Frederick against the Father. Frederick begins with the most dangerous, for being seized of this disloyall Son, who would have taken and depriued him of his dignity, he confines him to perpetuall prison, by a decree of the Princes of the Empire.

The Pope draws the French to his succor.

The Popes policy to supplant the Emperors.

Frederick chaps. v. Becelle in Asia.

The Popes hatred against the Emperour irreconcilable.

He had happily made a League with Lewis the eight, father to our Lewis, and had renewed it with himselfe, on whose faith hee relied much; but Charles of Anjou Earle of Provence his brother, would bee doing, being desirous to get something. He was easily persuaded with the hope of these goodly Realmes of Naples and Sicilia, which the Pope offered him as the fruites of his labours: so againe the end hee shall come to his ayde, and being King of Sicilia shall expell the race of Frederick. This Tragedie must continue long, they vie craft vpon craft, and whilest one is preparing an other is put in practise. The zeale of the holy Land was the Popes ordinary colour to continue these stormes rayfed by the Emperors; and in sending them farre off, to haue better meanes to contrasie their designs at home, without controule. John of Breyne King of Ierusalem comes, and preuailes so much, as Pope Honorius, promiteth to absolue Frederick the second, so as hee will make a Voyage into the East. Frederick accepts thereof, and presently makes leuiues in Germany for an Army: whilst that he assembles the Estates of the Empire at Cremona, to assure the affaires of Italy in his absence. The place and subiect of the Assembly displeased Pope Honorius, who acculeth Frederick that by his delays hee suffered the Christians to go to rume in Asia, whether he had promised to go, and doth excommunicate him againe. This doth hasten Frederick; hee parts with his army (but without taking leaue of the Pope) and arriues suddenly at the holy Land; where hee strooke such a terror into Sultan Saladin, as he demands a Truce, and obtaines it vpon condition; That he should restore Ierusalem and the holy Land to Frederick, and all the Christian prisoners without any rancome. These conditions duly performed, Frederick victualleth Nazareth, fortifieth Ioppa, and the other Citties of Iudea, being in a good way to settle the Christians affaires. As he labours thus with a commendable successe; the Pope displeased at Fredericks departure without his blessing, and holding it done in contempt of his authority, proclaymes him Excommunicate, and sorte is his Estates. He presently seizeth vpon the Realme of Naples, and rayseth factions in all the Citties of Italy, to cause a reuolt against the Emperour. Frederick, moued with these newes, leaues Asia; and being returned into Italy, he employs the Princes of the Empire to make his peace with the Pope, forgetting the priuate wronges he had done him, and obtaynes absolution, giuing him eleuen thousand markes of Gold to pacifie him. But this accord lasted little; yea it turned into an implacable hatred, which augmented the factions; shed blood, made Citties desolate, buried Frederick and his posterity, and in the end, banished the Imperiall authority quite out of Italy.

Vpon this Accord Honorius dies, and leaues Gregory the ninth, his successor in the same quarrell against the Emperour. Frederick (hauing satisfied the Pope for his priuate interest, and payed very dearly for his authority) sayd, that he could not passe away the rights of the Empire: beseeching Pope Gregory to leaue things, as they had bin before his going into the East, that the Citties of Italy (which had freed themselves by this occasion) might acknowledge the lawfull authority of the Empire. Gregory the ninth, is wonderfully moued with this proposition, and forbids Frederick vpon paine of a newe Excommunication to make any more question thereof, but to leaue the Confederate Citties in their liberty. This was to giue a Lave to the Emperour: to subiect his authority to the Popes command: to giue leaue to the Imperiall Citties to rebell, and to authorise their Rebellion. Frederick much discontented with this answer, and seeing playnely that this was the last farewell of

the

At the Imperiall authority in Italy, (as without doubt it was) he employed his wit and all his means to prevent the practises of Gregory the 9. who without any dissembling, ought to suppress the Imper all dignitie, in those parts Frederick tries all meanes to cross the Pope, hee sollicit the Gibelin faction throughout all the Citties of Italy, hee leuiues a mighty armie in Germany, and enters into Italy, with a horrible wast Taking, Sacking, and Spoyling the reuolted Citties, and filling all places with fire and blood: Milan, Genoa and diuers Townes of the Duchie of Spoletum, were thus strangely spoyled by violent force, without any mercy, wherein Frederick exceeded the bounds of a iust punishment, the which must bee in the Maiestates hands, as therod in the Fathers, and the rator in the Surgians, to chastise and not to ruine, to cure, and not to kill. Hee shall soone receiue his reward, by his hand who strikes two strokes with one stone, and doth alwayes well when men doe ill, Gregory stood at gaze at Fredericks first entrie; not much moued with the shedding of so much blood, and the sacke of so many Citties ruined, for his quarrels sake, But when hee sees Fredericks conquests to increase, hee straines his witt to find out remedies to stoppe so dangerous a deluge. Hee rayseth some troupes which he calleth holy, but they were to weake to withstand so great a force. Hee therefore sits to Councells (the firme bulwarke of his authoritie,) hee makes a Bull of excommunication; proclaymes him a capitall enemy to the Church, and layes open the causes by a publicke declaration. Frederick continuing his answes, answers the Popes writing by an Advocate of Capua, called John de Vignes: and so giues words for words. But Fredericks forces had preuailed without a better remedie. Here vpon Pope Gregory dies. Celestin succeeds him, who within fewe daies after his election dies, and leaues the Chaier to Innocent the 4. with this quarrell not yet determined. Innocent in the life of Gregory was a Gibelin, and by his death (being chosen Pope) hee becomes a Guelphe as great an enemy to Frederick, as hee had beene a friend, a cunning and circumspect man: who politickly wrought the meanes to vnder doe Frederick. After his election hee sends his Nontio into France, to exhort our Lewis to succor him, according to the ancient proofes of the most Christian Kings to the Holy Sea, and to assure him the better, hee giues him to vnderstand that hee is resolved to come into France, as the most safe retreat of Christendome nowe afflicted. He comes & calls a Councell at Lyons, whether he cites Frederick, but vpon so short a warning, as hee could not appeere. Frederick (hauing sent his Ambassadors to the Councell, to require a lawfull time, and to aduertise the Pope of his comming) begins his journey to performe his promise.

Being arriued at Thurin, he hath intelligence giuen him that the Pope had condemned him as contumax, excommunicated him, and degraded him of the Empire. But this was not without the consent of the Princes electors of the Empire, who after nature deliberation proceeded to a new election.

The thundering Bull of excommunication and depostion is no sooner published, but the Princes Electors choose Henry Landgrane of Thuringe for Emperour: vpon the receipt of these newes, Frederick staies at Thurin, and hauing sent to sound the Germanes mindes, hee findes strange partialities, the greatest part of the Nobility banded against him and resolved to reiect him. Thus hee felt the force of the Popes powre. The proote of this resolution was at hand, for as Henry of Thuringe (the newe elected Emperour) approached to Vlmez, to force them to yeeld to his obedience, and that the partisans of Frederick would not receiue him, hauing besegged the City, hee was wounded with an arrowe, whereof he died shortly after: wherevpon the Princes Electors of the Empire did presently choose William Earle of Holland for Emperour, & at the same times the faction of the Guelphes of Pavia being banished, found meanes to reenter the City, where they made a horrible and bloody massace of Gibelins, with more then ordinary fury in Ciuill mutinies.

The Emperour Frederick in this various vncertainty of his affaires, being in Italy with

The Emperour enters Italy with a great army.

Gregory turns enemy to Frederick, being chosen Pope.

The Emperors Frederick excommunicated and degraded.

The Germans choose another Emperour.

1255. his army, he flies to the nearest. He beseegeth *Pania*, and for that he would not hazard his forces (whereof he might stand in neede, if *Germany* sayled him) hee resolved to block it, and builds a Fort which he calles *Victoria*, but hee reckoned ill without him that giues victories; measuring the issue too confidently by the proiect. Thus God confoundes the enterprises of men, when they attribute that to themselves which belongs to his power. This done, *Frederick* leauing his Bastard *Encius* to command the seege) takes his way to *Lions*, where the Councell was yet remaining: with an intent to repayre his affaires, but he is not farre gone, when as newes comes vnto him, that the Inhabitants had made a great fallie, and forced and razed his Fort of *Victoria*, with great losse of his men.

He returnes to *Pania*, takes it by force, and did execute that which the outrage lately committed, might moue a Choloricke man vnto, being halfe desperate. But this surpris repayed not his Estate, for in all the cheefe citties of *Italy* the *Guelphs* faction was the stronger, through the authority of the Councell of *Lions*, which had wonderfully disgraced *Frederick*: first by Excommunications, and then by a ciuill Deposition. *Frederick* seeing himselfe distressed of all sides (as in great afflictions one mischief calling another, the greatest is to be faint hearted) he suffered himselfe to be so oppressed with griefe, as he falls into a burning feauer and dies, burying in one graue, his Life, his Desseignes and his Imperiall dignity, whereof at that time he was deprived.

The death of
Frederick.

Conrad his son
poisoned by
his Bastard
brother *Manfroy*.

Manfroy
viurps *Sicilia*
& *Naples*.

Lewis refuseth
Sicilia & *Naples*
offred him by the
Pope.

Charles Erie
of *Provence* &
Sicilia & *Naples*
defeats & kills
Manfroy in
Sicilia.

Thus *Frederick* dies: leauing *Italy* and *Germany* in great confusion: and *Conrad* his Sonne, the Successor rather of his miseries then of his enheritance, for seeking to effect that which his Father could not doe, and to preserue the Realmes of *Sicilia* and *Naples* to his successors, he lost his Life and both Realmes, hauing trusted *Manfroy* his Fathers Bastard too much: who poisoned him, notwithstanding hee had appointed him Tutor to his Sonne *Conradin*, not knowing by whose hand he died. *Manfroy* seeing himselfe in possession by this Title, giues it out that *Conradin* was dead, and vnder this goodly title to be the nearest kinsman of the lawfull Lordes. He tooke possession of these two Realmes. The stronger alwayes preuailes in an Estate. *Manfroy* was master of *Naples* and of *Sicilia*, although *Conradin* had the right, and to assure the possession of what he had gotten, he allies himselfe with *James* King of *Arragon*, giuing his daughter *Constance* in marriage, to *Peter* his eldest sonne. This was in the yeare 1255. D a remarkable date, for so long a quarrell. *Manfroy* could not bee heire to *Fredericks* Estates, but he must withall succed in the hatred the Popes did beare him; the subiect of discontent remaining in those Seigneuries which he enioyed vnder his name. Pope *Urban* the 4. (who then did hold the Sea of *Rome*) did excommunicate *Manfroy*, as a disturber of the Church and of *Italy*, but finding himselfe too weake for the execution of his decree, he cast his eyes to the place, from whence his predecessors had alwaies drawne assured & timely succors. *Lewis* our good King of a contrary humour to their turbulent passions, was a spectator of these disorders: but so indifferent, as although the councell of *Lions* had bene held by his consent: yet had hee done his best endeauor to quench this fire kindled betwixt the greatest persons of Christendom. He could not be moued by the authority or perswasions of Pope *Urban*, to take away another mans estate, being well content with his owne. But *Charles* Earle of *Provence* perswaded by his owne disposition, thrust on by his wife *Beatrex* (desirous to be called Queene like to her other sisters) & drawne headlong by the shewe of these goodly Crownes, suffereth himselfe to bee easily transported at the Popes intreaty. Hee armes, drawes vnto him a great number of *French* Nobility; comes into *Sicilia*, giues battell to *Manfroy*; defeats and kills him, making him to suffer the punishment of his cruell and wicked purchase, the which he enioyed not full ten years. For *Charles* Duke of *Aniou* became maister of these two Realmes in the yeare 1265. and *Manfroy* was confounded in his vniust desseignes. After the death of *Frederick* the 2. & the violent elections of *Henry* of *Turinge* and *William* of *Holland*, (feare retaying some, and fury thrusting on others) the Empire was in effect without an Emperour, being without a guide, by the furies of ciuill confusions, like to a great ship at sea beaten with the wind

A and waues, without Sailes, without Helme and without Pilot. Pope *Urban* pretended then, that in the vacacion of the Empire, the gouernment belonged to the Sea of *Rome*. He created *Charles* of *Aniou* Vicar of the Empire, and gaue him *Tusane*, vpon condition to succour the Sea of *Rome* against the *Gibelins* and *Suenians*. So at one instant *Charles* of *Aniou* was possessed of the two Realmes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, and the gouernment of the whole Empire. But these two great dignities purchased by the Popes bountie, must be countenanced by his vertues, and this was the meanes.

Conradin the Sonne of *Conrade* was not dead, as the Imposter *Manfroy* had giuen it out: but hauing bene patient during these tempests, he had so well managed his hereditarie meanes, as finding himselfe strong, he sought to recouer his Realmes vsurped by *Charles* Duke of *Aniou*. Hauing incensed the *Gibelins* throughout all the Citties of *Italy*, to drawe them to reuolt: hee leuiues a goodly Armie, with the helpe of his friends, and comes into *Italy*, hauing in the meane time bred an alteration in *Sicilia*, where many Citties were taken, and *Nocera* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Conradin* accompanied by many Noblemen, which hunted after his doubtful fortune: but the chiefe were *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, and *Henry* the Sonne of the King of *Castile*, *Charles* of *Aniou* besieged *Nocera*, where *Conradin* resolved to charge him. Hauing provided for the siege, he goes to encounter *Conradin*, and hauing drawne him to fight by a stratagem, hee defeats his Armie, takes him prisoner, and with him *Frederick* of *Austria*, and *Henry* of *Castile*, with a great number of the Nobilitie. This goodly and C absolute victorie, leading the Commanders prisoners in triumph, should haue beene seasoned with the wise clemencie of our *Lewis*. But *Charles* of *Aniou* his Brother had no portion with him in this excellent vertue, whereby we haue seene, that *Philip* their Grand-father, (in well vsing a victorie,) did purchase the name of *Augustus*, and did consecrate it to the honourable memorie of his posteritie. For *Charles* (hauing these great Princes in his power,) by the Councell of Pope *Clement* the fourth, beheaded the two first, barbing the Scaffold with the blood of twelue of the greatest Noblemen of the Armie: and coopt vp *Henry* of *Castile* in a Cage of Iron, to make him die hourly, causing him to be carryed through all the Citties of *Apulia* and *Beneuent*, in a most ignominious sort. A reuenge which shall cost *France* deere at the *Civilian*

Charles of *Aniou* Vicar of the Empire & King of *Naples* & *Sicilia*.

Conradin seeks to recouer his reame.

Conradin defeated.

Conradin beheaded cruelly by *Charles* with many others.

An ignominious reuenge.

Lewis refused to goe into *Affrike*.

The confused estate of the Eastern Empire.

The Empire of *Greece* transferred was to the *French*.

D Euen-long. But wee haue wandred enough in the confusions of *Italy*; Let vs now returne into *France*, and to our *Lewis*. *Lewis* beheld the tempestuous estate of Christendome a farre off: which was the more incurable in *Germanie* and *Italy*, for that the sick refused Physicke, and that darkenesse came from them, whence light should haue proceeded. Hee carried himselfe very coldly in the heate of these deuisions, the which he could not redresse; But seeing his realme in peace, and his authoritie firmly settled in the loue of his subjects, and the amitie of his bretheren: fore-seeing also, that by the wisdom of his Mother, hee might salue the inconuenience of his absence, he resolved to succour the Christians afflicted by the miscreants, both in *Affrike* and in the East. *Philip Augustus* with the Emperours (which had passed thether one after another) had nothing repaid: their decayed Estate: and the mischief came from the Christians themselves, one opposite to another, the which gaue great advantage to their enemies, as if they had purposely sought to fortifie them. The Empire of the East was in a horrible confusion, dismembered by home-bred deuisions, which drew in the *French* and the *Venetians*. One *Alexis* *Ducas* called *Murziphile*, hauing himselfe strangled another *Alexis* called the young, and caused one *Nicholas* another Compeitor in the Emire to bee slaine, in the end hee is strangled himselfe. The *Theoderis*, *Ducas* and *Lascaris* being the greatest families) contend for the Empire. In the end *Constantinople* is taken by the *French*, and *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* (of whome wee haue spoken) is chosen Emperour: so as the Empire of *Greece* is transported to the *French*, and denided with the *Venetians*, who at that time carried away the Isle of *Candia*. So as at one instant there were three Emperours in the East: *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* at *Constantinople*: *Theodore Lascaris* in *Natolia* in the Cittie of *Nicea*: and the third was *Alexis Comenene* at *Trebisonde*, commanding ouer *Cappadocia* and *Colicida*.

1258. All this shall bee a prey to the enemies of Christendome: But let vs returne to our Frenchmen, who leaue the certaine, to runne after the vncertaine. They scarce held this shadow of the Empire three score yeares. Baldwin of Flanders was slaine: Henrie his Brother dyed soone after: Peter of Auxerre his Father in lawe succeeded, rather in his miserie, then in the Empire: For going against Theodore Lasaris the other Emperour, hee was taken and afflicted with the imprisonment of two yeares: In the end he lost his head vpon a Scaffold, leauing the shadow of the Empire to his Sonne Baldwin, too young to gouerne a masse of affaires so confused: So as by the aduise of Pope Gregorie, John of Breynne was giuen him for an assistant. This John of Breynne (of whome wee haue spoken) was a French Gentleman of meane calling, who by his valour (hauing taken the Citie of Tyre) became a Prince, and after in the confusion of times (as the most sufficient of these poore afflicted Christians,) was chosen King of Ierusalem: the which was not yet in his possession: So as finding himselfe too feeble for so waighie a burthen, hee allyed himselfe with this Fredericke the second, Emperour, who hath filled some leaues in our discourse, and made his peace with the Pope, vpon condition. That hee should succour and ayde the Christians in the East. Fredericke hauing recouered Ierusalem, by the truce hee made with the Sultan, (as we haue sayd) left it to John of Breynne his Father in Lawe, and returned into Germanie, to make the end which wee haue before set downe. On the other side, as Christian Kings and Princes laboured what they could to repaire this their decayed estate. Andrew King of Hungarie (the Sonne of Bela) assisted by the Dukes of Austria and Neuers (whose names are not specified) went into the East with a goodly Armie, and (to make worke for the Christian enemies) hee besieged Damiette in Egypt, where being succoured by John of Breynne, after a long siege hee takes it, but it was soone after recouered by the Mammelucks.

Lewis therefore vnderooke this voyage of the East, when as extreame necessitie called him to succour the afflicted Christians. The Popes, Innocent the third, Honorius and Gregorie, had one after another vehemently perswaded him to this voyage: but the affaires of his realme had stayed him from attempting rashly, to settle the generall estate, and ruine his owne particular: Yet being fallen extreamely sicke, hee resolved to delay it no longer, preparing for this expedition vpon his recouerie. Hee assembled his Estates, and by their free consent, left the Regencie of the Realme to his Mother Blanche, who was gladly receiued of all men, vpon the conceit of her first gouernment. Hee parts, accompanied with Alphonso Earle of Thulose and Poitiers, and Robert Earle of Artois his Bretheren, Hugh Duke of Bourgonne, William Earle of Flanders, and Guy of Flanders his Brother, Hugh Earle of Saint Paul, and Gautier his Nephew, Hugh Earle of Marche, the Earles of Salbruke and Fandosme, of Montfort, of Dreux and Archibauld of Bourbon, (very renowned in the course of this Historie, being Father to the Mother of our King now reigning,) the Lord of Toinville, (who hath worthily written this Historie,) Hugh Brun and his Sonne: Gauberd of Apremont, William Morlet, William of Barres, men of great esteeme in their times; the Lordes of LaVoute, Mont Laur, Turnon and Crusol, men of account in the Countrie of Finarez, intould with Count Raymond, who dyed vpon the point of their departure, and the rest passed on. This was in the yeare 1258. about the twentieth yeare of the raigne of Saint Lewis. The Armie consisted of two and thirty thousand fighting men. Queene Marguerite his Wife bare him company in his voyage, but more faithfull then Elener was to Lewis the seventh, the Countesses of Tholouse and Artois did also goe with their husbands, after the Queenes example.

Blanche his Mother bare him companie to Lyons, where Innocent the fourth attended him. From thence hee went to Marfeilles, where hee embarked with the Genoises that were hired by him. His departure was the 25. day of August, to the best voyage vnder heauen. Hee arriued happily in the Island of Cipres, held by Guy of Lusignan, where (attending the rest of his Armie) the plague waisted many of his men, euen of the chiefe of his Court, Archibauld of Bourbon, John of Montfort and others dyed.

Lewis goes with an armie into the East.

The Queene accompanies the King.

Hee imbarques at Marfeilles.

A The fame of his Holinesse moued the King of Tartaria to send his Ambassadors vnto him, to offer him his friendship, and to acquaint him with the desire he had to become a Christian. Lewis sends him Preachers to instruct him in the Christian religion: But the Tartarians vnderstanding that the Christians liues were not answerable to their profession, they returne without any better fruite then the shame of their ill life, whose doctrine was so famous. At the releefe of Cipres, Lewis had conference with the Christians of Iudea, where they resolved to recouer the Citie of Damiette, as most riche, and very important for their state. The Mammelucks sought to hinder Lewis his discent, but to their great losse, and also of their Commander the Satrape of Canope.

B Behold Lewis is now landed, and from thence he goes to Damiette, the which hee speedily besiegeth, yet not with so great foresight, but the stranger garrison (hauing made shew to yeeld at the first summons) had meane to make a hoale in the night, and to saue themselves. This happy taking of Damiette, gaue sundry Councels both to Lewis and to the Mammelucks: To Lewis to pursue his victory: to the Mammelucks to defend themselves, and the rather, for that soone after the losse of Damiette, Meledin Sultan of Babylon died, leauing his Sonne Melexala for his successor: a young man of great hope. The proiect of Lewis was to pursue his victory, & to keepe his enemy busied in attempting Caire, the capitall City of Egypt, anciently called Memphis, but the ignorance of these strange places where he was, not onely deprivied him of the fruite of his first conquest, but gaue Melexala meane, not onely to preferue himselfe, but to defeat Lewis his armie, and to take him prisoner. Whilest they attend Count Alphonso his Brother with new forces, and spend too much time vpon the passage of Nilus, behold the miscreants forces flie into Egypt from all parts, to succour the yong Sultan, from Arabia and Siria. The ieaiousies betwixt the Satrapes of Halape & Damas, were by this occasion conuerted into vnion and firme loue, to expell a common enemy, whose victory would proue their generall ruine. Lewis ingaged beyond Nilus, in an enemies country, where he must either vanquish or die: behold a great and mighty armie of enemies against him assembled from all parts. Lewis a braue and resolute Commander, desired nothing more then to employ the first furie of the French in bataille, incouraged by the happy successe of Damiette. But Melexala (who was within his owne Countrie, and prepared rather to defend himselfe then to assaile) resolved to weary Lewis his forces, the which he knew would be more anoyed, by the foggie aire where they were lodged, and by the want of all kind of victuals, then by his sword. The successe answered his desseigne: the Campe is presently full of diseases, & those contagious. The common souldiers, the Nobles, and in the end the King is sick: all is disordered with this infectious sicknesse. The Gards and Sentinels stand in feare, all are amazed. Melexala well informed of their estate, surchargeth them with an other discomodity, he takes from them the passage of Nilus, by the which victuals came from Damiette to the Christians Campe. And to braue these poore sick men (who had neither hands to fight, nor feet to flie) he sends troopes hourly to their trenches to prouoke them, and cuts them in peeces that go to forrage. Lewis who lay in his bed extreamely sick, had nothing but courage to maintaine life, & zeale to die in this holy warre, in the which he had imbarcked himselfe very inconsiderately. And not to giue his enemies all aduantages to braue him thus daily, he makes choise of such as were least sick, being resolute to dye vnder the command of Alphonso and Robert his bretheren.

Lewis takes Damiette.

Melexala a polike Commander.

The plague in Lewis his Campe.

Lewis distressed.

Lewis taken by the Sultan of Egypt.

Hee paises his ransom.

This poore maimed troope was easily beaten by a fresh and strong enemy. The Kings bretheren were taken. Lewis being then prest daily by Melexala to yeeld, hee giues out hope of recouerie. The conditions were very hard in so great an extremitie. That Damiette should bee restored to the Sultan, all prisoners freed, and eight thousand pounds of golde payed to the Mammelucks to redeeme his life, the which they held as it were in their hands. Lewis payes foure thousand presently, & hauing left the Hostie & the Pix (as a most precious pawne) he was deliuered: but before he returned into France he

1250. he paid the Summe and tooke his pawne, herof it comes that in the Tapistry of *Egypt* you shall alwaies see the Host and the Pixe for a memoriall of this worthy victorie. Attending the paiement of this summe (verie great for that age) *Lewis* fortified the Cities of *Judea* and redeemed prisoners and reliques, being loth to returne into *France* with empty hands. But these newes were presently brought thither with an incredible celeritie. All things seemed to invite fooles and ambitious men to innovations: but God had leded so great a loue in the hearts of the *French* to their good King, as they come all jointly to his mother, wonderfully perplexed for her Sonnes losse, (a greife which caused her to die) with as great obedience and respect, as it he himselfe had bene present in his greatest prosperitie. Priuate houses, publicke places, and especially Churches were full of sorrow, teares and vowes, for the distresse of their good afflicted Prince, for the which all found ded out with praiers and deuotion. Their purses were as open, as their hearts, to furnish what soeuer was needfull for their Kings ransom, or his returne, so much was he beloved and wished for of all men. The money is speedely provided, sent and deliuered to theemie, and *Lewis* returnd into his realme five yeares after his departure, bringing with him *Marguerite* his deere spouse with the conceyt of the same chastitie he had before. But after his absence he neither found his realme so well ordered as he had left it, nor his neighbour State in any better peace. He began by the reformation of his owne, making constitutions concerning the Church, Iustice and the releefe of the People, against publicke dissoluition, Blasphemies, Stewes, Dicings-houses, Playes and other enormities. He made orders for Marriages, Debts, Impositions, Offices, & benefices the which are containd more at large in the originall Historie, this was in the yeare 1251. The fruits of his voyage and affliction, was that he became a better man: hauing increased in zeale, modesty, wisdom and diligence, better beloved and respected then before his departure: and generally had in great admiration, for his good life and constancy in the midst of greatest dangers, as a miracle among kings: he found his mother *Blanche* wanting in his house, being dead a litle after the imprisonment of her Sonne, furcharged with age and the greefe of so great an affliction. *Lewis* hauing ordered the confusions sprong vp in his absence, he imploied the rest of his time and authoritie, to pacifie quarells growen among his neighbours, as the Generall Arbitrator among Christians.

The French generally lay a lament for their King.

Lewis makes good Lawes

A true commendation of Saint Lewis.

Blanche his mother dies.

The English rebell against their King.

Lewis reconciles the English to their King.

Division in Flanders pacified by Lewis.

England did offer a notable occasion: The *English* were revolted against King *Henry*, vnder the command of *Simon of Montfort*, a man of great credit, for some discontentments touching their preiudges. By the countenance and conduct of this commander, their complaints are converted into open warre, in the which *Henry* and his brother *Richard* are taken prisoners. *Lewis* exhorts the *English* to concord, and doth not seeke to nurrish these diuisions for his owne benefit, as his father *Lewis* had done: *Edward* Sonne to *Henry* that was prisoner, giues them an other battaile, in the which *Simon of Montfort* was slaine, yet his faction dies not, but the warre was reuiued vnder the commande of *Guy* the Sonne of *Simon*. *Lewis* employed his authority so happily, both with *Guy* and the people (who held his pietie and wisdom in great respect) that hauing perswaded his brother, *Charles* King of *Sicilia* to make *Guy* his Lieutenant (and as it were companion in the conquest of *Tuscanie*) he was a meane to restore King *Henry* to his authority, and the people to their liberty with a generall content. *Flanders* presented him an other subiect, *Marguerite* Countesse of *Flanders* (issued from *Baldwin* father to *Jane* the wife of *Ferrand* as we haue said) had children by diuers men. Two by one bed which were held vnlawfull (hauing bene abused either by *William* her scholemaster (who was a preest) or by *Pessard* of *Auvergne* her gouernor, or by both of them, hauing voluntarily yeelded to eyther of them) and three in lawful matrimony, by *Guy* or *Dampierre* a Gentleman of *Champagne*. The two first were the eldest and strongest in credit, whereby must needs growe great troubles among a stirring people, as we haue seene a great combustion of a smaller fire.

Lewis pacified this quarrell without force as the soueraigne Iudge: assigning the Earldome of *Hainault* to the first, and *Flanders* to the last, and so ended a sute which in

shewe

A shew seemed infinite, and should immortalize a dangerous dissention: holding those children for legitimate, which could not bee reiectd without troubling the lawfull equitie of the cuntry. According to the rule, that a common error makes a iust title. But *Languedoc* was ready to rise vpon the controuersie of the Earles of *Tholouse* and *Rossillon*, both parties were strong, his brother *Alphonse* on the one part, and *James* King of *Arragon* on the other: The question for those lands was the cause. This great familie had diuers branches, and by this occasion diuers diuisions, and so diuers names were giuen to this Prouence, now called the Earldome of *Tholouse*, sometimes *S. Gilles*, sometimes *Beziers*, and other whiles *Narbonne*, as we shall declare in the Theater of *Languedoc*. *Lewis* decreed, that *James* King of *Arragon* should enioy the County of *Rossillon*, and all the rest should remaine to his Brother without controuersie, the which was obserued by them and their successors. Thus this good Prince laboured happily to compound controuersies in notable actions, being carefull to pacifie all sutes among his subiects, and happily hee might haue preuailed in reconciling that great deuision, betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, if zeale to releue the afflicted Christians, had not made him to abandon his owne quiet, with all his good workes, to transport his treasure and life into *Affricke*, and there to leaue them among the *Barbarians*. All declined in the East, *Mahomet* preuailed so, both there and in *Affricke*, as Europe was threatned by their neighbor-hood. *Spain* as the neereft, and *Prouence* and *Languedoc* by the easie aboard of the Mediterranean Sea. *Lewis* not able to lye without seeking the aduancement of the Christian religion, resolues a voyage into *Barbarie*, against the aduise of his estate, and contrary to his owne experience: A zeale which shall succeed ill for himselfe and his whole realme, whom we cannot excuse of indiscretion. Thus he inrouled himselfe the second time, and his Sonne *Philip* likewise which shall succeed him, with *Peter* Earle of *Alanson*, and *Iohn* Earle of *Neuers* surnamed *Tristan*. He left the Regencie to *Simon* of *Neelle*, and *Mathew* of *Vendosme*, of whose fidelitie he relyed much. Before his departure he made a league with the King of *England*, to whom he had done many good offices in his great necessity. It was agreed: That the English should pretend no interest to Normandie, nor to the Earldome of Aniou, Maine, Poitou, and Touraine, and as for Guienne, hee should enioy the Countreies of Quercy, Limosin and Xaintronge, vnto the Riuier of Charenton, all which Countreies hee should hold by homage of the Crowne of France, and in this regard he should be Vassall and Leige-man to the King of France. For confirmation of this accord, *Edward* his Sonne enters into societie of Armes with *Lewis*, for the voyage of the Holy-land, to marche at the same time. This accord was made in the yeare 1269. and their departure was the yeare after 1270. the first day of May. He parted from *Aigues-mortet*, and not from *Marzeilles*, as some haue written, & for that there was no good port vpon the Mediterranean Sea, hee caused the Citie of *Aigues-mortes* in *Languedoc* to bee built, and compassed it with goodly Walles, which speake yet of him, and with Channels for the commoditie of the shoare, the largest is called *The great Lewis*, by his name. *Edward* takes his course for *Asia*, and *Lewis* for *Affricke*: the French armie consisting of forty thousand fighting men: that of *England* is not specified. The voyage was short & vnhappy for them both, but especially for our good Prince. *Lewis* had scarce lost the sight of shoare, and discovered the Iland of *Sardinia*, when as both he and his whole Fleete had almost perished in a storme. A preface of a mountfull successie. In the end he lands in *Affricke* (A Countrey worthy to loose that ancient name among vs, and to be called *Barbarie*, for the barbarous and vnfortunate successie it brought.) *Lewis* resolues to take *Carthage*, a new Citie built vpon the ancient name, and held for a strong garrison of the *Barbarians*. He takes it, but with great paine and losse. From thence hee goes to *Thunis*, a strong and well garded Citie, resolute to haue it at what price soeuer. But man purposeth and God disposeth: For as *Edward*, Sonne to the King of *England*, turned backe from his voyage of the East, hauing passed but to *Malta*: and *Charles* King of *Sicilia* going to ioyne with him, to set vpon the *Barbarians* of *Affricke* altogether. In a manner at the same time as they arrived all at *Thunis*, the plague had deuoured a great part of the French armie, and taken away many Noble-

1260.

Lewis goes into Barbarie.

A League with England. 1269.

Lewis in danger at Sea.

The Armie infected with the plague.

men. And to encrease the mischief, it enters the Kings pavilion, and strikes *Lewis*, although some say it was a Flux. But whatsoever it be, our *Lewis* is extremely sicke: and feeling it deadly, hee calls for *Philip* his eldest sonne, whose age and vertue preferred him to the Crowne. Having given him goodly admonitions, and exhorted him to serve God, to live ver. uouly, and to gouerne his people fatherly vnder the obedience of his lawes, which hee himselfe must first obey: hauing recommended vnto him the loue of his brethren, and intreated all the Nobilitie about him to obey *Philip*, he yeelded vp his soule to God, to take his true rest in heauen, leauing all his followers in great heauinesse: being the most perfect patterne of a good King, that euer was read off in Historie. He only wanted the happinesse of a good writer, although these small gleans which wee finde in the writings of the Lord of *Iouinille* make his vertue admirable.

A Prince borne for a testimonie to that obscure age, and for ours which is corrupted: to be a President to all Kings and Princes of Religion, Equitie, Clemencie, Wildome, Valour, Magnanimie, Patience, and Continencie: to Loue, Pietie, Iustice, Order and Peace: to ioyne the loue of holy things, and the modestie of manners, with armes and State. Hauing shewed, that it is very fitting for a King; To be a good Christian, a good Warriour, a good Husband, a good Father, a good Gouernour, a good Iusticer, and to know how to make Warre and Peace. That it is very necessary to ioyne vnto the Maiestie royall, Pietie, Clemencie, and Authoritie, to gaine the Loue, Respect, and Obedience of all men. And to conclude; That the best gaine, and most assured renew of a Prince, is the loue of his subjects: worthy of that venterable name of *Holy*, wherewith posteritie hath iustly honored him.

He was twelve yeares old when he began to raigne, and gouerned 44. yeares. So hee died in the 56. yeare of his age, hauing received this mortall Crowne in the yeare 1226. and the immortall in the yeare 1270. the 25. of August. Of *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Raymond* Earle of *Provence*, hee had foure Sonnes, and foure Daughters, A Princess worthy of so great a husband, the sole Wife of one husband, and hee the onely Husband of one Wife. His Sonnes were *Philip* surnamed the Hardie, King of *France*, *Peter* Earle of *Alanson*, *Robert* also Earle of *Alanson* (succeeding his brother *Peter* deceased without Children, and he likewise died without any issue,) and *Robert* Earle of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisin*. His Daughters were *Blanche* Queene of *Castile*, *Isabell* Queene of *Nauarre*, *Marguerite* Countesse of *Brabant*, and *Agnes* Duchesse of *Bour-*

gogne. So as of his foure Sonnes there survived but two, *Philip* and *Robert*. From *Philip* the 3. called the Hardie, his eldest Sonne, are issued successively cyther from Father to Sonne, or from brother to brother, or from the nearest kinsman, to the next of bloud, *Philip* the 4. called the Faire, *Lewis* the 10. called *Hutin*, *Philip* the 5. called the Long, *Charles* the 4. called the Faire, *Philip* of *Vallois*, *John*, *Charles* the 5. *Charles* the 6. *Charles* the 7. *Lewis* the 11. *Charles* the 8. who dying without Children, the lawe calles the children of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, the sonne of *Charles* the 6. to raigne one after another. *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, and *John* Duke of *Angoulesme*, for *Lewis* the sonne of *Charles* raigned vnder the name of *Lewis* the 12. who dying without issue male, the lawe takes the other branche of *John* of *Angoulesme*, so as it sets the Crowne vpon the head of *Francis* the 1. his onely sonne, and from *Francis* the 1. to *Henry* the 2. his sonne, and so in order to *Francis* the 2. *Charles* the 9. *Henry* the 3. his children successively from brother to brother. This direct line ending in *Henry* the 3. the last King of the house of *Vallois*: the law calles the second sonne of *S. Lewis*, named *Robert*, who giues the royall branche to *Bourbons*: Out of the which is issued *Henry* of *Bourbon*, the fourth of that name, King of *France* and of *Nauarre* now raigning: but we will set downe his genealogie distinctly in the end of the royall race of *Vallois*. It sufficeth to haue noted the order of the following raignes, returning to the course of our Historie.

Thus *S. Lewis* the 9. liued, and thus he dyed, the honor of vertue in our Kings, leauing *Philip* his eldest Sonne for his successor.

PHILIP.

PHILIP the third, called the Hardie,
the 4th King of France.



HE authoritie of *Lewis* was so great, as neither his absence nor his death, could alter any thing in the estate of *France*. Being dead, *Philip* his eldest Sonne was proclaimed King in the Armie, and (as much as the time would permit, was received with a generall applause of all men: as hee in whom the Fathers vertue and authoritie was yet shining. The Armie in the meane time is fortified with the Fleetes of *England* and of *Sicilia*, so as the *Barbarians* seeing the whole Countrie in Armes and on fire, they demand a truce, and obtaine it vpon condition. That they should suffer the Christians (which were dispersed in diuers parts of *Affricke*) to liue in peace. But that which did most presse *Philip*, was his returne into *France*. So as hee gathers his troupes together, the remanet of the plague, and of the viciuill vface of that barbarous Countrey, and parts from *Affricke* into *Sicilia*, where his losses encrease: for his Wife *Isabell* dyed there. And his Vncle *Alphonfus*, with his Wife the Countesse of *Tholouse*, dyed soon after at *Bologne*, without any Children, so as according to the contract of marriage, the Earldome of *Tholouse* should be incorporate to the Crowne. Another sinister accident chanced to *Richard* the Sonne of *Henry* King of *England* (to the end the *English* might likewise reckon their gaires in this voyage:) for being arrived at *Viterbo* a Cite of the Popes, walking in *Saint Lawrence* Church, suspecting no enemy: behold this *Guy* of *Montford* the Sonne of *Simon* (of whom wee haue spoken) kills him in the presence of all his followers, and drawing his Sword, hee makes his way to the Church doore, where finding a Horse ready, he flies into *Tuscane*: where neither the Pope, *Philip* nor *Charles*, were any thing moued. This murder thus neglected

1270. neglected, shall bleed hereafter. But these were not all the occurrences which *Philip A* had in his returne home. Pope *Clement* the 4. (borne in *Languedoc*) being dead, the Cardinals loth to yeeld one vnto another, disagree in the election of a new Pope, and continued in this contention, two yeares, nine moneths, and one day, as *Platina* reporteth. Our *Philip* and *Charles* his Vncle, intreate the Colledge of Cardinals to make an end of so scandalous a discention. The respect of their admonition was not frutelesse: For the Cardinals resolute, that not any one of the Colledge that had assisted at this tedious controuersie, should be Pope. *Thibaud of Plaisance* Archdeacon of *Lege*, (being absent in the voyage of the East) was chosen, and called *Gregorie* the tenth. In the end *Philip* returnes into *France*, to the great content of his Subiects. Having interred the dead, his Father, Wife, Vncle, Auncle and Cousine, hee disposed of the affaires of Iustice, according to the instructions and example of his Father *Saint Lewis*, famous amongst all our Kings. And then hee married with *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Brabant*: having three Sonnes by *Isabell* his first Wife, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. But here wee shall not finde the happinesse of our *Saint Lewis*, for this second marriage was blemished with a sadde and foule suspect. *Lewis* the eldest Sonne of King *Philip*, dyed with apparent signes of poison. This mischiefe encrease by the ialousie had of Queene *Marie* his Mother in Law: and *Peter de la Broche* (chiefe Chamberlaine to the King, and principall Intendant of his Treasure, being the Queenes fauorite) is accused for this fact, and being prisoner, he confesse the crime, and accute the Queene, as hauing poisoned *Lewis* by her command. Moreover as one mischiefe commeth not alone: *La Broche* is found guiltie of Treason, by his owne Letters giuing intelligence to the King of *Castile*, of the estate of *France*, being then no friend to this Crowne. This crime alone was sufficient for his death, being hanged: leauing *Mary* in trouble by his accusation, and by the strange euent: a notable example of the inconstancie of the Court, and the vanitie of the world. *Marie* denies the fact by othe. The King desirous to bee satisfied, proceedes strangely. For want of common prooffe, hee resolues to learne the truth by a Sorceresse: to whom hee sends a Bishop and an Abbot. This Witche remained in *Holland*, and was Subiect to the Duke of *Brabant* the Queenes Father. The Bishop and Abbot at their returne, faile not to absolve the Queene by her report, but they free her not from the generall ialousie of the *French*, nor in the Kings conceit, who after this accusation, did neuer enioy any rest in his house. These were the beginnings of the raigne of *Philip*, whose progresse and end shall bee nothing better. His Vncle *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, shall crosse his life with many toyles, and end it with perplexitie. But let vs obserue euery thing in order.

The Countie of *Tholouse* annexed to the Crowne.

As by the decease of *Alphonfus* and *Joane* his Wife (being dead without Children) the Countie of *Tholouse* came to the Crowne: so *Philip* failed not to take possession thereof, as one of the most important peeces of his Estate: but hee found some alterations there, through the priuate quarrels of his Subiects. The Earle of *Foix* hauing a notable quarrell with *Girard* of *Casabonne*, had taken his house from him by force, *Girard* fled to the King for Iustice, but the Earle trusting to his Fortes and the mountaines, deluded the Kings commandements, who knew well how to hunt him out of his Rockes, and to send him prisoner to *Beaucaire* with his Wife and Children, there to digest his felonie, and to teache more mightie Vassalls and Subiects, what it is to dally with their Soueraigne. Having tamed him with a whole yeares imprisonment, and drawne from him proofes of a serious confession of his fault, hee grants him libertie, his Earldome and his fauour, making good vse of him in his affaires. But the quarrell of *Nauarre* was of greater consequence. *Henry* King of *Nauarre* Earle of *Champagne* and *Brie*, had married *Isabell* the Daughter of *Robert* Earle of *Artois*, brother to *Saint Lewis*, and at that time dyed, leauing one onely Daughter his heire named *Jane*, with his Widow, to whome hee had appointed the regencie of his realme. After the decease of *Henry* (which was in the yeare 1274.

Troubles in *Nauarre*.

At *Pampelune*) the Nobility were greued to bee gouerned by a Woman, shee flies to *Philip* as to her neere Kinsman. The King sends *Eustace* of *Beau-mais* a Knight to assist her with his Councell, the which encreased the discontent of the *Nauarrois*, who take Armes and beleage the Mother, the Daughter, and this newe Councellor in the Castle of *Pampelune*, hoping to become Maisters thereof, and to settle the gouernement at their pleasures. *Philip* hastens thither, releues the Beleeaged, punisheth the Rebels, setleth the Gouernement, furniseth the Forts, and sends *Joane* the Heyre of *Nauarre* into *France*, with the good liking of the *Nauarrois*, by the assurance which *Philip* gaue them to make her Queene of *France* in marrying her to his eldest Sonne. *Nauarre* continued thus without any alteration wholly at *Philips* disposition, whose authority was confirmed in all those Prouinces, and his Name grewe great throughout all *Spaine*.

This worke thus easily ended, an other taske began, which brought much misery to this raigne. The *French* affaires succeeded not well at *Constantinople*; we haue shewed into what extremity the successors of *Baldwin* Emperor of *Constantinople* were brought, and now behold the last act of this borrowed Empire. *Baldwin* the sonne of *Robert*, in the life of *John* of *Breyne* his Father in Law, made head against his enemies; so as hauing employed all his meanes, and exhausted his treasure, he flies to *Frederick* the 2. his Brother in Law, but in vaine: and this was the period of his ruine, for his absence gaue his enemies meanes to attempt, and his fruitlesse labour was a prooffe of his weakenesse at his returne. *Michel Paleologus* a Lord of the Country, great, both in meanes and courage, after the death of *Theodore Lascaris*, (of whom we haue spoken) had so managed this occasiō, as *Baldwin* could scarce enter into *Constantinople*, to provide for the safety of the City, when he was beleaged by *Paleologus*, and so hardly prest as he saued himselfe with difficulty in the Ile of *Negrepont*, and from thence went into *Italy*, leauing *Constantinople* with all this imaginary Empire; threescore yeares after the taking thereof by *Baldwin* the first. Thus the *Greeks* are repossessed vnder the gouernement of *Michel Paleologus* who in the end seized on the Empire of the East. But the coming of *Baldwin* into *Italy*, was the cause of a long and painefull taske, wherein our *Philip* was so farre engaged, as he shall leaue his life there, and cause much trouble to his subiects. His Vncle *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, shall be the motive, but his owne disposition shall thrust him forward. *Philip* was a great vndertaker, & oftentimes of other mens affaires; as the whole discourse of his life will shew; whereby it seemes the Title of Hardy was giuen him. Not so discreet therein as his Father, who carried himselfe alwayes coldly and neuter in his neighbours dissentions, but when hee found meanes to reconcile them with mildnes. Let vs now returne whence we parted. *Baldwin* thus dispossessed of *Constantinople*, flies to *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, a *Frenchman* to a *French*: but he had a more strict gage, his Daughter *Bertha* whom *Charles* had married after the death of *Beatrix* Countesse of *Prouence*. Moreover he addressed himselfe to one, whose spirit was neuer quiet but in Action. A strange man, hee was Earle of *Prouence*, King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, Vicar of the Empire & Senator of *Rome*, holding *Tuscanie* at his deuotion, & almost all *Italy*: in as great reputation as any Prince of his time, & yet not satisfied. *Baldwin* arrived presently after this shipwracke, perswading him to hope for better; he tryes all meanes to leuy a goodly army to go into *Greece*, and to restore him with the rest of the *French* Nobility to their Estates and Seigneries, whereof *Paleologus* had dispossessed them: not foreseeing how much more necessary it was for him to gard his newe conquests of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, and to keepe his credit in *Italy*, in well intreating his new Subiects, and imbracing polletikely the *Italians* loue. As *Charles* deuised the meanes to attempt, so his enemies sought the meanes to preuent him. They were not small nor fewe in number. Pope *Nicholas*, Peter King of *Arragon*, and *Michell Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*, but there wanted a Soliciter. There was one found out, proued a notable instrument. *John Prashite*, one of the greatest men of *Sicilia* being dispossessed; he employed his whole study to recouer his Estate, by expelling of *Charles* his capital enemy.

1274.

The *French* expelled *Constantinople* by the *Greeks*.

Philips disposition.

Why he was called Hardy.

Charles King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*.

1280.

Pope Urban a Frenchman, borne at Troyes in Champagne, had called Charles to these goodly Kingdomes; and contrary wife Pope Nicholas an Italian, borne at Rome, plotted this Tragedie to dispossesse him, although his successor Martin borne at Tours, did fauour him, seeking to restore him againe to his possessions, but it was too late. Such is the ebbing and flowing of the fauour of the Sea of Rome, subiect to receiue diuers persons, and by consequence diuers humors. Peter of Arragon had married the daughter of Manfroy whome Charles had dispossessed of Sicilia (as we haue sayd) and therefore had reason to attempt any thing against Charles for the recovery thereof, holding his title, better then the Popes guift. Michel Paleologus sought to preuent this storme which Charles prepared against his new purchase, and therefore had reason to employ all his forces against him. But that which did most preiudice Charles, was his carriage, and his officers, towards the people of Naples and Sicilia, whome hee discontented by all kindes of excesse, impositions, rigorous exactions of money, intolerancies against their wiues and daughters, and outrages against their persones.

A party made
against Charles
King of Sicilia

This vniust and vncast libertie which exceeded in the manners of our men, bred a iust chollier against them, in the mindes of this poore Captiue people, which made them to seeke all meanes to shake off their yoke, and to be reuenged. But they had chiefly offended the Soueraigne Iudge of all the whole VVorld, who neuer suffreth such iniquities unpunished, although hee forbear for a time. Behold the partie is made against Charles from manie places, and executed with incredible celeritie.

John Prochite hauing priuate conference with Peter of Arragon, and knowing the secrets of his heart, goes to Constantinople to Paleologus of whom he was well enter-tayned, and obtayned what he desired, for the King of Arragon: which was the charges of the Army the which was presently to be employed. This plot was layd by Pope Nicholas, a Capitall and open enemy to Charles, from whom he had taken all he could. By the aduice of Pope Nicholas, Prochite (attired in the Habit of a Fryar,) goes into Sicilia, (being well acquainted with all the passages) to incense the Sicilians mindes the which he performed to cunningly as there wanted nothing but force. The designe was to murder Charles with all the French; and to seize vpon Sicilia and all the rest for the King of Arragon; the euent is answerable to the proiect. The King of Arragon leues an Army in the viewe of all the VVorld, but with this supposition, that it was to succour the afflicted Christians in Asia and Affrick, especially after the death of S. Lewis, who had but stirred vp and not suppressed the Barbarians. Philip who was then at Tholouse sent to Peter of Arragon, to know his intent, and to offer him his meanes. He answers, that it is to follow the steps of S. Lewis, a Prince of immortal memory, and to helpe the poore afflicted Christians, resolving to set vpon the Affricans as the neereest: but that his meanes were short, and therefore he desired him to succour him in this great necessity. Philip prouides, with an affection worthy of the publike zeale, and sends him money, vn furnishing himselfe to supply his enemies want. In the meane time Peter of Arragon, and John Prochite loose not an houre, but they employ all instruments and meanes. His Army arriues vpon the Coast of Bon-ne in Barbary, called in old time Hippona, and hauing burnt all the Country neere the Sea coast, he takes Port in the Island of Corsica. John Prochite sleepe not, hauing layd his plot with the principalls of Sicilia, at Palermo and Messina, where the conclusion was of the whole practise and made a conspiracy throughout the whole Country, very attendue to their deliuey; he begins the game in seizing vpon Charles his Gallies and Ships, which lay disperced in the ports of Sicilia, all was easily effected without paine or danger, and this was a signall to the Army.

Peter of Arra-
gon leues an
Army to in-
uade Sicilia.

Sicilian E-
uen-song.

In one day and one houre all Sicilia riseth in Armes against the French, both Cities Townes and Villages. All are massacred, Men, Women young and old, all ouer-flowes with bloud. This popular fury armed with a shewe of iust reuenge, spares nothing of the French name. This was done in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand two hundred eighty two, on Easter day at 5. of the clock, when as euery one

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As was sitting at supper on this sollempne day, Charles was wanting (being the cheefe ob-lation of this sollempne sacrifice,) but the vndertakers had changed their first resolution, to watch a time to kill him with the rest, fearing least his presence should hinder the execution of their desseine. He was in Tuscane, doubting nothing of this rebellion, which at the first brute must needs amaze him, but hee recalled his spirits, and sought for remedie. Pope Nicholas his great enemy was dead, during these preparatiues. Martin the fourth borne at Tours, held the Sea after him, of an other disposition French by Nation and Humour. But it was too late, the last scale was rong to the Sicilian e-uen-song, he could not preuent it. This misfakel thus performed by the Sicilians, a signall being giuen, behold Peter of Arragon appears in the view of Sicilia, to behold the sport more couertly, giuing daily sonne aduise to Prochite, and to the cheefe of the Sicilian tumult, yet loath to imbarke himselfe rashly with the humor of a people as soone pacified as moued. But being assured that the people (hauing cast the chance) grew daily more resolute, and that they wished for him as their deliuerer, not to loose their good will, and to giue way to his enemies practises, he casts himselfe into the Port of Palermo, where he was attended by all the Sicilians in great deuotion. Charles in the meane time doth what he can; he doth aduertise Philip his Nephew of what had happened, assembles forces in his neere territories, sends into Prouence, to gather what hee could together in all his ports, and beseegeth Messina by sea and land. The fortune of the French is great in their first heat, and had preuailed, if the Sicilians only had withstood them. But the Arragonois was so strong and resolute in his first credit, and the Sicilians in their desire to be freed of the French. So Charles is forced to leaue the Island to keepe the maine land, and Peter of Arragon was ioyfully receiued by the Sicilians, & crowned King of Sicilia in Palermo, in the yeare one thousand two hundred eightie one, the eight of May.

1281.

At the French
name in Sicilia

Peter of Arra-
gon enters in-
to Sicilia.
Charles of Si-
cilia repuled
at Messina.

Behold the beginning of a tedious quarrell which shall continue long betweene the French and the Arragonois, and shal cause many widows & Orphelins, bringing nothing but miseries to them all. A proceffe betwixt Kinsmen, and Allies, for Isabel the first wife of Philip King of France, was sister to Peter of Arragon, with whom he had liued in great loue, and had three goodly gages, Lewis, Philip, and Charles. Oh miserable ambition, and cruel couetousnes, the roots of all mischeefs, which make men vnkind, deprives them of reason, reares out their bowels, and fills the world with a deluge of all sorts of calamities! Two great Kings and old, which should and might liue in peace, now entering into their graues, they lay the foundation of a new life, by their new Conquests, as if they should liue hundreds of yeares, and not content to bee sicke themselves, they infect our Philip with their contagious disease, who imbarke both himselfe and his Children in this quarrell. But the yeare shall not passe before they bee all mombred, and Pope Martin with them, who in stead of casting Water, brought Wood, and Oyle to this Fire, hee shall bee bound vp in the same bundell, to bee cast with the rest into the graue, but let vs returne to our discourse. The quarrell betwixt the two Princes, begins by reproches. Charles complaines of Peter. That during the Peace, hee had against all the rights of neighbourhood, affinitie, honestie and friendship, against the Law of Nations, and dutie of Kings, vsurped and inuaded by detestable Fraude, by Theft, and Treacherie, vnworthie of a Prince, and an honest man, the Realme of Sicilia, giuen him by authoritie of the holy Sea, as a holy gage of the Church. Peter answeres. That Charles is the vniust vsurper, hauing violently rauished the Lands of the Empire from Manfroy the lawfull heire. That hee could not bee ignorant of his right, hauing married Constance his daughter, by whom hee had Sonnes, to whom he could not denie the dutie of a Father, without wronging of Nature.

Peter of Arra-
gon crowned
King of Sicilia

The fruits of
ambition and
couetousnes.

Thus he opposeth the authoritie of Nature to the Popes power, right to wrong, and reason to passion. Moreouer to this law of nature he ioynes faith, the ground of humane societie, being called and desired by a people vniustly wronged in their goods, liues, and honors. Should hee then contemne their teares, being bound to succour them?

R 4

Hee

1286. The brute of *Peters* death makes *Giron* to yeeld presently, being a very strong City, A and promisseth *Philip* an assured possession, not onely of the realme of *Arragon*, but also of *Sicilia*, where in shew they could not resist: when as behold other occurrents, which mans reason could not prevent. *Philip* assuring himselfe thus of the peaceable possession of the realme of *Arragon*, minding to free himselfe of a needlesse charge, he dismissed the Gallies of *Genoa* and *Pisa*, the which hee had hired, and for that the plague was crept into his Campe, he had dispersed his forces about the Cities of *Genoa* and *Perpignan*, whether he retired himselfe very sick, with an intent to pacifie the whole Countie, hauing recovered his health, and taken some breath. *Roger* Admirall of *Arragon*, (of whom we haue spoken) ignorant of *Peters* death, was parted from *Sicilia*, with an intent to bring him succours against the *French* Fleete. Being arrived at *Genoa* (a newwre Citie, and of free access for both parties) he is informed both of the death of his Master, and of the estate of *Perpignan*, and being there (of this new accident, he takes a new aduise. In steed of returning into *Sicilia*, hee hires the Gallies of *Genoa* and *Pisa*, dismissed by *Philip*, and resolves to enter the Port of *Perpignan*, where he had intelligence, that *Philip* remained without any great garde, and the Port to bee without defence. He arrives so happily, as without any opposition he giues a signall to the people of his arrivall, who suddenly rise and kill the *French* in the houses & streetes. *Philip* lay sick in his bed, and the *French* Souldiers had no thought of *Roger*. The King made a vertue of necessity, he encourageth his men with a sicke and feeble voice, and they behaued themselves so valiantly, as they expell *Roger* out of *Perpignan*, and *Philip* held the City, who was so distempered with this alarum, as his sicknesse encreased dayly, and he died the 15. day of October, hauing suruiued *Peter* but two moneths, in the same year 1286. and in the same moneth dyed Pope *Martin* the 4. to shew vnto great Princes the incertaintie of their great desseignes.

Philip set vpon what was and danger.

The death of *Philip*.

His children.

Thus liued, thus reigned, and thus dyed, *Philip* the 3. surnamed the Hardie, hauing reigned 15. yeares, and liued fortie, a great vnderaker, leauing no memorable act to his posteritie, but a good example, not to deale in other mens affaires. Of his first wife *Isabel* he had *Philip* and *Charles* remaining. *Charles* was Earle of *Vallois*, of *Alanson*, and of *Perche*, Father to *Philip* of *Vallois*, who in his course shall succeed to the crowne. *Philip* his eldest Sonne was King of *France*: of the same marriage he had one Daughter, *Marie* who was Duchesse of *Austria*. By his second wife *Marie*, he had *Lewis* Earle of *Eureux*, and *Marguerite* Queene of *England*. The estate of the Empire (after a long confusion of diuers Emperours, and the interregne) had some rest: the Popes being buried in the warres of *Sicilia*. *Raoul* of *Auspourg* a good and a wise Prince, was chosen Emperour after these disorders: imp'oying himselfe carefully to cure the wounds of *Germanie*, and held the Empire from the year 1273. vnto 93. The estate of the Church appeares by that which hath bene spoken in this raigne. This onely is particular. That a Councell was held at *Lions* by *Gregorie* the 10. where it was Decreed. That to auoide the tediousnesse of the Popes election, the Cardinals should assemble at the Popes death, and keepe the Conclauie, neither going forth, nor conferring with any one, vntill the Pope were chosen. The which is practised at this day.

In those dayes dyed *Thomas Aquinas*, a very subtill disputer, *Bonaventure*, *Ihon Duns* called *Scott*, and *Gabriel Biel* (famous men in those dayes)

suruiued him.

Philip

PHILIP the fourth, called the Faire, the 46. King of France.



HE found his authoritie respected within the Realme, as well for his age, as hauing gouerned the State with dignitie vnder his Father *Philip*. A good Prince, Iudicious, and of a noble minde, and (the which was not the least point of happinesse in this life,) he was well married with *Joane* Queene of *Nauarre*, whereof he tooke the name of King, before the decease of his father, enioying her as a sweete companion of his complexions. He had three sonnes by her, goodly Princes of body, and excellent spirits, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, which shall bee Kings successiue one after another, but all so ill matched, as it was his greefe to see his childrens houses infected with three Strumpets, and put away without all hope of issue: he hauing severely punished the corrupters of his Daughters in lawe, and confined these infatiate maisties into Monasteries. He had also one Daughter of the same bed, named *Isabel*, who was married to *Edward* King of *England*, leauing vnto *France*, a heauie and dangerous Leuaine of horrible confusion, by the meanes of her sonne, a fatall scourge to this realme. *Philip* after the decease of *Joane*, married *Constance* the Daughter of *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, a faire and a young Princeesse, whom he left great with a sonne, the which was borne eight dayes after his decease, and suruiued him but few dayes. He began to raigne in the year 1286. and dyed in the year 1315. hauing reigned twenty and nine yeares. The entrance of this raigne was goodly, but *Flanders*, *Guisenne*, and the Pope, gaue him (vpon diuers occasions, and at diuers times,) many great and painful crosses. He loued Iustice and Learning, wherein he was well instructed for that age: so as he did consecrate the first fruits of his raigne, to honor both the one & the other:

1287. as also the Muses did honour him with a goodly Oration which is read in the Originall of this Historie, for a commendable memorie to posteritie, of the vertues of this great Prince. The Parliament was not tyed to any place, but changed according to the necessitie of Prouinces. Sutes were most commonly iudged definitiue by the Bayliffs and Seneschals, and the greatest causes were decided Soueraignly in the Kings Council, who gaue free audience to their Subiects.

The Parliament of Paris erected.

Philip hauing obserued (by the experience of former raignes,) that it was very necessarie to haue iurisdiction distinctly limited, left a Soueraigne power to his Parliament at Paris (a part of his royall authoritie) in ciuill and criminall causes: and the better to gouerne it, he appointed a sufficient number of Presidents and Councillors, with his Advocate and Proctor, (which number hath bene since augmented according to occasion) and for the greater countenance of this dignitie, hee placed it in his chiefe Citie of Paris: and to that end he caused that great Pallace (one of the most admirable buildings vnder the coape of Heauen) to be built by the meanes of *Eugene-rand of Marigny* Earle of *Longueville*, Superintendent of the Treasurie of France. Hee first ordained but two sittings of the Parliament in the yeare, the which necessitie hath made ordinarie vnder *Leuis Hutin* his Sonne, who also erected an Exchequer at *Rouen*.

The Palace built.

Colledge of *Reauette*.

Other Prouinces had their Parliaments at diuers times, and vpon diuers occasions: With like affection he fauoured his Vniuersities of Paris, with all manner of priuiledges: hauing his Wife *Joane* a companion of the same humour, whom he suffered to build in her name that goodly Colledge of *Nauarre*, where at this day in this Iron Age, wee may behold with admiration, the great bountie of our Kings in commendable and vertuous actions. These goodly beginnings (in shew the first frutes of a found peace,) were crossed with many difficulties, both within and without the realme. *Flanders* gaue the first subiect. This Countie is one of the chiefe Seignuries of this Monarchie, and in the yeare 1225. this lawfull subiection was acknowledged at *Melun* by the Earle of *Flanders*. In the beginning of this raigne, *Guy* Earle of *Flanders* came to do his homage to *Philip*, who required to haue the Citie of *Flanders* to ratifie this peace of *Melun*, the which was performed, but vnwillingly by this riche people, who still complained vnto *Philip*, that his Parliament at Paris did infringe their Priuiledges, for the which hee wisely provided: but the great securitie of these rich Citie must needs be the cause of their own afflictions, as it chanceth oft, that a rich people, being too farre, seeke wilfully their owne ruine. *Guyenne* did likewise much trouble *Philip*, and these two quarrells were intricate one with another, like vnto diseases which come together, according to the times and occasions when they chance. The King of *England* was Duke of *Guyenne* since the marriage of *Elenor*, as wee haue seene: but many difficulties haue fallen out. the accord made by the King *S. Lewis*, specified by vs, had limited the Seignuries of *Guyenne* to the *English*, the which hee should hold by homage of our Crowne: but he could not limit his desire, being watchfull vpon all occasions, to free himselfe from the subiection of France. Let vs follow by degrees, the actions and the order of times, in the combersome report of these new stormes, falling out diuersly, and in diuers places: like as in a time inclined to raine, a Cloud dischargeth it selfe by Planets in diuers parts. The force and neighbourhood of *England* increased the quarrell, and caused a continuance by diuers accidents. *Edward* the first of that name, Sonne to *Henry* the third, liued then in *England*, and Count *Guy* in *Flanders*. *Edward* came likewise into France, and did homage to the new King for the Duchie of *Guyenne*, and other lands which he held of the Crowne, as *Guy* had done for his. It chanced that certaine *English* Ships scouring along the coast of *Normandie*, made a great spoile of the subiects of France. *Philip* vpon their complaints, intreates *Edward* to cause restitution to be made of that which had bene vniuistly taken by his subiects. *Edward* neglects it: so as *Philip* causeth him to be adiourned, to yeeld a reason of this attempt, as vassall to the Crowne. He appeares not, and so by sentence he is declared guiltie of felonie, and of high Treason, and to haue forfeited his interest in all his Seignuries of France. For the execution of this decree, *Arnoul* of *Neele* Constable of France is sent into

Occasions to renew the war with the *English*.

into *Guyenne* with an armie, in the yeare 1293. a notable date to coate the first letter in this Inuentarie of a very long procelle, although with some intermission, yet so violent, as it had a most ruined France. The Constable doth his exploit, hee taketh *Poitiers* the thiete Citie of *Guyenne*, and then most of the other Townes doe willingly yeeld obedience vnto the King. *Rions* and some other Castels well fortified by the *English* hold good, to serue as a Leuaine of this waite.

Philip sends an armie into *Guyenne*.

Edward seeing himselfe thus assailed, aimes by Sea and Land. By Sea hee sends an Armie vnder the conduct of *Robert Tiptot*: By land hee sends some forces vnder the command of *John Breton*, to preserue that which remained in *Guyenne*: and to fortifie himselfe with friends in the doubtfull euent of so important a cause: hee makes a

A League betwixt *Edward* of *England* & *Guy* of *Flanders*, the Emperor and Duke of *Bar* against *Philip*.

League with *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*, and for confirmation thereof, hee demands his Daughter *Philip* for his eldest Sonne the Prince of *Wales*, the heire apparant to the Crowne of *England*, which the Earle accepts willingly. And to omit nothing that might auail him, hee enters league with *Henry* Duke of *Bar*, giuing him *Elenor* his Daughter in marriage, and with *Adolphe* of *Nassau* Emperour, both hauing pretensions against France. The Duke of *Bar* demanded *Champagne* of the King, by the rights he pretended, and enters it with forces. *Philip* sends *Gualter* of *Crecy* the Lord of *Chajillon* vpon *Marne* against him with a goodly Armie, who on the other side (entering into *Barrois*) makes a diuersion, and forceth the Duke to returne. to defend his owne against *Gualter*.

The Emperour brauely giues notice vnto the King, that he will make warre against him, to recouer the Lands belonging to the Empire. *Philip* makes no other answer, but sends him a packet well sealed vp, in the which was a white Paper folded like a Letter, without any writing. This scoffe was a great desie, as indeed the braueries of *Adolphe* had no successe. The Earle of *Flanders* was the neerest and most dangerous enemy to preiudice *Philip* who had ioyned himselfe to the King of *England*, by so strict a bond as the marriage of his Daughter. *Philip* hauing three great enemies in front, tryes his wittes to staye them. The most dangerous was hee that dealt vnder hand, that is the *Fleming*: who made a good shew to *Philip*, and yet treated with his most dangerous enemy, but pollicie did circumuent pollicie. The King findes means vnder hand, to giue him notice that hee would gladly see his

See was deliuered.

Daughter, whome hee had Christened, and was called *Philip* by his name, before he led her into *England*. *Guy* brings her with him to Paris, being arrived, he is committed prisoner by the King: The cause is made knowne vnto him by such as had commandement to arrest him. That being his Vassalle, hee had presumed to allye himselfe with a capitall enemy to the Crowne, giuing him so precious a gage as his Daughter. *Guy* obtaines leaue to speake with the King: Hee excuseth himselfe, but his Daughter remains as a pawne with the Queene, to bee married at the Kings good pleasure. His Daughter (although kindly entertained by the King and Queene,) was full of greefe, lamenting dayly, as if this honourable gade had bene a most cruell prison. The Earle intreates *Philip* to send him his Daughter: hee answers him plainly, that hee tooke her not to restore her. Herevpon *Guy* takes occasion to complaine of the great wrong hee pretended to bee done him by *Philip*, who detaines his Daughter forceably without reason.

Philip seizeth vpon the Earle of *Flanders* Daughter.

The *English* in the meane time make open warre in *Guyenne*. *Philip* foreseeing that this was the beginning of a greater storme (meaning to lay the burthen vpon him that might doe him most harme) sends a goodly Armie into *Guyenne* against the *English*, vnder the conduct of two great Commanders, his Brother *Charles* Earle of *Valois*, and the Constable of *Neele*, to molest the enemy in diuers places. *Rions* and *Ponacac*, Townes vpon the Riuier of *Garonne*, (then strong, but now desolate) are besieged, and after many difficulties, yeeld vnto the King, and in the end Saint *Sener*, but with more paine. *Edmond*, Brother to the King of *England* is defeated at Sea, and retu'ning into *England*, repaires his Nauie. But strining afterwards in vaine to besiege *Bordeaux* with new forces, hee goes and dyes at *Bayonne*, then belonging to the

The *English* are defeated.

1296. *English.* Thus all things succeeding ill for the *English*, hee seeks all meanes to fortifie A himselfe. He flies to the Emperour *Adolphe*, the chiefe instrument of his hope: and sends him money to leuie an armie. To Pope *Boniface* the eight, beseeching him to remenber the priuate bond he had to the preseruatiō of *England*, whercof he was protector. *Guy* Earle of *Flanders* ioynes openly with the *English* in this societie, to make warre against *Philip* with all his forces. But from these light beginnings sprung diuers occasions which troubled these great Princes. The *Fleminge* is the chiefe aduancer of this Tragedie, and shall haue his share in it.

A great assembly of Princes against *Philip*.

Hee calls a great assemblie in the Citie of *Gramont*, in the yeare 1296. at the feast of Christmas, where *Adolph* the Emperour, *Edward* King of *England*, the Duke of *Austria*, *John* Duke of *Brabant*, the Earle of *Tuliers*, *William* of *Tuliers* his Sonne, *John* Earle of *Holland* and of *Haynault*, *Robert* Earle of *Neuers*, *William*, *Henry* and *Guy* of *Flanders*, *John* Earle of *Namur*, and many other great personages meete, and with one consent resolve to make warre against *Philip*. The colour was to maintaine *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*, vniuersally afflicted by *Philip*, who had violently taken and stolne his Daughter against the right of Nations, and detained her: refusing obstinately to restore her to her Father. It was decreed that *Guy* should begin by force, and bee well seconded by the Emperour and the *English*, in case of necessitie. But before they come to Armes, Pope *Boniface* should make the first point by the luster of his authority. All things threatned *Philip* with much trouble, but the end will shew that the attempts of man are all but vaine. *Boniface* (according to the intent of their league) C sends his Nuncio to *Philip*, which was *James* Bishop of *Metz*, to exhort him to doe Iustice, both to the Earle of *Flanders* and to the King of *England*, protesting that hee desired nothing more then peace betwixt Christian Princes. Hee sent the same Nuncio vpon the same subiect into *England*, but with an other intent then hee made shew of vnto *Philip*, casting Wood and Oyle into this fire, in steed of Water to quench it. But for that this Pope must appeare in many acts of this Theater, wee must obserue his disposition, by some sufficient and not suspected testimonie.

Pope Boniface enters vnto *Philip*.

Platina in vita Boniface octauus.

Platina the Popes Secretarie: Being (saith hee) a Priest, Cardinal of *Saint Martin* of the Mount, hee affected the Pontificall dignitie with such vehemencie, as hee omitted neither ambition nor fraude to compasse it, and moreover hee was puffed up with such arrogance, as hee contemned the whole world. Hee reports also, that hee vied a notable policie to circumsent *Celestin*, being chosen to the dignitie of Pope, a simple man and vnfit for matters of State, hee suborned some one to talke to him in the night like an Angell, perswading him to leaue this charge if hee would be faued: hee preuailes by his practises, and wrought so by subtil deuises, as hee was chosen Pope in his place. Being Pope, hee desired nothing more then to kindle the warre betwixt the *Guelphes* and the *Gibelins*, then called Blacke and White, by a name and marke of a faction. *Platina* coates a singular proofe of his disposition, nothing inclined to procure peace among Christian Princes. *Prophet* Archbishop of *Genoa*, affected to the *Gibelin* faction, kneeled at *Boniface* seete on A Wednesday. As the Priest is accustomed to say: *Memento homo quia cinis es, & in cinerem reuerteris*, he sayd (changing the wordes.) *Memento homo quia Gibelinus es, et eum Gibelinus in cinerem reuerteris*, calling the Ashes into his eyes, where as they are accustomed to cast them on the head, in signe of humilitie and submission. *Boniface* thus inclined to the peace of Christendome, that is to say (as the Lord of *Haillan* writes) more puffed up with glory and vanitie, then good zeale to the peace of Christian Princes, hee commands *Philip* by his Nuncio, to restore to the *English* and *Flemmings* what they demanded, and for not obeying, hee cites him to appeare at *Rome* vpon paine of excommunication. *Philip* a wife and a valiant Prince, although hee were discontented with this course, yet hee sent an Honorable Ambassage to *Rome*, by the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Earle of *Saint Paul*, to lay open his right before the Deputies of the King of *England* and the Earle of *Flanders*, who were then at *Rome* to complaine as being wronged. All parties being

A being heard, *Boniface* decrees that *Philip* (as the fountaine and cause of all the miseries and inconueniences which had happened) should yeeld to *Edward* and to *Guy*. The Pope makes a decree against *Philip*. all they demanded, both in *Guienne* and *Flanders*, charging the Archbishop of *Rheims* to signifie this Bull vnto the King, vpon paine of excommunication for not obeying. This was the first blowe giuen by *Boniface* against *Philip*: The other Scaene of this Theater shall represent an other acte. But what doth *Philip* after these great threats? He prepares for deeds, not suffering himselfe to be daunted with words, and tries his witte to finde out meanes to maintaine himselfe against so mightie enemies, not holding it fite nor worthy of a King of *France* to be terrified with these Cominations from *Rome*, employed without reason against his lawfull authoritie. So seeking for all helpees, B he resolves to be ready for all euents, holding words insufficient to calme this storme. He layes great impositions (which they call *Maletost*) vpon his Subiects for the leuying of Souldiars, and imposeth great teuths vpon the Clergie. But in the search of this remedie, hee was incountred with two difficulties: On the one side, his Subiects, charged with the exaction of these great summes, being almost in dispaire, were ready to rebell in diuers places, especially in the greater Citties: And on the other side, Pope *Boniface* thundred against him by new Cominations and Censures: forbidding the Clergie to contribute any thing. This Prince crossed with these difficulties, continues his course resolutely, as a great worke requires a noble and vndanted spirit: But before he enters warre against *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*, he sends the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Bishop of *Sens* vnto him, to aduise him not to enter into a C voluntarie warre. That the King was as carefull of his Daughter as himselfe, to marrie her honorable according to her qualitie: That hee did nothing vnworthy of a good King, or a good God-father, in not suffering his subiects to alie themselves to his capitall enemies: the which hee spake not for feare of the Earles forces, or of his friends, but for the care hee had of his Subiects, not to see them runne headlong into ruine, and therefore he presents him the choise of Peace or Warre. Count *Guy* answers, that hee is resolute to recouer his right by force from the King, seeing hee might not haue it by reason.

Philip prepares to defend himselfe.

The French mutine being furnished.

Philip admonishes the Earle of *Flanders* of his duty.

Philip invades *Flanders* and defeats the *Flemings*.

He seizeth vpon all *Flanders*.

The Earle of *Flanders* forsaken by his confederates.

Philip hauing tryed mildnesse in vaine, comes to force. Hee had a goodly Armie, D whercof hee takes the one halfe, and giues the other to *Robert* Earle of *Artois* his cousin. Hee turns the head of his Armie against *Lisle*, and besiegeth it, whilst that *Robert* defeats the *Flemings* at *Furnes*, and takes the Earles of *Tuliers* and *Albmont*, with many other of great accompt, and sends them prisoners into *France*. So continuing his victory, hee takes the Townes of *Cassel*, *Bergues*, *Saint Winoc*, *Furnes*, and all the West part with an incredible celeritie. The King hauing taken *Lisle*, hee enters victoriously into *Bruges*. At this sodaine check, all the rest of *Flanders* stands amazed. This happy beginning did shake the desseignes of the confederate Princes, so as without any more delay, they sue for peace. Ambassadors come presently vnto him from the King of *England*, demanding a truce, the which hee granted, comprehending the Earles of *Flanders* and *Neuers*: vpon condition they should put their controuersies to compromise: And so he returned into *France*, leauing *Raoul* of *Neele* his Constable, Gouernor of the Countrie of *Flanders*. This was the first voyage of *Philip* into *Flanders*, in the yeare 1297. All things seemed to bee thus mildly pacified, but the progresse will soone shew, that *Philip* had no meaning to receiue the Earle of *Flanders* into fauour: For the truce being newly expired, *Charles* Earle of *Valois* enters into *Flanders* with the same victorious Armie, where hee takes *Bethune*, *Douay*, *Courtray*, and all the rest of the Countrie of *Flanders*, except *Gand*: whether the Earle *Guy* was retired with his Children, being disapointed of succours from his allies and confederates. *England* is quiet, and the Emperour *Adolphe* is no more to be scene, who had made this poore Earle to wear the Bable. And the *Gantois* make their peace with the King, keeping their Priuileges. But what shall become of the Earle? hee yeelds himselfe absolutely into the hands of *Robert* Earle of *Artois*, with promise, that by his intercession he should be restored into the Kings good fauour, and so

1299. into the possession of his estate. Vpon this promise of *Robert*, *Guy* (accompanied with his children, *Robert*, *William* and *Guy*, and his Nobilitie that were most confident vnto him, comes to *Paris*, but his hope was soone turned into a languishing sorrow: for both himselfe, his children, and all his followers, were disperfed into sundry places vnder sure gardes, as the Kings prisoners: from whom they could draw no other answer, but that he had passed no word to his Brother, and that they were his prisoners by a iust warre. *Philip* without any further delay passeth into *Flanders* with a goodly troope, to take possession of the Earledome, as Proprietarie and chiefe Lord, and to vnite it to the Crowne, by vertue of a sentence; whereby the person of Count *Guy* was found guilty of high Treason, and his Lands were confiscate to the King, as to his Soueraigne Lord. Hee comes to *Gant*, where hee is receiued with pompe, as Prince and Lord, hee receiued their homage, and makes many goodly lawes for the gouernment of the Countrie, appointing *James* of *Chastillon*, Lord of *Leuse* and *Comé*, for Gouernour and Lieutenant Generall, and so returnes to *Paris*. Then were garrisons presently placed, and Cittadels made in all the Townes, as conquered by the Sword, they are charged with contributions, taxes, and impositions one vpon another, to finish the buildings, and to nourish the Souldiars, with such other things as depended thereon: Such was the libertie and confusion of militarie discipline. On the other side, there were complaints and popular mutinies for the exactions made by the Kings command. These popular discontented did fodenly cause a new confusion. A people ought to be intreated with much mildnesse, be they either newly conquered, or reduced to their old obedience. This ill vsage gaue all the better Townes occasion to reuolt. *Bruges* began, and is followed presently by the rest, but they must seeke meanes for their preliuation, to maintaine themselves against the forces of *Philip*, which vndoubtedly would fall vpon them. They assemble at *Bruges*. The first difficultie is to provide a Comander. *John* and *Guy* of *Namur* bretheren (sonnes to *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*) were ioyntly chosen by a generall consent, and come to *Bruges*. There all the Citties (*Gant* excepted) make an offensive and defensive league, against the King of *France* for their Earles deliuerie. The Dice are cast, all breakes out into a furious seditiō. At *Bruges* the *French* are slaine by their hosts, Count *S. Paul* (who went thither to pacifie these troubles) escaped hardly: furie had found them out Commanders fite for their humors. A wretched Weaver, suborned and counterfeited, mutinous and full of words (named *Peter*) is one of their chiefe Colonels, accompanied with like Ruffians, & the other Commander a Butcher of like qualities to this Tribune. But as the baser sort begin these rebellions, so great men end them. *Philip* of *Flanders* (sonne to *Guy*) being a prisoner, flies from *Apinille* (where he was well appointed) to succour his Father and Countrie, being ready to suffer shipwrack. The Nobilitie of the Countrie (who feared the furie of this mad enraged multitude) ioyne easily with him. The popular state (seeing how needfull the armes and direction of Gentlemen was for them) seeke all meanes to haue their fauour. The cause is plausible, the deliuerie of their good Earle, & the liberty of their Country. *Flanders* being thus on fire, *Philip* was in no lesse perplexitie, resolving to imploy all his forces, to suppress this mutinous nation. In few daies he leues an armie of 40000. men, with exceeding diligence, and he himselfe is in field as Generall. And yet all this dies like a fire of Toae, & breeds euents not foreseene by him, who in shew was the stronger, but in the end he proues the weaker, and beares the blowes: for he was scarce entred into *Flanders* as farre as *Boisledue*, but he talks of his returne, pretending the vnseasonableness of the time: yet the cause was apparently knowne to be otherwise: and some thought that he feared a reuolt at home. So this great shew preuailed little in *Flanders*, and bred an infinite charge to *France*. This was the successe of *Philip*'s second voyage into *Flanders*, with much brute & no fruite. This his sodaine retreat incensed this mutinous people more, and gaue courage to their Commanders, to be the more resolute against *Philip* by the renewing of a mutuall alliance: and made *Philip* seeke to repaire the error which he had (in his owne conceit) committed, in not imploying so goodly an armie against the *Flemings*: He raiseth another armie of forty thousand

Guy put into prison.

Flanders vnited to the Crowne.

The people of *Flanders* being oppressed reuolt against *Philip*.

And kill the *French*.

The Nobility ioyne with the people.

A thousand men of the companies already leuied, vnder the command of *Robert* Earle of *Artois* his Cousin, accompanied with *Arnoul* of *Neele*, Constable of *France*, and many great personages. The diuers humors of both parties, were a foretelling of the issue of these Armies; for the Earle of *Artois* marched against the *Flemings*, as against a base people, easie to be vanquished, and this humor of the Generall, crept into the Souldiars mindes, as going to an vndoubted victory, and not to a doubtfull combat. Contrariwise the *Flemings* marched carefully to defend themselves against great warriors, for the defence of their liberty against them that were greatly incensed, and vnder a Wise and Graue Commander. They choole for their Leader *John* of *Namour*, with his bretheren *Guy* and *Philip* (sonnes to the Earle *Guy* prisoner) accompanied with many Noblemen, that were good souldiars, and sworne enemies to the *French*, leading a people very resolute for their owne preseruations. The armies meet nere vnto the Towne of *Courtray*, in a place called *Groeninge*. The Earle of *Artois* would by all meanes drawe the *Flemings* to fight; who sought onely to defend themselves, and therefore had chosen a place, for to campe in, which was strong both by nature and arte, lying close, with their battallions. This their countenance not to fight, made *Robert* of *Artois* the more resolute to force them contrary to the Constables aduice. The great numbers of the *French* did at the first terrifie the *Flemings*, but (their mindes seasoned with the former considerations) they were encouraged by their Leader *John* of *Namour*. *Robert* therefore hauing commanded his Horse to charge their Squadrons furiously; the *Flemings* withstood them as corragiously, and hauing disordered them, they forced them to retyre vpon their owne foote; who were placed with so great a contempt of the enemy, as if they were not to fight, but to gather the spoyle of vanquished men. The Horse-men thus disordered, passe through their bands of foote, the which thus diuided, abandon their ranks, and then their Armes. Some fight heere, others flie there; but the horse and foote being in route, they could not ioyne againe. The disorder was generall; some defend themselves courageously, but there remaine no Squadrons to fight in grosse. Their multitude is a hindrance vnto them: the *Flemings* incouraged with this successe, are the more eager in killing, for that this defeat of our men was vnexpected, and this multitude being victorious is fished vpon the *French*, (as vpon dead carca'es) without any mercy, glutting themselves vpon the, whom before they feared. Of this great army there hardly escaped three hundred, all are past together great & smal. Not one Comander escaped, & very few Noblemen. *Robert* Earle of *Artois* cosin to the King of *France*, General of the army; *Arnoul* Lord of *Neele* Constable of *France*, *James* of *Chastillon*, Gouernor of *Flanders*, *John* King of *Maierica*, *Godfroy* of *Brabant* & his Son the Lord of *Viezon*, the Earle of *Eu*, *la Marche*, *Damartin*, *Aumale*, *Auge*, *Tancarville* & many other great personages which were the offerings of these cowardly spirits. They number 12000. Gentlemen slaine in this battell, by this enraged multitude. A notable president, not to contemne an enemy, which teacheth what a furious people well led may do: and especially that victories come fro heauen, for here the lesser number vanquished, the greater, & the weaker the strong. This victory called of *Courtray* or *Groeninghe*, was followed with an absolute reuolt of all *Flanders* against the *French*. It happened in the yeare 1302. the 11. of Iuly. *John* of *Namour* remaining their gouernour in the absence of their imprisoned Earle. *Philip* receiued a great check in this battell; but he had more botoms to vntwist. At the rears of *Edward* King of *England*, & of the Emperor *Adolphe* vanished; only Pope *Boniface* the 8. shewed himselfe obstinate in his hatred against *Philip*. A discourse worthy to be carefully described. In the hottest of these *Flemish* affayres, Pope *Boniface* did excommunicate *Philip*, & curle his Realme vpon this occasion. The Christians estate was lamentable in the East, the *Turtarians* encreased dayly. *Cusan* King of *Tartars*, allyed with the King of *Armenia* a Christian, made a great professiō of loue to the Christians, and for that the *Mamelus* held *Iudea* & *Ierusalem*, he desired to drawe the Kings and Princes of Christendome to their ayde. To this end he sends an Ambassage to Pope *Boniface* the 8. and to *Philip* King of *France*, to intreat them both to imploy their authorities and meanes in so good a worke. *Boniface* failes not to imbrace this occasiō,

Philip sends an other army, which is defeated by the *Flemings*.

Battell of *Courtray* famous for the great defeat of the *French*.

A wonderfull defense of the *French*.

An enemy is not to be contemned howe weaker soeuer.

A notable affront done by Pope *Boniface* to *Philip*.

1302. he not onely exorts *Philip* to succor the *Tartar*, but also commands him proudly and A
imperiously vpon paine of excommunication. This Bull was giuen to a sufficient man
named *Stephen an Arragenois*, (whom he had made Bishop of *Amiers*, a Cittie in the
Countie of *Foix*, which they commonly call *Pamiers*, and had erected this new Bi-
shoprick in the Archbishoprick of *Tolouse*, without the Kings priuie or consent) who
acquitted himselfe of his charge so stoutly, that when as *Philip* represented vnto him
the greatnesse of his affaires, so as he could not obey the Popes command: he answered with a bold face, That if the King would not obey the Pope, hee would deprime
him of his Realme. The subiect, the manner, and the person (aduanced thus against his
will,) did so moue *Philip* (griued with this late losse, as if the Pope would insult ouer
him for this bad successe) that hee imprisoned this Bishop. *Boniface* transported with
choller, sends to him againe one *Peter a Romane borne* (Archbishop of *Narbonne*) with
sharper Bulls, to summon him to vndertake this voyage of the East: to command him
not to touch the reuenues of the Clergie: to reprehend him sharply for that hee had
presumed to lay hands vpon the Bishop whom he had sent; & to inioyne him to send
him presently back in full libertie. His charge extended to no other censures in case
he disobeyed not in the principall. The Archbishop executed his charge boldly. *Philip*
shewed him with great modestie, the impossibilitie of this voyage: the reasons which
had moued him to leaue this tenth of the Clergie, and so to intreate the Bishop, hauing
spoken vnto him without any respect. The Archbishop replied with more arrogancie.
That he was ignorant of the Popes authoritie, who was not onely the Father of Christian
soules, but also Soueraigne Lord and Prince in temporall things. And therefore
by that authoritie he did excommunicate him, declaring him vnworthy to raigne, and
his realme forfeited to the Church of *Rome*, to inuest whom he pleased. Moreouer he
brought another Bull, directed to the Prelats and Noblemen of *France*, by the which he
did acquite and dispenace all *Frenchmen* from their oath of obedience to *Philip*. And a
third, by the which he did cite all the Prelats and Diuines of the *French* Church, to ap-
peare before him at *Rome*: disanulling all indulgences and priuiledges granted to the
French, by any Popes his predecessors. The Earle of *Artois* disdaining this affront,
takes the Bull and casts it into fire, saying, That no such dishonor should euer befall the
King, to submit himselfe to any such conditions. *Philip* amazed at these bold affronts,
refers the whole matter to his Councell, who conclude to send back the Popes two
Nuncios to *Rome*, and to forbid the Prelats of *France* to goe, or to send any money to
Rome: beseeching *Philip* to proceed in the affaires of his Realme, and not to lay in fo-
goodly a course. This done, *Philip* raiseth new & great forces to returne into *Flanders*.
At his entry the *Flemings* were defeated at *Arques* neere to *S. Omer*, in a straight pas-
sage. *Guy of Namur* beseeching *Xirixé*, was ouerthrowne by the Kings Nauie, assisted by
16. Gallies of *Genoa*, vnder the command of *Renier Grimaldi*: and being taken, is carried
to the King, being in his armie betwixt *Lisle* and *Douay*. After this fortunate begin-
ning, many Citties yielded to the *French*, the rest fearing the euent, stood amazed: the
fume of their victorie being evaporated; so as the first heat being coole, they intreate
the Earle of *Sauoy* to be a mediator to *Philip* for a truce, whereby they might obtaine a
peace, after so many miseries. *Philip* of *Flanders* & *Iohn* of *Namur* brethren, were great
persuaders thereof, for the naturall desire they had to free their poore father so long
time a prisoner. But *Philip* thirsting after reuenge for his losse at *Courtray*, refused it.
He aduanceth and defeats the *Flemings* at *Aire* and at *Tournay*. There chanced in the
end that notable encounter at *Mons in Penelle*, where they were wonderfully beaten, to
make them looke the tast of the battaile of *Courtray*, yet *Philip* was in danger of his life,
and bought this victory dearly: and the *Flemings* (like men in dispaire) assembled toge-
ther from all parts, although vnder-hand they did sue to *Philip* for peace: the which in
the end they obtained, at the instance of *Iohn Duke of Brabant*, vpon these conditions.
That the Soueraignty remaining to the King, and the *Flemings* enioying their liberties,
the Earle *Guy* & all other prisoners, should be set at libertie, without rancome: and the
Flemings should pay eighty thousand pound sterling, for the charges of the war, & the
Castles

Arrogance of the Popes Nuncio.

Philip subdues
the Flemings.

Philip makes
peace with
the Flemings.

A Castles of *Lisle & Downay*, *Cassell & Courtray*, should be deliuered into the Kings hands, as a
 pawne, vntill the end of the paiement, and he might bear downe what he had built in the
 Castles of *Lisle & Downay*, deliuering them to the Earle, as to their lawful Lord. That the
Flemings should raze the walls and Forts of fise principal Citties, *Gannt, Bruges, Tpre*,
Lik, and Downay, and neuer to build them againe. That the King should make choise
 of 3000. men at his pleasure, in *Bruges* and thereabouts, that were culpable of the
 seditions and murders committed, a thousand of them to bee employed beyond the
 seas, and two thousand on this side, and that the *Flemings* should furnish 600. men at
 armes, to serue the King one whole yeare, where hee pleased. And for the perfor-
 mance hereof, the Citties should bee bound, and should forsaite threcore thousand
Liures for non-payment, for the effecting whereof, Deputies should bee appointed.
 B During this treatie, the Earle *Guy* and his daughter *Philip*, (the subiect of this trou-
 ble some reuolt) died, to the great great grieefe of *Philip*, who sees himselfe frustrate of
 all meanes to shew his clemencie and bountie. But when these Articles were brought
 vnto the Citties, the people did mutine with great impatiencie, so as the Deputies
 perswaded *Philip* to moderate those which were most greuous. The demantling of
 the Townes, (except *Bruges*, where the reuolt began, and the banishment of the men,
 conuerting it into a pecuniary fine, and a great summe to an annuall pension prefixt
 to easie payments.) Thus the accord was made. *Robert, William, and Guy* brethren, the
 sonnes of the Earle *Guy of Flanders*, were deliuered with all the prisoners, but we shal
 see that in the execution thereof there was much trouble. During these hard & rough
 proceedings, *Edward King of England* hauing received a check in *Guienne*, was quiet,
 fearing *Philips* resolution in greatest dangers: whereof hee could wisely free himselfe:
 in the end an accord is made by the marriage of *Isabel*, the daughter of *Philip*, with
Edward the 2. who (in regard of this marriage) recouered all he had lost in *Guienne*, &
 in the taking of *Isabell*, he left to his posteritie, a heauy pawne to pretend a title to the
 whole Realme. *Philip* had his reuenge of this Emperour *Adolphe*, who had so boldly
 braued him in the beginning of this quarrell, vnder colour of demanding the lands of
 the Empire, lying in the Countries of *Bourgogne, Dauphiné* and *Proence*, being in old
 time the realme of *Arles*, but then in the power of diuers Lords, (as we haue sayd) vn-
 der the Kings authority. The King of *England*, and Earles of *Flanders* had great cause
 to complaine of him, hauing receiued two hundred thousand Crownes to make war
 against *Philip*, the which he employed in the purchase of *Thuringe*, & taking possessi-
 on of that goodly Land, so vniustly gotten, being solde by an vnaturall Father, who
 would disinherit his Children. This filthy traffick (agruated by the complaints of
 the King of *England*, and Earle of *Flanders*), made *Adolphe* of *Nassau* very odious and
 contemptible, being issued from a noble and worthie race, but this Aet against the
 poore Children, made him vnworthy of the Empire, from which he was deposed by a
 decree of the Electors, & *Albert of Austria* seated in his place who pursuing him with
 war, slue him (as they write) with his owne hand, in an encounter neere vnto *Spire*. But
 Pope *Boniface* the 8. (*Philips* greatest enimie) remained yet vn pacified, who stil conti-
 nued his chollor against him, in a season when as he thought him to be drawne drie,
 both of men and money: for they write that this warre of *Flanders* had wasted aboue
 three hundred thousand *Frenchmen* in eleuen yeares, during the which it continued. We
 haue seene how he vsed him by his *Nuncios*: this last Aet will not onely shew the con-
 tinuance of his spleene, but shal also represent a bad *Catastrophé* in this Tragedie the
 which shall light vpon the head of *Boniface*, fought for by himselfe. *Albert of Austria*
 was no sooner chosen and installed Emperour by the Electors, but *Boniface* applyed
 his wit to winne him against *Philip*, supposing to preuaile against *Philip*, as *Gregorie*
 the ninth had done against *Frederic* the second. Hee proclames him Emperour, & in-
 uests him King of the realme of *France*, giuing him both the title and armes: and taking
 occasion to sowe deuision in the heart of the Realme, by meanes of the Clergie, who
 by reason of their reuenues, had great power in the State, and for the interest there-
 of great will to preferue them, Hee did also write his letters to *Philip* in this manner.

1303.
He writes arrogantly to Philip.

Boniface Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip King of Frenchmen. Ecce A
God, and observe his commandments; wee wil thee to understand, that thou art subject to us, both in spirit uall and temporall things, and that it belongs not to thee to giue any prebend or benefice. If thou hast the keeping of any of them being vacant, thou must reserve the profits of them to the successors. If thou hast giuen any wee iudge thy gift to be void, and do reuoke all that hath bene done, and whoseuer beleueth otherwise, wee iudge them hereticks, giuen at Latran, the fourth of the Nones of December, the 6. yeare of our Popedom. The King answers him thus.

Philip arrogantly to the Pope.

Philip by the grace of God King of France, to Boniface calling himselfe the soueraigne Bishop, little or no health. Let thy great follie and rashnes be aduertised, that in temporal things we acknowledge none but God for superiour, and that the gift of prebends being void, belongs to us by our royall prerogative, and the fruits that grow thereby, the which wee will defend by the sword, against all them that shall seeke to hinder our possession, esteeming them fooles and without iudgement, that shall thinke otherwise. These are the very words drawne out of the originall. But Philip, to preuent the plots of Pope Boniface) asbled the Prelats of his realm at Paris with all speed: & hauing repressed vnto the wrong which Pope Boniface had done him by his decree (from the which he had appealed as erroneous,) he makes them to renew their oath of fidelitie. Hee thanks the King of England, in that he yielded not to the perswasions of Boniface: who would haue incited him against him; and in the end he seekes to stay the violent course of his furious practises. There was a Gentleman following the Court whose name was Felix of Nogaret (borne in Senennes, a mountaine Countrie of Languedoe, of the familie of the Albigeois as in that Countrie there were many referred from father to sonne, since the grant made them by Saint Lewis) whome Philip held fit for the execution of this charge: there was likewise a guide found out very fit to accompanie him. Boniface had ill intreated the Colonais; one of them named Sciarra (flying the Popes furie, and seeking some rest) had bene taken by Pirats, and redeemed by a friend of his at Marseilles, and so brought into France. They could not choose a more fit instrument to tame his arrogancie, who presumed to controul Kings, and to deprive them of their Estates (as Platina saith) The pretext of Nogarets voyage to Rome was apparent, to signifie Philips appeale from the Pope vnto a Councell, & to find the means to leuie mē vnder hand, D for at that time the Realme of Naples obeyed the French, whicher Philip had conueyed 60. thousand Crownes, by the bank of the Petrucci, Marchants of Florence, to furnish this leuie. The Pope was retired from Rome to Anagnia, a Towne of Abruzzo, (where he was borne) by reason of the troubles at Rome, whereas the Gibelin faction was growne the stronger. There were likewise in Anagnia many corrupted by the filuer of France, by such meanes as Sciarra gaue vnto Nogaret, so as hauing drawne in 300. Frenchmen well armed, and woone many of the Citizens vnto him, the Castell (whereas Pope Boniface was lodged) was seized on, and at the same instant the Cittie gates (with that terror which doth visually amaze men) surprised.

Anagnia seized on and taken by the French.

Then the French crye, the Cittie is wonne: No man dares appeare. In this confusion the Castell gates being seized on by French souldiars, Felix of Nogaret being armed, (accompanied with Sciarra Colonais and many others) enters the Pallace-hall with their naked swords, Boniface is not much amazed, but hastily attyes himselfe in his Pontificall robes, and presents himselfe vnto his enemies. Nogaret begins to say vnto him. The good and noble King of France hath sent me hither, to tell thee that hee speaks from thee to the Councell. But the Pope hauing not the patience to attend the end, Thy Grandfather (sayd hee) condemned for the heresie of the Albigeois, was iustly punished by fire: a worthy reward for his wickednes before God and man. I doe not therefore wonder if I see thus traitorously surprisid by thee an heretike, but I willingly beare what happened to that good Pope Siluerius. Nogaret replies, I will lead thee then to Lions, where a Councell shall iudge of thy abuses. But as Boniface would haue replied Sciarra more hardy then Nogaret, gaue him a great blow with his gantelet on the face, which made him to bleed much. The Pope cried, and he stroke againe, so as Nogaret (hauing no commission

A commission to proceed so farre,) drew him out of the Colonais pawes, add hauing 1394. retired him into his Chamber (howling and blaspheming like a desperate man) he led him to Rome. But Boniface through this accident entred into so cruell a frenzie, as hee gnawed and eate his owne hands, and so died pitiously the 35. day after, to whom the common report registred in Histories made this Epitaph.

He entred his Popedom like a Fox, he reigned like a Lion, and dyed like a Dog.

Platina addes this Commentarie. Thus dyed Boniface, who laboured to keepe the consciences of Emperours, Kings, Princes, and generally of all men in awe, more by terror then by religion: who sought to giue and take away Kingdomes, to expell and restore Princes as his pleasure: most greedie to gather gold by what meanes soeuer. I. et Princes therefore both spirituall and temporall learne to gouerne their Clergie and subjects, not arrogantly with insolencie and outrage (as this of whom we speake) but holily and modestly, as Christ our King, his Disciples and followers, who desired to be loued not feared, whence iustly proceeds the ruine of tyrants. Hee writes also of him: That hee nourished deuisions among the Italians, and especially betwixt the Genoeis and the Venetians. Behold the testimony of Platina, and the Catastrophe of the Tragedie which Pope Boniface the eight had plotted to ruine the King and his Realme. Philip aduertised of the heauie end of him who had practised to ruine both him and his estate, presently lendes his Ambassadors to the Colledge of Cardinals, being much amazed with this accident: protesting that hee gaue no such commission to Felix of Nogaret, (to whom notwithstanding he gaue in recompence the Baronie of Caluiffon in Vauage neere vnto Nismes) but onely to intimate to Pope Boniface, his appeale from him vnto the Councell, desiring them to expect all friendship and succour from him. The Cardinals reuiued from their great amazement by this kinde message from Philip, stood yet long irresolute in the election of a new Pope, fearing to do any thing vnpleasing vnto the King. In the end they choose one Nicholas a Cardinall, who had assisted Philips Cosins in the voyage of Hungarie (famous among the Popes by the name of Benedict the 11.) He reuokes the excommunication giuen out by Boniface against Philip and his people, and restores the priuiledges of the Vniuersitie of Paris, whereof hee had deprived them in disdain of Philip: but hee liued not long, and the Cardinals desire was to accomodate themselves wholly to the Kings will: they therefore by a generall consent choose Clement, borne at Bazadois in Gifsonie, of the house of the Vicounts of Tartas, and Lord of Vesse, where hee built a goodly Castell called Villandrant, as the Lord of Haillan doth testifie (an vnreproueable witnesse) being of that Countrie. This Clement was the first of seuen French Popes which held the See one after another, vnto Vrbaing the 6. vnder whom the Italians recovered it againe with much trouble. These seuen Popes were Clement the first a Gelson, Iohn 23 of Cohors in Querey, Benedict the 12. a Tholousin, Clement the 6. Innocent the 6. Vrbaing the 5. Gregorie the 11. all foure Limosins one after another. Such power had this proceeding of our Philip. Clement the 5. being chosen Pope, he came into France, and the King receiued him at Lions, accompanied with the Kings of England and Arragon in great pompe. The Pope was on Horseback, and the King with his two brethren on foote, holding the reynes of his horse. Hee was Crowned in the Temple of Saint Iust, where they had built a great Theater for so goodly a spectacle: but the presse of people was so great, as the scaffold brake, and the multitude fell one vpon another. The Pope, Kings, Princes and Noblemen were all on a heape, and the Scaffold fastened to an old wall pulled it downe, so as the King was hurt in the head, the Pope in the foote, and the Duke of Britaine slaine, with a great number of Noblemen and comon people that were smothered vnder these ruines. The Popes Crowne fell from his head into the presse, where he lost an Carbonele valued at sixe thousand Florins of gold: but the life of men was inestimable. Thus this feast gaue no cause of Joy but was famous to posteritie by this notable accident, and by the translation of the Popes seat from Rome to Auignon, in the yeare 1305. vnto the yeare 1379. vnder Vrbaing the 6. This was the first acte of Clement the 5. being arrived in France. In the meane time the Flemings practise new troubles, refusing to performe the conditions

Boniface dyed like a made man.

The Colledge of Cardinals apply themselves wholly to please Philip.

The Colledge of Cardinals apply themselves wholly to please Philip.

The Pope Crowned at Lions.

1305. The Pope re-moues his seat to Auignon.

1305. ditions of peace, and their Earle *Robert* gathered together men and money on all sides A for the warre: Wherevnto *Philip* (tyred with the long miseries which had waisted his Realme) was unwillingly drawne. Yet he giues charge to *Enguerand* of *Marigny* Earle of *Longueville*, Superintendant of his treasure; to finde meanes to leuie an Armie, appointing *Charles* of *Valois* his Brother for Generall, accompanied with *Lewis* his eldest Sonne, and a great number of the Nobilitie. But the difficultie to recouer money was so great, as the King was forced to grant a truce to *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*, the which was more auailable for him then for *France*. This did greatly displease these two Princes (who had the chiefe places in the Armie) complaining of *Enguerand*, as if hee had purposely crossed this leuie, with a pretext of want of money: when as hee himselfe was rather corrupted by the *Flemings*. They smothered this dislike vntill *Philip* B the death, who countenanced *Enguerand* (as his good and faithfull seruant) against the ordinarie complaints of these Princes of the bloud. But after long delayes, *Flanders* continuing still more obstinate in their rebellion, and *Robert* seeking but to gaine time, necessitie forced *Philip* to the Warre, and want of money held him backe: yet both the one and the other were apparent. For the redresse whereof hee finds an expedient, to call an assenbly at *Paris* of all the Cities of his Realme, and there to represent vnto his Subiects the great necessitie of his affaires, to induce them thereby to contribute meanes for so important a Warre, being both necessarie and honorable. The assembly was held in the Court of Parliament, (a solemne place) where the King C assisted with all his Councel. *Enguerand* of *Marigny* made the speech, as the man which had the managing of his affaires. The Prouost of *Paris* made offer of any thing the Citie of *Paris* could doe, that the example of the capitall City might draw on the rest, who made the like offer. They grant a new imposition of ten Deniers vpon the Luer or Franke, of all marchandise & wares: but when it came to the execution, there were daily seditions and mutines, in *Picardie*, *Normandie*, *Orleans* and *Lions*, whither *Philip* sent *Lewis* his eldest sonne to pacifie them. But oh the vanitie of this world! *Philip* had liued with much paine, hee had passed his apprenticeship in his fathers troubles, crossed with the warres of *Guienne* and *Flanders*, he had giuen and receiued infinite losses, shaken with the pricking thornes of Pope *Boniface*, who sought to ruine both body and soule, in excommunicating him & seeking to spoile him of his estate. Was it not then D time to rest after all these royles? and yet behold he is more ready then before to imbarke himselfe in new troubles, by the enterprise of a new and dangerous warre, whereof all his posterity could neuer preuaile. But God more wise then himselfe, did cut off his long discourses (cast in the mould of an infinite life,) in this life so soone ended. So he dies when his troubles began to lue, and goes to seeke rest in heauen, the which he could not find on earth. He died at *Fontainbleau* in *Gastinois*, in the yeare 1314. hauing reigned 28. yeares, and liued 58. His disposition and his children, are noted in the beginning of his raigne, and the estate of the Empire and the Church, throughout the whole discourse thereof.

The Princes
discontented
against Engue-
rand of Ma-
rigny.

A penny vpon
two shillings
sterling.

Philip dyet.

The limits of
the Easterne
roy ges.

The estate likewise of the Christians in *Asia* and *Affrike*, and of the *French* in *Sicilia*, E *Naples* and *Arragon*, must necessarily be described, both that which was past, and that which is to come. The Popes had imbarked all Christendome in this action, goodly in shew, and very hurtfull in effect, for those voyages beyond the Sea, haue consumed an infinite number of men throughout all Christendome. Our *France* hath a great share, yea of our Kings. Many houses were cast away vpon this shelle, whence grew infinite lutes. And from thence likewise came the corruption of fees, by meanes of the sale of Lands made by Gentlemen to peasants. To conclude, they employed 200. yeares to purchase much paine & infinite losse. We haue hetherto scene how things haue passed fro raigne to raigne, from the yeare 1096. the day of the first departure of the Christian armie into the East, vnto the yeare 1315. The ordinary practise of the Popes of *Rome*, F was to free themselves of Kings and Emperours, the more easily to settle their authoritie ouer them, as the wise and vnpassionate Reader may verifie, by all the circumstances and order of the true Historie. I speake onely in termes of State, and

A and as mildly as truth will permit me. In those times, the *Tartar* (who had vndertaken the protection of the Christians) (the better to settle their affaires, obtained of Pope Clement a new Croysado. to the which *Philip* had vowed two Sonnes, *Philip* and *Charles*, but it had no successe, although *Clement* did what hee could to further the action. But a Dog that is feard feares the colde water. And experience is the mistresse both of wisemen and fooles. So all these great shewes in the end came to nothing. The Countries to valiantly conquered by the Christians, were seized on by the Infidels, so as after infinite toiles, there scarce remained any reliques of this shipwracke, one'y some Ilands to the *Venetians*, and *Genoies*, *Cypres*, *Candia*, *Gorsu*, *Chio*, and to all the Christians ioyntly, *Rhodes* and *Malta*. The Templers (placed for the garde of Christendome) became so disloyall and corrupt, as they must be rooted out, the which *Philip* did in *France*, in whose place were instituted the Knights of *Rhodes* and *Malta*, the which continue vnto this day. Behold the end of the voyage of our *Argonautes*, which made so goodly a shew vpon this Theater in the first Scene: But the Catastrophe was so miserable, as the Countries where the Gospell had bene Preached, remained a shamefull prey to the enemies of Christendome, and the Christian Church at his mercie. As for *Sicilia*, behold the estate: *Charles* the Lame (heire to his Fathers misfortunes, taken by *Roger* Admirall of *Arragon*, and heid prisoner foure The estate of Sicilia. yeares) in the end was released, vpon condition he should relinquish all his interest to the two *Sicilies*. And all which *Philip* had taken in *Arragon*, returned presently after his death to *James* of *Arragon*, the lawfull heire of that Realme. *Naples* continued longer in the French menspower, but in the end all was lost, as we shall see hereafter: so as the *Arragonois* retained to himselfe the possession of these goodly Estates, and left vs in our voluntarie losses, the gages of our accustomed rashnesse, and an appatent testimonie, that the Popes gifts to our Kings, haue not greatly enriched the poore realme: as appears by infinite examples. After that of *Naples*, *Hungarie* was in no better estate, being giuen by the Pope to *Charles* Adairtell, Sonne to *Charles* the Lame, these two quarrels hauing drawne all *Europe* into a strange confusion. So there was euery where vanitie for truth, brute without suite, and shewes without effect. The originals are my warrant for this truth, the which I ought to the honor of the Historie without dissembling.

Lewis



Lewis the tenth, called Hutin,
the 47. King of France.



1315.

The Minors,
or Lions
Hutins.

HIS raigne is short and of small fame, as the actions of this King are not greatly commendable. He began to raigne in the year 1315. and dyed the year after, the 16. of June, and so hee scarce raigned a year and a halfe, which time was full of trouble and confusion according to his turbulent and stirring disposition, whereof he bare the name, for a blemish to his posteritie, for *Hutin* in old French signifies Mutine. A Chollerick Prince, Ingrate, Insolent, Outragious, defacing his royall Authoritie, by the insolent abuse of his power, countering his mortall passions with the vale of his authoritie. Hee first married with *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Robert Duke of Bourgonie*, being detected of incontinencie, she was confined to *Chasteau gaillard* vpon *Seine*, where she dyed in her ignominy. After her death, he married with *Clemence* the Daughter of *Charles*, brother to *Robert King of Sicilia*, pretended King of *Hungarie*. Hee made a great preparation against *Robert Earle of Flanders*, but could not passe with his Armie for Waters. He discharged his choller vpon *Enguerand of Marigny* Earle of *Longueville*, Supercendant of the treasure, whome *Philip* had imployed long and confidently. *Charles* Earle of *Valois*, brother to *Philip the Faire*, accused *Enguerand* of extortion and robbing the Treasurie: making him odious to the people, for that he had long managed the treasure of the Realme to his maisters good liking: but *Lewis* and *Charles* had hated this hatred against him, to the losse of his life. Hee had caused the Pallace to be built, and he disposed of the publike treasure, during the long warres of *Flanders*, the which had wasted much, to the peoples oppression and hinderance. And therefore it was a pleasing spectacle, to see *Enguerand* of *Marigny* hanged by a solemne sentence vpon

Enguerand of
Marigny
put to
death.

A vpon the gallows, which he had caused to be made at *Montfalcon*, beating downe his image in the Pallace, where the place is yet to be seene, with this inscription by it:

Let euery one rest content with that he hath,
For he that hath not sufficient, hath not any thing.

This iudgement was very famous, yet afterwards it was reuoked, but the bodie was not taken out of the graue, although he were freed from the ignominy of so shamefull a death. The Earle of *Valois* was soone after taken with a languishing discafe, which consumed him by degrees, and King *Lewis Hutin* died suddenly, as he scarce lay sick one day. These were the workes of heauen, which made the foolish people change their opinion, of whom it was rightly spoken. *What the people sayes, a foole speaks*: for euery one tooke these extraordinarie deaths, as witnesses of Gods iustice, who punisheth great Princes which abuse the ordinarie power which hee hath giuen them, to serue their owne passions. And it is to be obserued, that this iustice of God continued in the posteritie of *Lewis Hutin*, for he left his wife *Clemence* with Child, who was deliuered of a Sonne, an imaginarie King, hauing liued but eight dayes: and though he were royally interred with Kings, yet is he not numbred among them. Moreouer hee left one Daughter by his first Wife, called *Iane*, for whom *Eudes of Bourgonie* her Vncle by the Mother, caused great Tragedies against the fundamentall Law of State, to haue her admitted Queene of *France*, wrongfully and vniustly, for that women are excluded by the law, whereon the French Monarchie was grounded, as we haue sayd. So this miserable raigne was begun and ended by confusion and iniustice. A notable example to obserue the vanitie of the Court, in good seruants vniustly afflicted: of the people, in their false and passionate iudgements, rendering euill for good, and suffering themselves to be transported with the ebbing and flowing of their passions, speaking good and euill of the same action, and the same man, without rule, without measure, and without truth. And of the vanitie of great men, which thinke it to be the chiefe fruite of their greatnesse, to abuse their power insolently, to the ruine of their inferiours: not remembring (being blinded with their passions) that they haue a superiour ouer them, to make them yeeld an account of their vniust proceedings, forcing them to make restitution with interest. All that *Lewis Hutin* did worthy of commendation, was that he made the Parliament of *Paris* ordinary, which had but two sittings in the year, although this commoditie of pleading hath bred many sures, to the hindrance of the publike and priuate good. He was called King of *France* and of *Nauarre*, and left the two realmes to his successor, who disposed thereof as we shall see.

Iane the
Daughter of
Lewis Hutin
pretends the
realme.The Parlia-
ment made
ordinarie.

T

Philip

PHILIP the 5. called the Long,
48. King of France.



1316.
Corrouer-
se for the
Crown of
France.

Philip crow-
ned.



HE controuersie touching the Crowne was easily decided, by the euident of reason (and also for that *Jane* the Daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, remaned by the Will of *Philip* her Vncle, Queene of *Nauarre*, and Countesse Palatine of *Brie* and *Champagne*,) and yet for the discontentment of some Princes of the bloud, *Philip* went to *Rheims* with a strong Armie, to bee appointed there, where he was installed, the doores of the Church

being shutte and well garded. He began to raigne in the yeare 1316. and raigned fixe yeares. Hee had foure Daughters by *Jane* the Daughter of *Orhelin* Earle of *Bourgonne* and no Sonnes. By meanes of his Daughters hee made his peace with his discontented Princes: For hee gaue the eldest to *Odou* Duke of *Bourgonne*, (who had supported the Daughter of *Lewis* against him) and gaue in dowrie the Countie of *Bourgonne*, belonging vnto her by her Mother: and to *Lewis* Earle of *Enreux* his other opposite, hee gaue *Jane* with the Kingdome of *Nauarre*, and the Counties of *Brye* and *Champagne*, whereof he afterwards carried the title.

His disposiō. A Prince of a very tractable disposition, and by consequence easie to bee corrupted, rather inclining to ill then good. There is nothing memorable vnder his raigne, but that through his facilitie all was tollerable to his bad seruants, who vnder his name laid great exactions vpon the people, the which caused them to mutine in many places, neither did he (being great of body, and therefore called Long, but little of witte) vse his authoritie. Vnder colour of a voyage to the East, two seditious men, a Priest and

A and a Monke of the order of Saint *Benedict*, assembled a multitude of mutinous people, which committed a thousand insolencies where they passed, calling themselves Shepheards, but in the end they were defeated in *Languedoc*. 1322. Rebels calling themselves Shepheards.

The Iewes expelled before, were now admitted to returne for money: a wretched nation, giuen to all kinde of wickednesse, and therefore odious to the people, who exclaimed against the disorders growen vp by the facilitie of *Philip*. This generall hatred bred such a rage in the licentious mindes of the Iewes, as they brought the plague into diuers parts of the realme, vsing the helpe of Lepars. Many were greediously punished by Iustice, and the rest banished out of the dominions of *France*. *Flanders* seemed ready to fall into new troubles, but in the end they were pacified, by the marriage of *Marguerite* the Kings second Daughter, with *Lewis* Earle of *Flanders*, *Neuers* and *Rethel*, and the payment of certaine summes due by the sayd accord. An artificiall plague. Flanders pacified.

These are the most famous acts of that raigne, for to what end serues it to relate that priuate Iustice was done vpon a Prouost of *Paris*, who was hanged, for that he had put to death a poore innocent, for a riche man that was guiltie, and condemned to dye? Or that *Philip* would make one waight and one measure throughout his Realme, but he could not maintaine his authoritie by the rule of reason. These things either too common, or not effected, are not worthy of a Historie. Thus *Philip* the fift died with small fame, the fift yeare of his raigne, in the yeare 1322.

T 2

Charles



CHARLES the 4. called the Faire, the 49. King of France.



1322.
Charles crow-
ned without
opposition.



His disposi-
tion.

His issue.

Charles pani-
fied disor-
ders without
respect.

Philip the Long had succeeded Lewis Hutin his brother, with a
some dispute: to Charles brother to Philip, (the last of the
Sonnets of Philip the Faire,) succeeded without any difficulty,
the question being formerly decided. He was Crowned King
with great solemnitie, the Princes of the blood and Nobles
assisting, in the year 1322. and reigned six yeares. A wife and
a temperate Prince, louing Iustice, and yet unfortunate in his
familie. He was thrice married. His first wife *Blanche* was ac-
cused and convicted of Adulterie, during his fathers life, and
was confined to *Chasteau-gaillard* by *Andely* vpon *Seine*. His second Wife was *Mary*
the Daughter of *Henry of Luxembourgh* Emperour, by whom he had one Sonne, who
died as he was borne, and his Mother se one after at *Yssoudon* in *Berry*. His third Wife
was *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Lewis* Earle of *Eureux*, by whom he had Daughters
onely, leaving her with Child, as shall be said. But let vs make a collection of his life,
which is not long. The facilitie of Philip the Long, the time of *Lewis Hutin*, and the
long warres of Philip the Hardie, had perverted all, and given libertie to every man to
do what he pleased, especially the Nobilitie: who being armed, committed many in-
solencies by this libertie and impunitie. Charles being annointed, he held a great Ses-
sions in his chiefe City of *Paris*, to heare all mens complaints, and causeth many
Gentlemen to be punished. Among the rest *Jourdain* of *Lisle* a *Gascou*, who vnder co-
lour of being Nephew to Pope *John* the 22. then resident in *Auignon*, (having had
his pardon for eightene crimes, whereof the least deserved death) continued still in
his wickednesse. In the end he was taken and brought to *Paris*. The remitting of what
was past, made him presume of Impunitie: But the Iustice of God (which comes in
time,

At the turn when the insolent and obstinate sinner dreames not of it) prevented him,
Charles laying all respect aside, caused him to be hanged, as a memorable exam-
ple that respect is an enemy to Iustice, which must bee executed without sparing of
any one that is guilty of any notable crime.

Edward the second King of England, stood vpon termes for his homage of *Guienne*,
and had sent his wife *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip* the Faire, and Sister to the King,
to be married with him. Charles brought him to reason by his authoritie, and as *Hugh*
the Lord of *Montpesat* in *Agenis*, would haue fortified his house without his permis-
sion he forced him to obey, razing the Castell of *Montpesat*, whence the quarrell
new and made him to give hostages for the assurance of that hee had promised. A-
mongst these generall quarrels, there chanced a iarre betwixt *Edward* and his wife *Isa-*
bel discontented with her husband, for that both she and her Sonne had lost their cre-
dence with him, by the pernicious counsell of *Hugh Spencer*. Yet was he so supported by
King *Charles*, as he sent her back into *England* without any countenance, command-
ing her to apply her selfe to her husbands humors, the which she endeouored to doe
being a wife and a couragious Princes: yet being assisted (as it is likely) vnderhand by
the meanes of her Nephew *Charles* the Faire, she preuailed in her desseignes: causing
Hugh to be apprehended and punished as the Leuaine of all their breach: and having
brought her Husband vnto reason, she confirmed her Sonne *Edward* the third a Prince
who shortly shall be the cause of much trouble to this Monarchie. Charles likewise
reduced *Lewis* Earle of *Flanders* to obedience, although he were husband to his Aunt:
and having called and condemned him by Court of Parliament at *Paris*, he restored
him to his estates, the which he had forfeited by felonie, shewing in one subiect, both
his severitie to punish offences, and his clemencie to remit the due punishment. The
same Earle being fallen in some dislike with his chiefe Townes, & seeking to reclaim
them by force Charles aduised him to winne them by mildnesse. a true remedie to re-
concile subiects which are accustomed to oppose themselves against rigour, and in re-
sisting to know their owne forces, the which belongs to their Princes by obedience.
Thus he pacified these discontents betwixt the Earle and the Cities of *Flanders*, by a
common reconciliation, vpon condition: That the Earle should bee acknowledged
D in his degree, and the King as Soueraigne.

Isabel com-
plains of her
husband *Ed-
ward* King of
England.

The subiects
infirmities
must be cured
by mildnesse.

This is all that chanced worthy of obseruation, in the raigne of *Charles* the Faire.
A Prince worthy of the *French* Monarchie, and to bee numbred among the greatest
and most famous men of State. His life was very short, in regard of his great suffici-
encie: yet with more order and authoritie then his brother *Philip* the Long, who left
none but Daughters, (whose names are buried in the confusion of times: troubled
by the pretences of Males and Females) and his wife with Child, as wee haue sayd.
A wombe which shall breed many long and perillous controuersies. Charles
died in the year 1328. leaving the Crowne to the second royall
branche of *Capets*, wherevnto the order of the fundamen-
tall law did lawfully call them.



THE
SECOND PARCELL OF
THE THIRD RACE OF CAPETS,
CONTAINING THIRTEENE KINGS;

in the second royall branche, called of *Valois*,

from *Philip of Valois*, to *Henry the third*.

A a

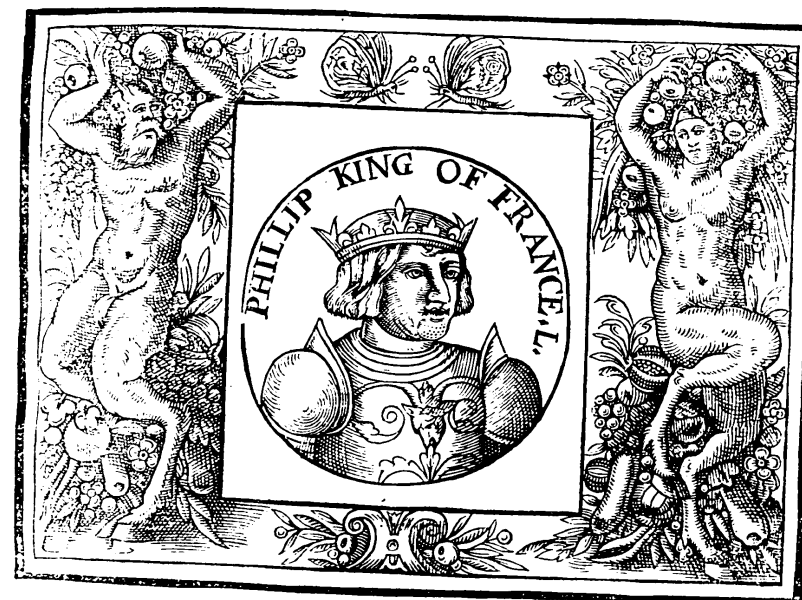
PHILIP of VALOIS, the 50.
King of France.

THE NAMES OF THIRTEENE
Kings of the second royall branch of *Capets*,
called of Valois.

Philip of Valois.	Charles the 8.
John.	Lewis the 12.
Charles the 5.	Francis the first.
Charles the 6.	Henry the 2.
Charles the 7.	Francis the 2.
Lewis the 11.	Charles the 9.

Henry the 3. the last of this
royall branche.

From the yeare a thousand three hundred twentie eight, vnto the
yeare a thousand five hundred eighue eight.



He doubtfulnesse of the issue which was expected from the royall
wombe of *Lane*, (widow to *Charles the faire*) held the beginning

of this raigne in great suspence and perplexitie; euen for the regencie it selfe: for *Edward the 3.* King of *England*, (the sonne of *Edward the 2.* and of *Isibell of France*, the daughter of *Philip the faire*, and sister to the three Kings last deceased,) pretended it as his right; and in case the child died (whatsoeuer it were) the realme also, by the title of royall consanguinitie, according to the lawes of *England*.

Controuerſie for the realme beuixt Edward the 3. King of England, & Philip of Valois.

Contrarywise, *Philip of Valois* (the first Prince of the blood of *France*) maintained, that all the tercie of the male (if any were borne) as the realme, (if it were a daughter, or the sonne died,) belonged directly vnto him, without all controuerſie; holding the first place among the Princes of the blood after the decease of the three brethren, who had bin one after another. For *Philip the hardie* had left two sonnes, *Philip the faire*, and *Charles Earle of Flanders*: of whom it is said, That he was the sonne of a King, brother to a King, father to a King, and yet no King.

For *Philip* and *Charles*, had succeeded to the Crowne one after another: so as, after their decease, the right came to *Charles* and his children, according to the fundamentall law of State.

To decide this controuerſie, the generall Estates were called at *Paris*, with great solemnity: where they decree, That *Philip of Valois* should be Regent of the realme (if *Queene* had a sonne,) and King, if it were a daughter.

Lane was deliuered of a daughter, the first of Aprill, at *Bois de Vincennes*, the which was called *Blanche*. This quarrell thus decided; *Philip of Valois* was saluted and proclaimed King of *France*, and within few daies after, was annointed and crowned at *Rheims*, according to the vsuall custome. And then (being well accompanied with his Princes, Peeres, Officers,

1328. Officers, and an infinite number of his nobility, he made his entry into his chiefe City of *Paris*, with an incredible ioy and pompe: this was in the yeare. 1328.

Philip settles his affaires in France.

Being thus in possession of the Realme, he studied to settle his estate, much disordered by the ill gouernment of the forepassed Kings: and likewise to satisfie the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, in regard of the Counties of *Boye* and *Champagne*, lying too neere to his good City of *Paris*, to be diuided from the crowne. So he treated with her, and held them by his prerogatiue, giuing vnto her as much in exchange as the said Earledomes were worth, lying farther off in the counties of *la March*, *Rouergue* and *Languedoc*.

But *Flanders* troubled him much more: the Earle and his subiects were greatly incensed one against an other, by reason of some exactions of money made by the Earle, for the payment of his old debts due by the accord, so as they made warre against their Earle, and tooke him prisoner.

He suppresseth the Flemings.

Being the stronger, they controlled their Lord: but soone after they payde for their folly: for the Earle (being deliuered) had recourse vnto *Philip*, as to their soueraigne. *Philip* takes the Earles cause in hand, rayseth a great armie against the *Flemings*, takes, sacks and burnes *Cassel*, where they had made the body of their army, after the defeat of two and twenty thousand *Flemings* in a pitched field. Hauing subdued this mutinous people, hee aduised the Earle to vse that aduantage modestly: to win the by mildenes, & not to thrust them into errors by despight or dispaire, the which are sooner preuented then repayed in popular tumults.

A notable fure of the Parlements against the cleargie.

Being returned from this voyage, *Philip* found newe worke at *Paris*. The Courts of Parliament, and all the Soueraigne Iudges, (assembled from all the Prouinces) made a general complaint against the Clergy of *France*. they accusethem of sundry abuses, & namely, that against the due of their charges, they intermeddled with the politike iurisdiction. The fure was vehement, & famous for the greatnes of the parties. The King, to reconcile this quarrel calles a general assembly of his whole realme, at *Paris*. The cause was pleaded before him, with great liberty, by *Peter of Cugnerie* (this is he who by detision they called *M. Peter Cugnet* who at this day they finde in the great Temple at *Paris* noted with a little Monkeys head, placed betwixt two pillers, to put out the candles, being odious by reason of his pleading,) and as coldly defended by *Peter Bertrand*, both famous Aduocates in those times. The issue was doubtfull, but *Philip* foreseeing the euent of so importaut a busines, after that he had seriously exhorted the Prelates to reforme themselves, & in reforming the abuse, to auoide these popular complaints, he referred the matter to a further hearing. But he had other worke in hand.

Edward King of England doth homage to Philip.

Edward the 3. King of *England* (for that he was not receiued King of *France*;) practised great and new deuises against him, studying onely vpon reuenge. He had purposely refused to assit at his coronation, & makes no shew of any intent to do homage for *Guienne*, wherunto *Philip* did cal him. *Edward* hauing no colour to refuse so apparent a duty, came to *Amiens*, with to great and extraordinary a traine, as it seemed plainly, not to be done to honour the king, but rather to strike some feare or admiration into the *French*, of his great forces. To check this bold brauado, *Philip* shewed himself a King at his first enteruew with *Edward*, who euen then champt vpon the bit, and smothered his choler. *Edward* appears at the place and time prefixt, royallie attired, with a long roabe of crimson veluet, pouldred with Leopardes of gold, a crowne vpon his head, a sword by his side, and golden spurs on his heeles. He presents himselfe standing before *Philip* sitting in his royall throne, attyred with a long robe of violet coloured veluet, pouldred with Fowers-de-luce of gold, a crowne on his head, and the scepter in his hand, holding a royall Maiesty, accompanied with his Constable, Chauncellour and great Chamberlaine. The Vicount of *Melin*, great Chamberlaine of *France*, comands *Edward* to take off his crowne, sword, & spurs, & to kneele downe: the which he doth.

The oath of Edward King of England to Philip.

Then hee tooke both his hands, and hauing ioyned them both together, hee G spake vnto him in this manner, *You become a Lege man vnto the King, my Lord, who is here present, as Duke of Guienne, and Peere of France: and you promise to be faithfull vnto him & loyal. Say yes.* And *Edward* answered, *yes*. In like sort he did him homage for the countie of

A of *Ponthieu* intreating *Philip* to restore him all those places in *Guienne*, which his Predecessors had inioyed, *Philip* answered him with great grauity, that he would consider thereof. This was the homage which *Edward* King of *England*, did vnto *Philip* King of *France*: the which I haue particularly noted, as the first act of a notable Tragedy. The euent will shew, that *Philip* had done farre better (without preiudice to his authority, lawfully purchased by the law of State) to pacifie *Edward* by all ciuill meanes obseruable betwixt Kings, and not to braue him vpon an inferiour quality, the which is no blemish to the other, for in the end he shewed himselfe his equall in dignity. A furious bayte of hatred among Princes which cannot be reconciled.

Philip's error in receiving homage.

Edward departed discontented from *Philip*, resolute to attempt all meanes to crosse him, and to ruine him. Hee seekes out all instruments fit for this designe, both in *Flanders*, *Brittaine*, and *Germanie*, wherof followed mournfull euent, both for the King and his Realme. I will note euery thing in order, reseruing the Estate of the Church and Empire to the end of his raigne, least I should interrupt the order of this discourse.

The cause of Edwards discontent against Philip.

Philip was otherwise affected then *Edward*, (as commonly desire makes shewe of that which is not, pleasing men with vaine imaginations) for supposing that he had tamed *Edward* with his imperious homage, he presumed that he had well settled his affayres, to be obeyed by him without any contradiction, and to haue his realme enioy an assured peace, without any annoyance, vnder his command. Vpon this conceipt he intends a voyage to the East, desirous to be nothing inferior to the glorious and renowned zeale of his Predecessors. In this deuotion he easily yeelds to the perswasions of Pope *Benedict*. XI. borne at *Tholouse*, then resident at *Auignon*.

Philip resolves to go into the East.

His fleet was then preparing at *Aiguemortes*, (a sea Towne of *Languedoc*) whilest that he prouides for the regencie of the Realme, giuing it to *John Duke of Normandy* his eldest sonne, being foureteeen yeares old, leauing him a graue and learned Counsell. And seeing the example of his Predecessors, hee learns by certaine intelligence, that he watched his departure, to invade *France*.

This new occasion gaue him a reasonable subiect to change his resolution, and not willingly to expose his new inheritance to his cuini. But this satisfied not Pope *Benedict*, who grew so bitter vpon this alteration, that (exclaiming generally of *Philip* as disloyall,) he sought all meanes to annoy him. There was a capitall hatred betwixt the Emperour *Leo* of *Baviera*, and the sea of *Rome*, hauing excommunicated him as an heretike. *Benedict* absoules him, and becomes his friend, seeking to oppose him against *Philip*: who (disliking of this proceeding) sends *Entragues* a gentleman of *Vinarez* to *Auignon*, to let *Benedict* vnderstand, that if he did not forbear to speake ill of him, he would force him to silence, after the example of that his Predecessor, whose name he bare, and who had left so famous a remembrance of his rashnes to posterity.

The Pope discontented with the King.

Edward being returned into *England*, sleepe not. A Prince of an excellent iudgement, great courage, and of a resolute and actiue spirit, high minded, and a fatall instrument to challenge *France*. His repulse, his homage, and his great meanes, were both the baite and the lure to this generous resolution, which thrust him on to disquiet the possession of that by force, which he could not obtaine by reason. But for so great a proiect he needed a great Counciller, to direct and fortifie him in the execution of an enterprise of so great import. *Robert* Earle of *Artois*, a Prince of the blood of *France*, (descended from an other relation to *Lewis*. 8. and brother to *S. Lewis*), had a great suite with his Aunt *Mahauld* Counciller of *Burgongne*, for the Earldome of *Arthois*. *Robert* had laboured much for *Philip* in his great question for the crowne, against *Edward* King of *England* before mentioned, assuring himselfe, that *Philip* would requite him in his vniust pretention: but *Philip* preferred the countesses right, before *Roberts* wrong: so as leauing the course of iustice free, the County of *Arthois* was adjudged to *Mahauld*, by a decree of the court of Parliament of *Paris*. This losse did so discontent *Robert*, as he presumed to brag openly, that he would dispossesse *Philip* of the crowne, by the same meanes that he had raysed him vnto it. But this presumptuous threat, deliuered rashly before many witnesses, cost both the realme and himselfe

Edward resolves to make warre against Philip.

Robert of Arthois on the French and of war.

1337.

Love of Valois labor to stay them from shedding of blood.

Nota.

The great armies of France and England, neither without fighting. Edward takes on him the title of King of France.

The Germans leave Edward, and voyne with Phillippe.

A new quarrel for the Duchie of Brittain.

Advised to Edward against John of Montfort.

She resolues to imploy all her credit (as a Sister and Mother in lawe) with Philip and Edward, to keepe them from so dangerous abattaile. She runnes to the one, and to the other, but finds them both so resolute in their desseins, as shee is often reiecte: Yet is she nothing daunted. In the end she incounters their violent passions with such patience and dexteritie, as she obtaynes a day and place for a parle: although *James of Artenille* (a dangerous fle in a State) tickled Edwards eares, to crosse for comendable a resolution.

An example of a woman worthy of eternall praise, euen in this iron age, whereas women haue become miserab instruments of ciuil dissensions, and hellish fier brands to consume France with the fier of confusion and miserie.

A parle being concluded, deputies were chosen on either side, to treat: and by them a truce was made. *Tournay* is deliuered, and the armies dismissed, and so the storme preuented for this time, the which threatned both realmes. All good men reioyced, none but *James of Artenille* & his faction were greeued. So as (not able to auoide it) yet to feed Edwards humour, he aduise him to take vpon him the name of King of France: by the which both he and his complices should auoide the infamie of rebellion, and the punishment of high Treason: as hauing done nothing, but by the comaundement of their soueraigne. The date of this title of France was in the yeare. 1337. The which England holds to this day, and our Kings the realme in effect.

Edward left his wife at *Caen*, to keepe the Flemings at his deuotion, being a wife and a vigilant Princesse: & he himselfe returned into England, extremely greeued, for being unable to satisfie his Germans, for want of money, who expected a great bootie by this warre, from the which they scarce returned with their pay.

There sprang vp a newe combustion from this discontent, the fier being onely smothered in the embers, but not quenched. Philip makes his profit of the Germans discontent, and by the means of *Lane*, the wife of *Lewis of Buiers*, Emperour, being his nece, he wins them to leaue Edwards part, and to imbrace that of France.

Edward in like sort, strives to haue his reuenge on Philip. But to what ende serues all this, but to disquiet their estates, the which they ought to maintaine in peace? Thus the passions of Princes are bad counsellors for the good of their subiects.

This was the occasion of this newe breach betwixt the two Kings. *Arthur* Duke of Brittain, sonne to that *John*, Duke of Brittain, (who as we haue said, had bene slaine at *Lions* at the coronation of Pope *Clement*, 5.) had two wiues, and by either of them children, of the first named *Batris*, vicontesse of *Limoges*, he had two sons *John* and *Guy*, & of his second wife *Yoland*, countesse of *Montfort* & *Amuray*, he had *John* of *Montfort*, who contended for the duchie of Brittain.

John 3, the sonne of *Arthur*, dying without issue, hee made his niece *Lane* the daughter of his brother *Guy*, (who died before him) his heire in the succession of the said duchie.

In regard of this prerogative giuen to *Lane*, *Charles* of *Bois* nephew to King Philip married her, vpon condition, That those children which should be borne of this marriage, should bee lawfull heires to the duchie of Brittain, whereof *Charles* was inuested after the consummation of the marriage: all homages done vnto him, and hee was put in reall and full possession of the said Countrie, in the life of *John*.

After whole decease, behold *John* of *Montfort*, halfe brother to *Lane* (as we haue said) pretending to the said duchie, surpriseth *Nantes*, & then *Rennes*, *Fannes*, *Brest*, the Castile of *Aulroy* with many other places: & hauing receiued the homages of the Brittons he comes to *Paris*, to do his soueraigne homage to the King for the said duchie, and to be inuested therein. *Charles* of *Bois* opposeth in the right of his wife, and hereupon they are both sent by the King to the Court of Parlement of *Paris*, to do them iustice.

The Court with the Kings authority, sitting in his seat of Iustice, and in the presence of many Princes, decrees that *Charles* of *Bois*, in the name of *Lane* his wife, the lawfull heire of the duchie of Brittain, as succeeding the second son of the first bed, should be receiued by the King to fealty and homage, for the Countrie of Brittain, and *John* of *Montfort* the third son of *Arthur*, of the second bed, should be acknowledged in his degree, to enjoy

A his right when it should fall vnto him. *John* of *Montfort* disdaining this order, resolues to win that by force, which he could not recouer by reason: and in this humor he goes into England, crauing aide from *Edward*, who receiues him very graciously: but from thence he returnes into Brittain. Philip aduertised of these practises, pursueth *John* of *Montfort* with such successe, as hauing taken him prisoner with the Castell of *Nantes*, (whether hee was retired, he confined him to the Loure.

While these difficulties fall out in Brittain, there growes a newe trouble, by a strange accident, at *Naples*, in the familie of our Princes of France, of whome we haue spoken. We haue said, that *Charles the Lame* had manie sonnes, *Charles*, *Robert*, *Lewis* and *Philip*, *Robert* after this losse of *Sicilie* had for his part the realme of *Naples* and the Earldome of *Provence*: and left one sonne named *Charles*, who had two daughters, *Lane* and *Migdale*. *Lane* by the death of her sister, remayned sole heire of these two great Estats: and was married to *Andrew* the sonne of *Charles* King of *Hongarie*. The subiect of our discourse will not suffer mee to speake of the other children. *Philip* the yongest sonne of *Charles the Lame*, had one sonne, named *Lewis* Prince of *Tarentum*, verie faier, but of a violent and bold spirit. *Lane* began to loath her husband, and preferring the filthy loue of her Cousin before the honour of marriage, shee caused her husband *Andrew* of *Hongarie* to be slaine, cloaking this horrible and tragike acte with an impudent hypocricie: for she takes vpon her the habit of mourning after the death of her husband, whome she her selfe had slaine: and writes letters to *Lewis* King of *Hongarie*, brother to *Andrew*, full of lamentations.

Lewis knowing the detestable dissembling of this maistie, prepares his forces against these fayned teares: and without any dissembling, hee marcheth towards *Italie*, with a mightie armie, resolute to take an exemplary punishment of these wretched heads: but *Lane* and *Lewis* fle into *Provence*, before the storme.

Lewis (faured by the reuenging iustice of God) takes the Realme of *Naples* easilie, with *Charles* Duke of *Durazzo*, left for the gard thereof, and *Lewis*, *Robert* and *Charles*, Princes of the blood. The first hee beheads, the rest he sends into *Hongarie* to perpetuate punishment: and leauing *Stephen* *Vaynoida* gouernour of his newe conquest, hee returnes victorious to his realme.

In the meane time the hatred betwixt the two Princes growes violent, both by forme of force & by open force. Philip makes diligent search, both in *Normandie*, *Picardie* & *Guienne*, for the nobility which faured Edwards faction. He caused *Oliuer* of *Cliffon* to loose his head, (whose sonne shalbe Constable vnder *Charles*, 5.) with *Bacon*, *Perffy*, and *Grosfroy* of *Artois*. *Grosfroy* of *Harcourt* was sommoned, but in steed of appeering at *Paris*, he returned hither to *London*, to kindle the fier in France.

Yet in these preparations for warre, Edward gaue scope to his loues, for in the beginning of this warre, he instituted the order of the garter, with this motto, *Hony soit qui maly pense*, in honor of the Countesse of *Salisbury*, honoring in her the chastitie which he could neuer receiue by all his amorous practises. He armes on both sides, in *Guienne* and *Normandie*. The Duke of *Lancaster*, general of the army in *Guienne*, takes *Villefranche* of *Agnois*, *Angoulême*, *S. Byle*, with many other townes & Castells, to whome Philip opposeth his son *John* duke of *Normandie*, who recouers *Angoulême* & *Villefranche* fro the English.

By the greatest burthen of the warre fell vpon *Normandie*, whether *Edward* led the flower of all his Nobility, landing in the Countrie of *Cotantin*, with about a thousand saile. *Arthur* sent his heires all to fier and sword, takes the Towne of *Carentan*, by force kills all hee found armed or disarmed: spoiles, burnes and razeth the Towne. In the champion Countie he puts all to the sword, saying, that he did offer those sacrifices, to *Bacon*, *Perffy* & his other seruants, being vniuilly massacred by Philip. The reason was, for that the heads of these men stood vpon the cheefegate of *Carentan*. Then he takes and spoiles, *S. Lo*, and (after a great fight) he becomes master of *Caen*, with such a terror, as *Filaife*, *Lisieux* & *Honfleur* fled vnto him without any resistance. These townes being taken, he marcheth into the Ile of France, to drawe Philip to battaile, proclaiming generally that he called him

Troubles at Naples.

Lane Queen of Naples kills her husband.

The kingdom of Naples taken by Lewis king of Hongarie.

Warre renewed betwixt the two Kings.

In Guienne.

In Normandie.

1346. to fight in the view of all France, at the great Theater of his chiefe cittie of Paris.

At the same time, by the like practises, *Flanders* rebelled, by means of *James of Armentille*, who was more then a passionate partaker of *Edwards*. So the disordered passion of this desperate seditious man, was a trappe for his owne ruine. For as he not onely laboured by all meanes to shake off the *French* yoke, but also grew so audacious, as to perswade the *Flemings* to leaue their naturall obedience to their Earle, and to receiue a new Lord, such a one as the King of *England* should appoint: the *Flemings* much displeased with this insolent proposition of *Armentille*, (as the bloud of a faithfull subiect can neuer denie his Prince) they fall furiously vpon him in open assembly; and without any further proceffe, they kill him, reuenging vpon him the mischiefs they had committed by his pernicious counsels. Thus in the end, this Tribune receiued the guerdon due to such as abuse the furie of an enchanted multitude, making them the instruments of their passions against their superiours. This iust execution crossed *Edwards* designs in *Flanders*, and gaue the Earle meanes to repaire to *Philip* with his forces, and to consecrate his life to him, the which he lost in this voyage.

Philip slept not during these proceedings of *Edwards*. he had gathered together one of the goodliest armies that euer was seene in France, consisting of *French*, *Lorraines*, *Germains* and *Genouois*: he which he led towards *Meulan*, where *Edward* said, he attended to fight with him. *Edward* retires vpon this alarm: They imagined that he fled for feare, but the issue will shew, that the great God of armies had appointed his victorie in another place. He retires, and *Philip* followes, who in the end ouertakes him at a village called *Armentille*: a remarkable name, to shew that all the trust of humane forces, and all the desseignes of mans pollicie, are like vnto a quicksand. *Philip*'s great armie hauing the aduantage of being at home, presumed of an assured victorie. *Edward* retired to get the riuier of *Somme* at *Blamquetaque*, but he must fight for the passage. *Philip* had already seized thereon by *Condemar* of *Eure*, with a thousand horse, and 6000. foote, the most part of them Crosbow men: yet *Edward* resolved to passe or dye. With this resolution he leapes into the water, and cries out; He that loues me, let him follow me. At this speech they all plunge into the riuier, without any stay, so as presently the *English* recouer the bankes. *Condemar* troubled at this gallant resolution, amazeth his men with his terrified countenance. All giue way to the *English*, who (incountering out men in disorder) charge the rereward; but the retreat was neere, at *Albenville*, and *S. Riquier*, places vnder our obedience. The losse was not so great as the disgrace, yet was it a preface of a greater mischiefe which followed France. These poore men arrive at *Albenville* in a throng, all distempered with the amazement of this shamefull and vnfortunate flight. *Philip* exceedingly transported with this disgracefull retreat, resolves to be reuenged of *Edward*, to follow him, and to drave him to battaile. His counsell aduised him rather to rest his troopes some time, to take breath, that they might recouer their spirits, and in the meane time to let *Edward* alone, and to obserue his countenance: but hardly had he the patience to stay one day at *Albenville*, to repaire the bridge, ouer which his armie was to passe; but his drummes found a marche, going to seeke *Edward* (like a Strange that flies) and to giue him but life at what price so euer; puffed vp with a certaine hope of an infallible and triumphant victorie. But he had not made his account with God, who is not called the God of armies in vaine, who rules combats, and disposeth of the victories of great Monarkes, notwithstanding all their counsels, desseignes, courage and endeauours.

The armies were in view one of another. *Edward* had lodged his armie, and stood vpon his guard, with a wonderfull care, being in the Countie of *Ponthieu*, (a countie belonging vnto himselfe, by the right of his mother) incamped in a village named *Creey*: the which he intrenched and fortified carefully, both with trees cut out of the neighbour Forrest, and trenches wherewith he had strengthened his campe. His armie was about thirty thousand men, but their order, industrie, and resolution made them double. He gaue the foreward to Prince *Edward* his sonne, being yet very young, and for a guide, that *Geoffrey of Harcourt*, who (as we haue said) was retired vnto him; to whom he had giuen the office of Constable of *England*. The battaile he giues to the Duke of *Suffolke*, and reserved the rereward

A to himselfe, hauing placed his crosbowemen in front, and next ranked his horse, putting in the foremost rankes his battell axes and maces, and behinde his Lances: so as euery parte of the armie should fight, when as they came to ioyne, to their best aduantage. So much may order and foresight doe vnder that great God of battailes, without whome it is in vaine to order armies.

Philip's armie was farre greater, of a goodlier shewe, and more aduantage: consisting of about three score thousand fighting men, well armed with an infinite number of noble men, as *Charles Earle of Aranson*, brother to the King, *Lewis King of Bohemia* and duke of *Luxembourg*, *Charles Earle of Blois* Nephew to the King, *Raoul Duke of Lorraine*, the Earles of *Flanders*, *Neuers* and *Sancerre*, the *Duchesse of Viennois*, and many Barons, and gentlemen, in number about three thousand, who were come at the call of this new King, to the first fruites of his new possession: against him who contended for the Crowne.

His aduantage was far greater then that of *Edwards*, who fought in another mans countie. But in truth the commodities and titles hee had in France, did balance this aduantage, but with a different consideration. Vpon the Eve of this battaile, *Armentille* Earle of *Sauois* arrives with a thousand men at armes; as if all things had conspired to make *Philip* a conquerour.

Philip full of hope of an assured victorie, desires to fight, placing his armie in this order.

C He giues the foreward to his brother *Charles Earle of Aranson*, the rereward to the Earle of *Sauois*; and hee himselfe commands the battaile. But his desire to fight was so great, as he held euery little stay for a great delay. They gaue it out in the army, that the *English* fledde: so as they now vaunted of a victorie, euery one disposing of the *English*, according to his humour: but in searching out the reason of this brute, *Philip* thinks it good to discourte his enemies countenance.

Behold suddenly he receiues a contrary aduise. His scouts report, that *Edward* had already taken the field, & ordered his armie, attending the battaile. Then there was no hold *Philip* will needs fight, hardly can they hold a counsell standing about him, to aduise what they had to doe in so notable an occurrent: and euen halt (the stepdame of better affaires) would not suffer them to resolve. For at the last, instant, as the King had aduerisement of *Edwards* readinesse to fight, *Philip* (without any breathing) would haue led forth his army to battaile.

The King of *Bohemia* aduised him to refresh his men before the fight, and that his foete (consisting of crossebowes, and a good part of them *Genouois*, which were held to be resolute men) should make the front, and the horse should followe according to the appointed order. At the last they obtained so much respite of the King, as to seele their men speedely.

This done, they all prepare to another feast. The foreward made the first head, where *Charles Earle of Aranson* the Kings brother commaunded. But behold presently an vnfortunate occasion of a ruinous disorder. The Earle of *Aranson* (against the order decreed in Counsell) mistook that the *Genouois* foote men were in the first ranks, and makes them to change their places with some disgrace, saying, that it belonged not vnto them: and yet on this push depended all on their side. The *Genouois* discontented with his repulse, not onely fainted in courage, but also fell into a rage, so as changing their places, they cried out for anger, as giuing a signe to the enemy of their bitter discontent. This was seconded with another accident, as if Heauen had fauored the *English*. Suddenly there fell a great shower of raine, and then the burning Sunne appeared out of a cloud with a rainbowe.

In this forced and despitfull changing of places, the *Genouois* couered not their bowes, so as the strings being presently wet, they yeilded: and to increase the mischiefe, this alteration made them to change the order of their battaile, so as the Sunne lay in the Frenchmens faces and on the *English* mens backs: and to make their misfortune absolute, euery one was more incensed against his commander then against the enemy,

The French armie.

The two armies ready to ioyne.

Description of the battaile of Creey.

Remarkable circumstances in this great battaile.

1346. as a signe of some check at hand. Dangerous imaginations, they being ready to fight. *Philip A* was sufficiently aduertised of the armies disdaine against his brother, yet must hee needes fight: he held himselfe lost, if all were not lost.

Edward (who stood vpon a high eminent place, as it were in sentinell, to discouer with iudgement the countenance of the enemy) sees this change; heares the shout, and markes the place: resolving to charge it at the weakest part. The euent fauours his desseigne, he embraceth this occasion, not suffering them to take breath, or to repayre this error: he sends forth a troupe of crossebow men, chosen out of the foremost rankes: they sodenly discharge a shoure of arrowes, so thicke and violent, as at this first charge the *Geneuoi* (who were transported with choler, and surprised with this sodaine storme) brake their rankes and gaue way to the enemy: their wet strings beeing vnfit to serue, and their mindes not yet pacified, could not resist so great a force.

The battaile
of Crecy.

The Earle of *Alanfon*, incensed much against the *Geneuoi* for thus giuing backe, doubting his choler against them, crying on, like a desperate man. *Go go* (sayes he) *my friends, let vs charge these English horse, making our way ouer the bellies of these Geneuoi, who do but hinder vs.* And without any longer stay he gallops through the *Geneuoi* foote, who began to gather themselves againe together, according to their discipline.

The *Geneuoi* finding themselves wronged with this new affront, crie out againe, like desperate men, being impatient of any disgrace, so as strining to breake their bowes in a rage, they make way for the horse, who passe through them.

The Earle of *Alanfon* (being followed by the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Sauoy*, and by the *Dolphin of Viennois*) ranne with such fury and haste, as they were out of breath, before they came to charge the enemy: whom they found in better order, his horse being flanked on the one side, with a good troupe of foote, with bowes and crossebowes, whose strings had not felt the raine like to the *Geneuoi*.

This troupe of *French* horse (being very violent at the first charge) was to be feared: but they were sodainly stayed by a storme of *English* arrowes, which gaue both horse and men and for a supply, behold a newe troupe of *English* comes, to succour them that were engaged in the fight, and to increase the mischief. Yong *Edward* chargeth the *French* with another band of horsemen, and his crossebow men in flanke, being placed on the one side to fauour their horse, and to ioyne their arrowes (which played continually) with the cotes, telas, matles, and lances of their horsemen.

The which, not onely prolonged the parle, but also encreased the losse of the *French*, being charged on all sides. The Combat growes hot, being very equal in valour and courage, but not in force, by reason of the troupes of rescue, which *Edward* kept for the last charge.

Philip seeing his brother engaged among so many enemies, runs to his rescue. At his arrival the fight is doubled, the *English* bending their forces against *Philip*, and the *French* against yong *Edward*.

Philip is ouerthrowne vnder his horse (the which was slayne with many arrowes); but he was presently rescued, by *John* Earle of *Beaumont*: and then all the *French* crye out, that the King should retyre himselfe out of the Combat.

This crye (proceeding from yoll and well affected *Frenchmen*) gaue courage to the *English* being in fight, seeing the King in this danger.

Yong *Edward* was in no lesse perill, being compassed in on all sides, by the *French*, and assisted by his owne, so as they (fearing the euent of this charge) send to his father to succour him: who presently demanded of the messenger, *What blowe, what wound hath my sonne receiued? hath he bene ouerthrowne?* But vnderstanding that there was no such danger, and that they onely feared the worst. *Returne* (sayes he) *unto him, with this charge. Let him either vanquish, or die: and I will be a witnesse of his valour, to second him when neede shall require.*

A noble
speech of Ed-
ward.

Prince *Edward* and his men encouraged with this message, doubled both their courage and their blowes, and behold they are relieved with a fresh supply. Then the party be- came vnequall, these men being fresh and lusty, charge the wearied, and tyred, who see no

A hope of succours, but discovered a great groue of horse of rescue: wherein *Edward* the fa- 1346. ther beheld the sport, and kept the stakes.

Despaire should haue made our *French* troupes resolute to hazard all (as it hath chanced in other times) but their hearts fainted with their bodies. For this last battaillon (where *Edward* remained), coming from the hill, and charging our men without any great resistance, gaue the last blow, as checke and mate to our men already much disordered.

Then they all giue way, all are disordered, all disperfed. The slaughter is generall without respect of persons, the butchery is so bloody, as in the ende *Edward* (hauing compaission of so great effusion of blood) cries out to spare the rest: yet he was not able by these first cries to stay the souldiers from so easie an execution; who cut in peeces those poore runaways here and there, like scattered sheepe.

In the end *Edward* founds a retreat, and riding vp and downe, he doubles his command to kill no more, although in effect, the night and the wearinesse of the victors made an end of this execution.

So all were not slaine, but all overcome. Some troupes saued themselves in this general ouerthrowe, hauing neere places for a fauourable retreat. King *Philip* after this vnexpected defeat of so goodly an armie, being fallen from his hope, followed with a small troupe, saued himselfe at *Bray*: whether coming by night, and approaching neere the walles, the gouernour (being in armes vpon so notable an occasion) cries out, *Who is there?* *Philip* saues himselfe. *Philip* answers, *The Fortune of France.* Being knowne by his voice, the gates were presently

A horrible de-
fect of the
French.

Philip saues
himselfe.

C ly opened, but not without terrible cries and lamentations of his poore subiects, flocking about him like his poore children. Shall it in like sort be lawfull for mee to weepe in the remembrance hereof, being moued by the bitter apprehension of our present losses? O my country, it is not at this day alone that we mourne for thy miseries. King *Philip* then comforts them with a resolute countenance, and intreats them to hope for better. Hee was to be commended in this, that he despaired not in the apparent despaire of his affaires. He is resolute
in this great
calamity.

Hauing stayed at *Bray* some howre to take breath, he retires withal speed to *Amiens*.

The number of the dead was great, they hold for certaine, that there were slaine about thirty thousand men vpon the place: and the flower of all the *French* Nobility died or was takē there: as *Charles* Earle of *Alanfon* the Kings brother, *Lewis* of *Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles* Earle of *Blois* the Kings Nephew, *Raoul* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Lewis* Earle of *Flanders*, *James* *Dauphin* of *Viennois* the sonne of *Imbert*, the Eatles of *Sancerre* and *Harcourt*, with many Earles, Barons and gentlemen to the number of fifteene hundred. This miserable defeat happened in the yeare 1346. the 26. of August. A moneth famous by the euent of many miseries within this Realme.

The number
of the dead.

Edward King of *England* had all the markes of an absolute victorie: as the place of battell, the enseignes, many of the greatest commanders his prisoners, and in a manner all, except the Soueraigne (whom the bounty of God reserued for this Realme) the campe, the spoiles, the bodies of the vanquished, which could not be buried but by his mercie.

Some examine the causes and motiues of this great defeat, the which they attribute to the choler, hast and rashnesse of the King and his Brother. Truly hasty & rash heat is the stepdame of great actions, especially in warre, where the Captaines iudgement is more auaileable then the souldiers force. But why ascend we not from these second causes (true in that which doth concerne vs) vnto the first and soueraigne cause? The arme of the Eternal, purging this Realme full of vicious and corrupted humours, letting it blood, but not suffering it to die, this bloud letting shalbe the beginning of a stronger medicine prescribed by the same Phisition; & ministred vnto *France*, in the following raignes, but in the end we shal finde the operation, to the recouery of our estate. Let vs now see the progresse of our miseries.

The causes of
this losse.

Edward did all he could to manage this victory wisely, & *Philip* to preuent him, *Edward* without any stay passeth on, & without attempting the great Citties of *Amiens* & *Abbeuille*, although neerer, he makes shew to set vpon *Monstreuil* & *Bologne*, but he posted to *Calais* a fit place for the passage of *England*, *John* of *Vienne* Marshall of *France*, & with him the Lord of *Andreghan*, great personages in those daies commanded there, with a strong *French* gar- nison

Edward pro-
ceeding after
the battell
wonne.

mon, being assited with the faithfull resolution of the inhabitants. So, presently after the battaile of *Creffy* *Edward* did besiege the Towne of *Calais*. A long siege, painfull and of remarkable successe.

Philip amazed with these sharp crosses fallen out beyond his hopes of ease, slept not, although it were with much paine and lesse fruite. But his whole care was not for the overthrowe at *Creffy*. He had a further reach, following the trace of this vnfortunate losse. Hee was entred into a newe inheritance: this newe losse was to him a newe checke. Affliction is a great crime both in great and small, and opens their mouthes which haue their hearts ill affected. The people of *France* were in extreme pouertie: and yet the necessity of the Kings affaires forced them to a new charge. The ill gouernment of the publike nature: the falsehoode of the Treasurers (who enriched themselves by the pouertie of the miserable people,) the fall of money imbafed, the decay of trafficke, the increase of taxes, imposts & subsidies, were the causes of this general want: the which drew the people into dispaire, in this surcharge of troubles falling vpon the King. This burthen grewe the more heauie by a great famine, being followed by a strange generall plague, throughout the whole realme, as if heauen and earth had conspired to the ruine of *France*.

Philip inuironed with so many, and so great difficulties, continues constant, with a valorous resolution against them all. He prouids for the gard of the Citties of *Picardy*, lying neereit vnto danger and (to driue off the time vsit for armes,) he calles a great assembly of his estates, to take Councell, aide and comfort in the perplexity of so many dangerous occurrents.

In this assembly it was decreed, to call the Treasurers to an accompt, and to refer the gouernment of the treasure to Clergie men, & to the Nobility. Therby to free the people from all iealousie of ill employing it. The Abbots of *Marmouster* and *Corbie*, are chosen for this Intendancie: and to assist them, there are ioyned foure Bishops and foure knights. *Peter of Eflurs* Treasurer of *France* is committed to prison, & condemned in a great fine to the King. Many treasurers being condemned (iustly or vniustly) yeeld that at once which they had bin long in gathering, the sponge being then pressed by necessity. The *Bankers*, *Lombards* & other vsurers are then called to a strict accompt, by reason of their vnust exactions. The interests are proued to exceede the principall, the which is fortaired to the King. The interest is remitted to the debtor, which payed the principall. But the chief fruite of this assembly was, that the whole body was well inclined to succor the King in so vrgent a necessity, without any alteration for the new difficulties of State.

Thus the winter was spent without any memorable acte on either side. In the spring *Philip* goes to field with a great army, and approcheth neere vnto *Calais*, to drawe *Edward* to fight: but it was in vaine: for *Edward* contenting himselfe with his victorie, and not willing to run the hazard of a second battaile, kept himselfe within his trenches, and to manifest his resolution vnto *Philip*, he built houes about *Calais* to lodge his army drie, & sends for his wife, professing publicly by a solemne oth, not to rise vntill he did see an end, and make the inhabitants pay for their obdurate resolution.

On the other side *Philip* labored to crosse *Edwards* desseines, but with small successe. To worke a diuersion of this siege, hee makes war in *England*, by the King of *Scotland* meanes, and in *Flanders*, by his sonne *John*, then Duke of *Normandy*, and afterwards King of *France*: but all succeeded ill.

David King of *Scotland* (hauing by *Philips* perswasion, entred and spoyled *England*) was defeated, taken & brought prisoner to *London*, through the happinesse of *Edwards* fortune, and the diligence of his officers, *John* Duke of *Normandie*, hauing left *Guienne* by his fathers command, comes into *Flanders*, beseegeth the Towne of *Cassel*, held by the *English* faction: but he is forced to rise, by the within the Towne: Then he falls vpon *Lisle*, where, he hath a newe repulse, so as hardly could he retyre himselfe to his father *Philip*, who sees his subjects in danger of shipwracke, yet could he not releue them.

Guienne abandoned by *John*, for the action of *Flanders*, suffered much: for *Henry* of *Lancaster* Lieutenant for *Edward* in *Guienne*, (seeing the Country left weake by *Johns* departure) issues out of *Bordeaux* with an army, and finding no enemy, he doth easily surpris

many

A many Townes of *Xantorge* and *Faitou*, and laden with spoile he returnes home.

In the ende *Calais* yeelds to *Edward*, standing to his mercy, after a long and cruell famine, and almost a whole yeares siege (for the siege began the 30. of September. 1346. and the Towne was yeelded vp in August. 1347.

The French garrison was put to ranfome, and to set at liberty: the Inhabitants were worse intreated, the baser sort onely were suffred to depart with what they could carrie about them: and in their steed *Edward* sends a Colony of *English*, to whome he distributed all the goods of the vanquished, and fortified the Towne, especially towards *France*: to leaue this place hereditary to his posterity, who held it 200. yeares that is from the yeare. 1346. vnto the raige of *Henry* the 2. father to the King last deceased.

B The integrity of these poore inhabitants is remarkable in their extreme affliction, *Edward* had referred six of the chiefe Cittizens, to be at his disposition, for the satisfiing of his oath: hauing vowed, to make the blood to flowe in *Calais*. He demands them to this end, a cording to the conuentions. This charge being deliuered in the Towne house (where these miserable Bourgeois were assembled, by his permission, to giue their Countie their last farewell) they gaze one on another, terrified with so pittifull a condition. As they all stood in this common calamity, one of the troupe breaking this mournfull silence: *Seeing* (saith he) *I haue so often employed my life for my Countie's good, should I nowe feare to sacrifice it for my last obligation? O my Countrymen I doe cheerfully offer my head to the King of England's service, and will liue no longer in my Countie's miserie.* This hee spake without

C traires, and with so resolute a countenance, and a browe so manly big, as hee moued the whole company. so as all with one generall voice crye: *Let vs go to the death; it is the last duty we can performe to our poore Countie.* Immediately there was pressing among this great multitude, who should be of the six, to carry their heads to *Edwards* triumph. They were chosen out, drawn, bound and led to execution. The *Queene* hauing notice thereof, desired to see them; who were brought bound in the executioners hands. This spectacle moued her to weepe, and compassion caused her to beg a pardon of the King, beseeching him to giue life to these men worthy to liue after so constant a loyalty. She obtayne her request, and leaue for them to remayne still in *Calais*, esteemed to continue faithfull to their deliuerer, who had shewed themselves so constant in the faithfull leue of their last countie. The history did owe this digression to so commendable an act. The same Sonne brought *Edward* a wished successe in *Brittaine*: touching the quarrell for

D the Duchie, *Philip* had taken *John* of *Montfort*, and *Edward* in exchange tooke *Charles* of *Blou*, whome he led into *England*, and still weakeneth *Philips* authoritie in *Britain*, and settles his owne. Thus passe the affaires of this world, euery one hath his turne. The two Duchesses of *Britain*, *Ioane* the wife of *John* of *Montfort*, and *Ioane* the wife of *Charles* of *Blou*, did wonders in keeping those places they had in their possession, during the imprisonments of their husbands: without entering farther into the discourse of the female wars of these *Amazons*, worthy yet of eternall memory, hauing so courageously releued the afflictions of their imprisoned husbands, and neuer yeelded to necessity.

E *Flanders* likewise grewe mutinous, by *Edwards* practices, being then greatly respected for the successe of his victorious armes. The *Flemings* receiued their Earle *Lewis* of *Malle* without any opposition, being soune to that *Lewis* which was slaine at *Creffy*, but the Kings of *France* and *England* contended who should winne him. *Lewis* was in heart a *Frenchman*: The Citties were generally affected to *England*. The marriage of this young Prince was great: *Edward* desired him for his daughter; but especially the oportunitie of this rich Countie, for his affaires. He comes himselfe to *Gand*, to compasse his desire, but the count was not answerable: for although the Earle made shewe to embrace this alliance, at the great instance of his subjects: yet his heart was otherwise affected, who (vnder colour to goe to the Heron, goes out of *Gand* with a smal traine, & flies to *Paris*, to his wife, who hauing receiued him gratioisly, perswades him to espouse *Marguerit* the second Daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*, thereby to cut off all hope of marrying with *England*.

Thus the hatred of these two Princes continued: which in the ende must breake forth into hostile effects. *Picardy* was the stage of their lamentable tragedies: & from thence the

1348. miserie was disperfed ouer the whole Realme. *Philip* giues the gouernement to *Geoffry* A Earle of *Charny*, & the Lieutenancy to *Anthony* of *Montmorency*. They fortifie the Towns and bridle *Calais*, being allifted by a great number of voluntary Nobility, louing the command of thefe two great captaines, as a fchoole of military difcipline; to fhewe that the *French* did not faint in their afflictions.

Thefe loffes were then repaired by the gaine of the country of *Daulphiné*, one of the nobleft and goodlieft Prouinces of this Realme. And this was the occafion. *Imbert* of *Vmber* *Daulphin* of *Viennois*, hauing loft his eldeft fonne in the battell of *Crefly* (as I haue faid) and his yongeft being two or three yeares old, by a ftrange accident (they fay that he himfelfe let him fall out of his armes, as he plaide with him at a window, thinking to feare him) & moreover hauing *Amé* the 6. Earle of *Sauoy*, an irreconcilable & fpitefull enemy, being too weake to refift him, nor able to make choife of a kinfman to repaie his eftate (being weane of the world and decayed in iudgement) he refolues to caft himfelfe into the King of *France* his protection, to oppofe him againft his enemy, and to put this goodly inheritance into his hands, thereby to preuent the Eales greedy defire. Forthwith hauing aduerted *Philip* of his intention, and being graciously intertayned by him, he giues all the Countie of *Daulphiné* to him and his fuccellors Kings of *France*: vpon condition, that the firft fon of the houfe of *France* fhould carry the name of *Daulphin* of *Viennois*, & the armes of the country of *Daulphiné* fhould be quartered with the armes of *France*; & that the Nobility & whole country fhould be receiued with their priuileges. *Amé* Earle of *Sauoy*, otherwife a deare friend to *Philip*, fends his Embaffadors to make his benefit of this exchange, but it was not for him: all that he could obtaine, was to exchange fome land with that which laie intermixt within his territories adioyning, the better to lue in quiet afterwaris.

Daulphin incorporated to the crowne.

Daulphiné was thus incorporated to the Crowne of *France*. For we cannot with any reafon doubt, but in old time it was a member of this our Monarchy, as likewife *Sauoy* was. but in thefe diuerfities of portions, vnder the children of *Lewis* the gentle, as we haue noted before, the Realme and Empire, fwallowing vp both the clefett & the name of the Realme of *Arles* (in the which thefe Eftates were comprehended) haue maintayned themfelves by a remarkable diftinction: and fo vnder the authority of the Empire, they haue fince held their fouerainety, not acknowledging any Emperour but their Princes, *Daulphiné* is returned to his firft original, and *Sauoy* maintaines it felfe vnder the obedience of his foueraigne Prince vnto this day.

As for the name of *Daulphin*, giuen to the firft fonne of *France*, the execution of Prince *Imberts* will was not put in praftice, before *Charles* the fitte fonne to *John* then Duke of *Normandy*, in the life of his father *Philip*, and not giuen to *John* in the yeare 1348.

The yeare following, the City of *Montpellier*, one of the goodlieft of the Prouince of *Languedoc*, was purchafed by *Philip*, of *James* King of *Majorca* to whom it belonged. The obferuations of this firft authority of the Kings of *Majorca* are yet remarkable in the priuileges of the commonaltie of this goodly City, delectable for the fertile fiteuation & famous being the goodlieft Theater for Phifick in Europe. Thus in the affaires of this world, there is time to loofe, and time to win, that men might feafon their fpirits with this temperature, neither to be dioued with aduerfity, nor drunke with profperity.

The towne of *Montpellier* purchafed to the crowne.

Queene *Isabe* of *France* dies

In the flowing and ebbing of thefe gaines and loffes, one balancing an other, *Isabe* Queene of *France* wife to *Philip* died, leauing him two fonnes, for gages of her loue, moft worthy to be noted in the marriages of our Kings, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, and *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, whereof the firft (already of yeares) gouerned the affaires of the Realme in his fathers life, and fhall fucceed him in the Crowne, and *Philip* fhall be Duke of *Orleans*. This ifue might haue contented *Philip*, being very old and broken: yet before the yeare was ended he married *Blanche* the Daughter of *Philip* of *Eureux*, King of *Nauarre*, who had an other Daughter, *Margaret*, married to *Gafcon* of *Foix*, from whom fhall fpring *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, the fcouge of this Realme, in the fucceeding raignes.

But *Philip* did not long enioy this vnneceffary marriage: the which was a fecond burthen to his yeares and toyles, fo as he fell extremely ficke at *Nogent*. and hauing recommended concord and the care of his Realme to his 2. fons, leauing the crowne to *John* his eldeft

John hee yielded vp his foule to God, the threescore and fiftie yeare of his age, and of grace. 350. in the moneth of Auguft, hauing raigned. 23. yeares. A Prince whole great vertues were balanced with great vices: for he was deuout, quicke, hardy, valiant, refole in danger, couragious in affliction, louing order, iuftice and the people. But the pretumption of his valour, and his refolution often inclining to rafhenefle, choler and impatience, intercepted thefe vertues, and were the caufes of great miferies, both to him and his fubjects.

1350. *Philip* dies.

His difpofition

Truie he could not auoide it, but in taking poffeffion of fo great and enuied an inheritance, and hauing fo ftrong an aduerfary in front, he muft indure many croffes: but thofe inexcufable imperfettions caufed him to fuffer much more then he had done, if he had befted his authoritie with iudgement and patience, and incountred his aduerfary already vanquifhed, with modiftie and wifdome.

During the forepaffed raignes, fince the yeare. 1300. Neither the Empire nor the Church of *Rome*, were in any better Eftate: by the ftrange alterations of diuers changes, which happened in thefe two States: feeking to ruine one an other vnto the ende of this raigue. We haue left this difcours at the Empire of *Albert* the x. Duke of *Auftria*, to whom Pope *Boniface*. 8. gaue the title and the armes of *France* in difdaine of *Philip* the faire, who caufed him to bee inuefted after an other fort, by *Felix* of *Nogaret*, then hee would doe the Emperour of his realme. *Albert* liued not long after the imagination of this new royaltie, for hee was flaine foone after by his Nephew *John* Duke of *Suenia*, whome he had fpoiled of his Duchie, vnder colour that (being too prodigall,) hee could not gouerne it as was requifite.

Eftate of the Empire and Church.

Henry. 7. Duke of *Luxembourg* fucceeded *Albert*, being chofen with great affection of the *German* Princes, who feared leaft *Philip* the faire fhould feize vpon the Empire, by the Popes fauour being then a Frenchman, both by nation and difpofition, and refident at *Auignon*. But hauing vexed himfelfe with thofe inueterate diffentions of *Guelphs* and *Gibbelins*, in the ende he was poisoned by a Monke called *Bernard*, a *Iacobin*, vnder colour of giuing him the Sacrament in the Communion, at *Beneuent* in the yeare. 1313. To increafe this confufion, *Lewis* of *Bauiere* and *Frederic* of *Auftria* the fonne of *Albert*, contend for the Empire by open force: but they agreed to hold it by equall authoritie. Yet this diffention was foone reuined, by the meanes of Pope *John*. 22. borne at *Cahors* in *Quercy*, refident at *Auignon*: who (feeking to hold a foueraine authoritie ouer both, and to difpofe the Empire to whome he pleafed, entertayned this hatred betwixt thefe two Princes, the which burft out into open warre. *Frederic* was taken by *Lewis* in the yeare. 1323. who (fuppofing to bee now abfolute in the Empire) fodenly fallies into new troubles by the fame Pope *John*, who did excommunicate him, for that he would not refigne the Imperiall Popes dignitie into his hand to difpofe foueraignely thereof at his pleafure.

An Emperour poisoned very ftrangely.

Two Com-petitors for the Empire.

Diffention betwixt the Emperour & Popes.

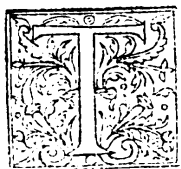
This new affront gaue *Lewis* of *Bauiere* occafion to examine the Popes authoritie, by the learned, and to raife a mightie army to fuppreffe him. So hee came into *Italie* to oppofe the force of the Empire againft the Popes excommunications, and to giue a Lawe to the Sea of *Rome*, which fought to controule him. *John* fled at this alarum. The Colledge of *Cardinalls* affemble, and vpon the Emperours complaint they depofe *John*, as a fugitiue, and create *Nicholas* 4. in his place. But there followes a ftrange alteration. *John* returnes and doth difpoffeffe *Nicholas*, but in the ende death furprifeth *John*, whome *Benedict*. 12. doth fucceede a *Tholoufane*, and to *Benedict*. *Clement*. 6. a *Limofin*, who begins more violently againft the Emperour then his Predeceffor *John*: for he caufed *Charles* Marquis of *Morbaw*, to be chofen in his place, being fonne to *Lewis* King of *Bohemia* and Duke of *Luxembourg*, of whome wee haue fpoken in this raigue. So all the world was turmoyled with a generall confufion in this age, the which drawes after it a long traine of ftrange calamities.

From 1308. to 1350.

JOHN 51. King of France.



1350.



He difficulties falling in the raigne of *Philip of Valois* (the which we haue represented) are but trifles in regarde of the horrible tragicke confusions, wherewith the following raignes haue bene afflicted, vnder *John*, *Charles the 5.*, *Charles the 6.*, and *Charles the 7.* I will adde also vnder *Lewis the 11.* vnto the warre of the common-wealth it selfe, the last fit of this intestine disease, the which shall cease for that time. So we will reckon a hundred and twelue yeares, of the most wretched time, that ciuill warres could breed in the bowels of this miserable State. The which begins not in our time onely to doe penance, cyther for the weaknesse of Kings, or the folly of subiects, or by the malice of such as haue abused both the one and the other; to serue their execrable passions. By the effects, we shall obserue what a good King is in an estate, and how pernicious the command of many is in a common-weale, who (hauing power in the loueraigne authoritie) abuse the people with a shew of the common good, an ordinarie cloake for such as fish in troubled waters. We shall see, by the vnruly euent of the contempt of royall authoritie (the King being eyther a prisoner, or sick in iudgement) what a body is without a head, a realme without a King well obeyed, and a multitude gouerned by it selfe. A subiect susceptible of all impressions (but of bad rather then good, though alwaies couered with a shew of good) an instrument of all mischiefs in an Estate, when as (transported, by violent and disordered passions, couered with a shew of common good) it is not restrained with the reynes of a lawfull authoritie: I meane a multitude, a dangerous beast with many heads, doing commonly more harme then good. We shall see heere what counsellours of State, the ambition and couetousnesse of great men be: especially when women entermedle, armed with the shew of publike authoritie: and to conclude, we shall confesse by a sound iudgement of this discourse, that all things done in our age were done before.

A briefe

51. King of France.

17

A A briefe preface for the greatnesse of the subiect, yet necessary for that which is represented in these raignes, the which we will note according to their occurrences.

The raigne of *John*.

John the eldest sonne of *Philip of Valois* succeeded his father in the yeare 1350. and reigned fourteen yeares. He had made a long apprenticeship in managing the affaires of the Realme vnder his father *Philip*; but he neither ruled better nor more happily. His manners shall be known by his actions. He had for sonnes by *Joane* Countesse of *Boulogne*, *Charles*, *Lewis*, *John*, *Philip*, and one Daughter named *Joane*. *Charles* his eldest sonne was Duke of *Normandy* in his fathers life, and Duke of *Normandy*, and after him King of *France*. *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, *John* Duke of *Berry*, and *Philip* called the hardy, first he was Earle of *Touaine*, and after (through his brothers fauour) Duke of *Burgogne*, and Earle of *Flanders*, in the right of his wife. *Joane* was married to *Charles* King of *Nauarre* and Earle of *Eureux*: Princes which shall play their partes vpon this Theater, in euery scene of the Tragedy that I am to represent, and for this reason they are to be obserued in the beginning.

His children and the most remarkable personages in this raigne.

This *Charles* King of *Nauarre* was sonne to *Lewis* Earle of *Eureux*, and of *Joane* daughter to King *Lewis* *Hutin*, who by the sufferance of *Philip* the long, her vnckle, succeeding to the Crowne, remayned Queene of *Nauarre*, and by this right *Charles* her sonne carried both the title and effect of the Realme, with many other great inheritances: A Prince of the blood royall both by father and mother, and sonne in lawe to King *John*, hauing married *Joane* his onely Daughter. A man of a subtil spirit, eloquent, active, vigilant, but ambitious, vnfaithfull, malicious, reuengefull, armed with the prerogative of his blood and the great meane he inioyed, to be a pernicious instrument to trouble the King & his Realme, beyond all measure, but in the end he shall receiue a due reward for his actions, by a death worthy of his life.

Charles King of *Nauarre*, the source of this calamity: The humours of *Charles* of *Nauarre*.

After *John*s coronation at *Rheims*, with his wife *Joane*, being returned to *Paris*, he began his raigne by a famous act of an vnfortunate preface: for he caused *Raoul* Earle of *Eu*, and of *Guines* to be beheaded in prison, vpon light accusations, as hauing intelligence with the *English*, and that he betrayed his affaires, for that he had passed and repassed into *France* vpon his faith giuen during his imprisonment. He was Constable of *France*.

A mournful beginning of his raigne.

John aduanced *Charles* of *Spaine* to his place, grand child to the King of *Castile*, and son in Law to the Earle of *Blois*, and so allied to the King, and exceedingly beloued of him amongst all his greatest fauourits. He shalbe the first frutes of many miseries, when as this raigne promised some rest, vnder a King of age and experience, fit to gouerne a Realme. For as *John* was busye to institute the order of the Knights of the Starre (in the ende growne so common, as it remains a badge for the Knight of the watch and his Archers vnto this day) there chanced a great misfortune to this Constable.

Charles of *Nauarre* complained, that the King detayned fro him the Counties of *Champagne* and *Frie*, belonging to his mother by the same title that the kingdome of *Nauarre* did. This was true, but by reason of their neerenesse vnto *Paris*, the Kings counsell had vnto these Earledomes vnto the Crowne, and giuen in exchange the Townes of *Mintz* and *Meslan*, with a pension answerable to the reuenues of the said Earledomes, without any pretence to the *Nauarrois*. But he sought an occasion for a cause, smothering some mischief in pretence in his hart, the which he discovered by many effects. Not daring to complain directly of the king, he quarrelled with the Constable, as the chiefe of the Council, of whom he was exceeding iealous, for the priuate fauour the King did beare him. Hauing taken Council with his passio, he caused the Constable to be slaine in his bed, at *Aligle* in *Normandie*, but with so great a presumption, as he himselfe came vnto the place accompanied with his brother *Philip* of *Nauarre*, *John* Earle of *Harcourt* and his brethren, and with many Gentlemen his followers. This murder thus audaciously committed, he retires himselfe easily to *Eureux* (whereof he was Earle) from whence he writes to the good Counties of the Realme, auouching this murder as done by his command, and iustifying it as lawfull and reasonable.

Charles of *Nauarre* discontented.Charles of *Spaine* Constable of *France* slaine in his bed by the King of *Nauarre*.

King *John* found himselfe much wronged, but not able then to redresse it, he promised to remit the fact, so as he would aske pardon with the reuerence due to his royall maiesty.

An imagined pardon.

B b 4

The

The which *Charles* is content to doe, but vpon good gages holding the Kings word A insufficient to secure his person. So as *John* giues him *Lewis* his second sonne for hostage.

The *Nauarrois* comes to *Paris*, he presents himselfe to the Kings Councell, and seeks to giue some reason for this murder: yet the Councell condemnes him as guilty of high Treason, & decrees that he should be committed to prison. *James* of *Fourbon* Earle of *March* (newly advanced to the office of Constable) laies hold on him, and puts him in gards; but all this was but for a shewe, to maintaine the publike respect: for presently the three Queenes go to the King. (*Jane* daughter to *Lewis* *Huttin* his mother in law; *Blanche* widow to *Phillip* of *Valois*, and *Jane* daughter to King *John*, Queene of *Nauarre*, his wife) *Charles* likewise came himselfe, and falls vpon his knees before the King: both he and they B seeme to weepe, and to sue for mercy of King *John*; who had already granted his pardon, vpon good assurance: *John* grants his request, yet could he not command his heart to leaue this malicious ialousie, the which made him to seeke new occasions daylie to crosse his father in Lawes actions.

He then offers his seruice to the King of England, who failes not to imbrace this occasion, hauing the heart and hand of a Prince of the bloud, whose power was great in the State. Vpon this assurance he sends *Edward* his eldest sonne Prince of *Wales* into *Guienne*, with a goodly armie: a yong man of an exceeding hope. And giues him for counsell, *John* *Shandos*, *Robert Knowles*, *Francis Hall* and *John* of *Arondel*, great men in their times, and which shalbe famous in those actions which shall follow.

He attended the end of truce, the which being expired he enters *Guienne*, and passeth in to *Lamendec*, to *Thelouise*, *Narbonne*, & ouer al he spoiles, takes, kills, and finds no resistance, and returnes without difficulty to *Bordeaux*, being loaden with spoiles.

At the same instant another cloud of English men breakes out of *Calis*, and spoiles the Country of *Picardy*: but *John* by these skirmishes foresees the tempest of a greater warre, measuring the forces of England by the will of King *Edward* his assured and tryed enemy.

He therefore seekes a remedie by an ordinarie course: he calls a generall Parliament, to take Councell and comfort from them in these newe occurrents.

Charles of *Nauarre* assists: but with an intent to crosse the Kings proceedings by indirect practices, and to withdrawe the subjects attentions from assisting the King with their meanes in this necessitie: but it was in vaine, for in regard of *Johns* promise to better the coyne, they granted him a reasonable aide to raise and intertaine a great armie. This faithful resolution of the French did for that time suppress the violence of the English, but not the furious malice of the *Nauarrois*: for hauing labored in vaine to disswade the people from their promised succours, and hauing raised, by these practices, seditions in diuers parts of the realme, he lands at *Cherebourg* with two thousand men, robs and spoiles the country, and takes the Castel of *Coches* in *Normandie* from the King. An intollerable presumption, of a subject against his Prince, after the murder of a Constable. But *John* dissembles this assault, and by the mediation of his sonne *Charles*, *Duch* of *Viennois*, he remits E this second taule, and receiues the King of *Nauarre* his son in Law, againe into fauour: but in effect he doth it to frustrate his purposes, and to punish such as had assisted him.

John did then giue the Duchie of *Normandie* to the *Duch* of *Brittain* for his portion: so as hee must take possession thereof. An apparent cause to drawe him thither: but in effect *Johns* intention was to drawe the *Nauarrois* into a place of easie surpris, to make him and his adherents to giue an accompt of their wicked actions, and to preuent them hereafter. The new Duke of *Normandie* arriues at *Roan*, whether all the good Townes of the Countrie runne to do him homage. The King of *Nauarre* (who held *Eureux* and many great Lordships in the Countrie, with one of the greatest dignities in the realme) comes to do F him honour, well accompanied, but better receiued by *Charles* his brother in law.

The King aduertised that the *Nauarrois* was at *Roan* with his sonne, goes speedilie from *Paris*, accompanied with his Brother *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, *Lewis* his second sonne Duke of *Aniou*, the Earle of *Tancarville*, and *Arnoul* of *Endregham* Marshall of France, and

New warre
by the King
of *Nauarre*
practises.

Open force of
the *Nauarrois*
against the
King.

A and ranne to *Roan* with this great traine.

Arruuing about dinner time, he presently goes to his sonnes lodging, where he findes him at table, accompanied with the King of *Nauarre*, and the most of them which had assisted him at the Constables murder, where (without any more deliberation or delay) he caueth them all to be apprehended. And then (not pausing longer) he made choise of fouer out of this number, the two Brethren of *Harcourt*, the Lord of *Maubue*, and *Colinet* *Douillet*, chiefe actors in the foresaid murder, and without any other forme of proceeding, as a matter long before determynd) he caueth their heads to be cut off, setting the B vpon stakes, and drawing their carcasses to the gibet. The next day he made choise of prisoners, and sends the *Nauarrois* with *Friquet* and *Bontabu*, his domestick and most trustie seruants, to *Arras*, vnder saueguards, and presently dismiseth all the rest to their houles, enioyning them expressly vnto fidelitie and loyaltie to his seruice, bynding them by a new oath.

This vnexpected execution amazed the whole Countrie, like to a cracke of thunder: but it routed vp the *Nauarres* faction: especially *Philip* of *Nauarre*, brother to *Charles*, and *Cecily* of *Harcourt* Vncle to the two Brethren beheaded, the which opened the gates to a strange confusion, which shal cast *John* into miserable captiuitie, and drawe the *Nauarrois* out of prison, with a flaming torch in his hand to fier the whole realme. Behold *Philip* and the house of *Harcourt* presently in *England*, crying out against murder. They inuocate *Edward* to stretch forth his hand to bee reuenged of so notable an iniustice and disloyaltie. They offer him their hearts, persons, goods, Townes and hauens, to land in C *Normandie* without any difficultie, and there to make warre comodiously against the trecherous and cruell a Prince.

Edward a wife and vigilant Prince, who had his eyes open to all occasions that might annoy his enemy, imbraceth this offer: hee assembles his troupes to send them speedily into *Normandie*. And, to do nothing by halues: hee imployes all hee can to leuie a great army, the which he sends into *Guienne*, to make worke for *John* in diuers places, and not to suffer this first heat of the discontented frenche to coole, hee then without anie delay sends the Duke of *Glocester* into *Normandie* with 4000. choise men, who lands easily, and ioynes with *Philip* of *Nauarre*, and so they ouerrune and spoile the Champion Countrie. The terror of these newe forces spreads presently ouer all. The Towns of *Lizieux* D *Orbes*, *Belchelo* and *Pontean* on the sea, yeeld presently. And (not staying to beseege any great Cities, he goes to *Bretueil* and *Tuillieres*, and from thence to *Vernueil* in *Perche*: the which he takes easilie, giuing it out in all places, that it was to reuenge the wrong done to the King of *Nauarre* and his seruants: a dutie of humanitie which Kings ought not to refuse one to another in their greatest necessity.

King *John* hasteth thither with his armie, and recouers *Bretueil* and *Tuillieres*, and had easily repossessed all the rest, if a new occasion had not drawn him else where, and the secret decree of God, to his owne ruine.

Edward Prince of *Wales*, the eldest sonne of *Edward* King of *England*, was then in *Guienne* E to gouerne the Countrie vnder his Fathers authoritie. *Edward* lends him two thousand horse and 8000. English Archers, with commission to assemble all he can in the Countrie of *Guienne*, vnder his obedience: where hee was followed by a great number of the Nobilitie, and houses of marke. The cheefest were *Capitall de Buch* and the Lord of *Grailly*; (some thinke that out of these two houses vnited, the race of *Candale* is issued) with the Lords of *Esparre*, of *Mucidan*, of *Montferrat*, of *Duras* and of *Segur*. All prepares for a great hurlyburly *John* hauing leuied a goodlie armie, turnes head to the place, whether the greatest burden of the warre did call him. Hauing therefore lefte sufficient forces in *Normandie* to make head against the Duke of *Glocester*, he marcheth towards *Poitou*, whether the Prince of *Wales* was nowe come.

F Pope *Clement* the 6. a *Limosin*, resident at *Auignon*, sends the Cardinal of *Peregrin* his legate to these two Princes (being ready to fight) to calme this storme. But the preparatiō of *Johns* great forces, was the chiefe motiue to make *Edward* willing to giue ouer: who began to flay and to thinke of his retreat, and of reasonable composition by the Legats meanes:

1352.

Charles of
Nauarre taken
prisoner
by the King.
Power of his
complices be-
headed.

Occasion of
newe warre.

Warre in
Normandie.

Warre in
Guienne where
the Princes of
Wales com-
manded.

King *John*
marcheth a-
gainst the
Prince of
Wales.

in comes, who goes from one to another to make this accord. *John* demanded *That Edward* should *giue him fewer hostages, and at one vanquished should remaine at his mercy and discretion.* *Edward* was content to yeeld vp all that he had taken from him, but without any blemish to his honour, whereof he said, he was accomptable to God and his country.

John would not accept of this offer (notwithstanding all the intreaties and perswasions the Legate could vie) finding himselfe farre stronger then his enemy: saying, it was his aduantage to prescribe him lawes. But his Fathers experience, so decerely bought, should haue taught him wit, and not so willingly to runne into a mischiefe. Oh miserable *France* which art neuer wise but too late.

This *King* shuts his eyes to Presidents, stops his eares to all admonitions of reason, seeing his owne ruine wilfully, as if the time had beene too short for his perdition. He desired at any hand to fight presently, to whip this yong warriour, hauing forgotten that he had plaid his pive at *Cressy*; and learned not to be rash in a matter of so great consequence, but what followed?

The onely meanes to preserve the vanquished, is to hope for no helpe. So *Edward* seeing himselfe reduced to this extremity, either to loose his honour or his life, he resolues to imploy his life courageously, to saue his honour vertuously, & the euent fauored his resolution.

John had all aduantages ouer *Edward*, both of number force, shewe, country, and content (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall the choise of all his horsemen, (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. Being well adueritied of the number and estate of the *Englisch* armie, (which consisted for the most part of footemen) his meaning was to draw him to battell presuming easily to defeat this troupe of *Englisch* bowmen with so great a number of Lances and battell axes well armed. So as putting all hope of victory in his horse, he makes the forme of his battell according to this dessein. But he had forgotten that neither horse nor horseman saues the man in the day of battell. He resolues therefore to charge onely with his horse, and to giue his Nobility the honour of the victory, the which he held confidently in his hands, before the battell.

Vpon this project, he arrangerh his foote apart in one battalion, and deuides his horse into three squadrons, whereof he giues the first to his Countable (some name the Duke of *Athenes* the stemme of the house of *Tremouille*: and some vnto, that he was of the house of *Breant*, accompanied with two Marshalls of *France*, *Arnould* of *Encreghen*, and *John* of *Clermont*.

The second was giuen to *Charles* his eldest sonne, and the third with his sonne *Philip*, hee reserves to himselfe. In this confidence of his horsemen he bathes himselfe of a new stratagem: out of euery squadron he chooseth a hundred horse, and so made one body of three hundred, meaning therewith to breake the first ranks of the enemies army, which for the most part were foote.

The Prince of *Wales* prest by necessity, had another dessein. Standing vpon his defence, he resolues to encourage himselfe, and by courage to animate his army with an obstinate resolution, to fight desperately agaynst so great and strong an enemy, and so to giue his forces as the combat might proue difficult to the enemy, whom hee sees ready to charge. He lodgeth his armie in a place of aduantage for the defence against the horse, hauing both behind them, and on their flanks, Vines, Bushes, Hedgerowes and vnderwoods, all of hard approach for the horse. But hee adds industry and makes the place more inaccessible, causing the souldiers to cast vp great trenches with wonderfull expedition. Hauing provided for his campe, he doth place his Archers vpon the approaches so politely, as they might succour the horse and berelued by them, and likewise resist the enemy when they should be charged. But about all her labors to animate his Souldiers, so as the courage of this small troupe did equall the number of the greater, in this firme resolution, eyther to vanquish or to die together, to maintaine their honours and good fortunes, & in this order the *Englisch* attend the *French* army confidently, whom they see preparing to fight.

W

Whilest that *Edward* provides thus for his defence, there befell a great contention in the *French* armie, the which swaies much in this dayes fight. For comming to make choise of a hundred horse out of euery battaillon, there were some discontented; (the places being giuen rather by fauour then merit) so as such as were left behind, finding themselves grieved, as with a repulse, were more ready to double their despight, then their courages to fight. Impressions which import much in these great occurrents, when the minde must still be present with that we doe, and not be distracted with any other affections: but they are now ready to fight. Behold this troupe of 300. horse departs, commanded by *Englische* of *Ribemont*. The trumpets sound to battaile, they all runne to the easiest approach of the *Englisch* trenches, to drawe forth their footemen, and to prouoke them to fight.

This was another error of *Johns*, that being stronger then *Edwards*, beseeing him in the Vines, and cutting off his victuals, in few dayes he might haue vanquished him without blowes. But ouer-weening, impatiencie, and hast, drew him to his ouerthrow. This great squadron forceth into the Vines, and enters fight with the *Englisch* foote: but the issue of *Johns* new stratagem was contrary to his expectation: for in this first charge they find resistance.

The Archers planted in the Vines with aduantage, galled them in the first ranks with their arrowes, whilest that others (lying vnscene in the rowes adioyning) aime at them at their pleasures, shooting forth a dangerous storme of arrowes, and vpon their flanke riseth another showre, which passeth through these horsemen, whereas neither Lance nor Bartleaxe could preuaile. Hauing made this first charge with so great losse, they seeke to retire, and to charge the enemy in some other place; but they fall into a greater perplexitie, for the horses sinck in this mirie ground, and are intangled among the stubbes, stakes and trees: some fall, some rise againe, all are in confusion; they lie plunging in the ditches and trenches, and the *Englisch* arrowes flie from all sides. This troupe hauing drawne downe the rest by degrees, like to a current of water which disperseth it selfe by a channell, the more men, the more disorder. Our *Frenchmen* grow amazed at this repulse.

The *Englisch* seeing them giue back in confusion, crie victorie, and follow their aduantage, sinking on all sides, as they lay wallowing one vpon another. King *John* runnes to repaire this disorder. He performs the dutie both of a good Captaine (in gathering together his disperfed men) and of a valiant Souldiour, in fighting courageously: but the blow was already giuen, all was lost. The Duke of *Athenes* Countable, and *Thom* of *Clermont* Marshall, were slaine at the first charge. The Standard royall appeares no more, by the fall of the Earle of *Charnie*, who carryed it in this dayes fight. The greatest part of the commanders, and of this braue Nobilitie (who sought to be in the front) are vnhoised.

This rampart ouerthrowne, and the rest shaken & broken in peeces, the Prince of *Wales* preuailes the more easily. King *John* is farre engaged in the conflict. The *Englisch* crie; *ta the King, to the King*. Being charged on all sides, he defends himselfe admirably, and his sonne *Philip* (being neere him) surmounted the ordinary courage of the most resolute Souldiers, in shielding his father from blowes. (This generous valour did first purchase him the name of *Hardy*, and the course of his life did confirme it in diuers worthy actions) but in the end they are both prisoners.

There was some controuersie, (not without extreme danger to his person,) for hauing yeelded vnto *Denis* of *Morbet* his owne subiect, (borne in the countrie of *Arthois*, banished for some fact) he was halld by other souldiers, who pretended an interest in this prize. But the Prince of *Wales* vnderstanding therof, sent him an honorable gard, of some of his most trusty seruants, whilest that he made the victory absolute. The head being taken, all are surprized with feare: all are disperfed, and the slaughter is generall without resistance. *Edward* content to haue the head, sounds a retreat, and forbids them to pursue the victory. Many saue themselves in *Poitiers*: which stands vpon her garde, least the enemy should enter with them that fled.

The

1356.
King John taken prisoner
since Edward
receives him with
great respect.

The victorious Prince remayning vpon the place of battell, sendes a troupe of Noble A men Gascons, to receiue the King prisoner, and to conduct him to his pavilion, the which they do with great respect. *Edward* seeing him approach, meetes him with great reuerence, honours him, comforts him: entertaines him with a louing discourse, and promisseth him all the good vsage a great King could expect in his aduersity. A young Prince twise a conquerour, hauing vanquished his enemy, both by valour and courtesie, leauing an honourable trophie of his humanity and wisdom in his misfortune. A notable example for Princes shewed a couragious minde in his misfortune. A notable example for Princes to shewe an inuincible constancie, against the most dangerous losses, amongst which the losse of liberty holds the most mournfull rancke, and is of the bitterest digestion.

Our losse was then very great and the sequele very pernitions. They number seuen-hundred Gentlemen slaine in this battell, amongst the which there were fifty two Lords.

The number
of the dead.

The chiefeft of marke were *Peter of Bourbon* the Duke of *Athenes* Constable of *France*, *John of Cleimont* Marshall of *France*, *George of Chemy* great Chamberlaine, *Renauld of Chailons* the Bishop of *Chailons*, the Lords of *Pont*, and *Fayette*, and of the common sort five or six thousand. A hundred ensignes were brought away in triumph, the spoyle carried away, the place of battell free, the dead bodies at the conquerours mercie. The King was taken (the chiefeft part of the victory) & with him was led into the same prison *Philip* his fourth sonne (afterwards Duke of *Burgogne*) *James of Bourbon* Earle of *Ponthieu*, *John of Arthois* Earle of *Eu*, *Charles of Arthois* his brother Earle of *Longueuille*, *Charles* Earle of *Tancarville*, *John of Melun*, and his sonne Archibishop of *Sens*, the Earles of *Vendosme*, *Salbruch*, *Nassau*, *Dampmartin*, *la Roche* and many other men of accompt. This ouerthrow happened in the year 1356, the 19. day of September, continued with many confusions, whereof I tremble to discourse.

The prisoners
taken in the
battell.

But let vs continue the order of our history. *John* (falling into his enemies hands) is brought to *Bordeaux*, and fro thence safely conducted into *England* to *Edward*, who shewed himselfe as courteous to his capitall enemy being his captiue, as glad of his Sonnes victory. Some say he commended him more to haue receiued *John* with humanity, then to haue conquered him by his valour. A lesson for great Princes to learne, that vertue doth quall valour, and that he is rightly a conqueror that can vanquish himselfe.

A lesson for
great Princes.

He doth lodge him honourable in the City of *London*, in the Duke of *Lawcasters* house, with his son *Philip*, vnder a sure gard. The other prisoners are dispersed into diuers places according to their qualities, to drawe a reasonable rancome from them: the which as they payed, sent them free to their houses with much honour, and at that instant he gaue liberty vpon the kings word, being captiue, to all such as he would answer for.

In this great calamity, God looked vpon *France* with his eye of pity, willing to chastise it, but not to ruine it. For he reserued (during the Kings captiuitie) royall heads, to saue this estate from shipwracke, being almost ruined, both by the great afflictions passed, as also by the imprisonment of their soueraigne head, and the death of many great personages necessary instruments for the preservation & greatnesse of the State. As *Charles* eldest son to *John*, *Dauphin* and Duke of *Normandy*, *Lewis* Duke of *Anion*, and *John* Duke of *Berry* escaped in this defeat. *Charles* was of so wise and temperate a spirit, as he seemed capable to gouerne this great barke, in the most horrible stormes of confusio, which happened in this Realme, during his fathers imprisonment.

The admir-
able prouidence
of God in the
preseruacion
of this estate.

John continued five yeares a prisoner, for he was taken in the year 1356, in September and was deliuered in the year 1361, in the moneth of May. But let vs describe in order the disorders which chanced in his captiuitie.

As soone as the *Dauphin* (so called vntill he be regent) came to *Paris*, he imployes all his wits to procure his Fathers liberty, and to maintayne the Kings free authority in the Realme: the which was as much restrayned as the Kings person. But in this good and commendable resolution he found strange difficulties. He presently calls a generall assemblee of the Estates at *Paris*, in October following: an expedient remedy for the greatest affaires of this monarchy, profitably practised in the most vrgent causes of our Kings.

There

A There *Charles* laith before them, not onely the miserie wherevnto the King his father was brought; but also the whole realme in his person; he intreats them to giue him counsell and assistance in this so great an extremitie.

1356.
Charles
before the
Parliament
at Paris.

The cause spake of it selfe; his person was an excellent Orator. Moreover, he failed in no point of his dutie: for his mournfull countenance exprest his sorrow naturallie, and he could well vrg the necessitie of the prooffe, with so wise & modest an eloquence, as it would haue moued and dissolued euen the hardest Rockes of the *Pyrenean* mountains. But the answer which was then made him, and the long continuance of cruelties giuen him in so commendable an action, shew well what an ill counselled people is, and how dangerous it is to let slip the reines of restraint to so furious a beast; which growes then most outrageous, when there is greatest need of mildnesse and modestie. Without doubt there had bene many disorders in the former raignes: and in this new contropertion the Crowne, *Philip* had made great breaches. But is it now time to complaine of the likes, when he lyes at the point of death, and to represent vnto him his forepassed errors, in stead of applying fit remedies for his griefe? So doe the people (being wittie and eloquent) complaine of the errors of their superiours, and are more ready to increase the crueltie, by remedies worse then the disease it selfe, rather then to cure it; as shall appeare by the popular actions, during the raigne of King *John*, who from complaints haue exceeded to audacious seditions: and in the end to cruell and tragicke massacres: not onely to tread vnder foote, but to ouerthrow the lawfull authoritie of this Monarchie.

A multitude
ill counselled
dangerous
in action.

The peoples
intolerance
during K. John's
imprisonment.

C The Parliament consisted of all the best cities of the realme: but as *Paris* is the chiefe, so haue among the rest the first degree and greatest meanes, it was also the chiefe in credit. So as when order is well obserued, it brings the greatest benefit to this estate: but when as disorder raignes, the greatest confusion comes from thence. The Church holds the first ranke in Parliament: and then the Prouost of Marchants in the citie of *Paris*, whereas the Vniuersitie had then great credit. All parts shall play vpon this Theater, either for good or euill, by strange accidents. But let vs returne to our *Dauphin*. After that he had made his proposition; the Estates being assembled in one body, resolved: That to auoide confusion, there should be fittie chosen out of all the Prouinces, to determine of things necessary, according to the instructions & remembrances declared to them. These fittie deputies assemble in the Grayfriars, where by a common consent they resolve what to say vnto the *Dauphin*: who being intreated to come vnto their assemblee, and set to heare some notable offer of assistance, conformable to the necessitie of the time, *Robert le Cocq* Bishop of *Lyon* spake thus vnto him in the behalfe of the companie. That the assemblee beseeched him to sweare to keepe secret what should be deliuered vnto him by the Estates. This young Prince being nothing amazed in this perplexitie, answers them presently with a resolution. That he should greatly forget the degree he held in the State, in receiuing a law from his fathers subiects. And therefore he did command them, by the naturall authoritie he had ouer them, to speake freely what their hearts conceiued. Then the Bishop in all their names, made knowne vnto him the ill gouernment of the treasure, demanding redemation thereof, with a commission to call the receiueurs to an accompt; that all such as had managed the kings money, should be displaced; & that hereafter both the treasure, and the affaires of State should be gouerned by 4. Prelats, & 12. Bourgeois, amongst the which the citie of *Paris* should haue the first degree & credit: and that without this counsell the *Dauphin* should attempt nothing. And for the conclusion of all their demands, they require him most instantly to set the King of *Nouarre* at libertie. And vpon this condition they promise the *Dauphin* aide & succour for his fathers deliuey.

Paris the
chiefe citie of
France: either
for good or
euill.

The Deputies
of the Parlia-
ment make
vncertaine
demands vnto
the Dauphin.

The *Dauphin* noting plainly both the intention of this ill aduised people, and that it was now out of season to take exception at the violence of these popular furies; demands respite to giue them an answer; the next day passeth in this sort, without answer to the deputies, who intreate him to resolve. He makes his excuse vpon the importancie of the affaires, and demands a new day to consider thereof. And as they pressed him dayly to make his answer, so he still prolonged the time by many subtill delaies, grounded vpon sundry excuses, of purpose to disperse them, and to dissolve their counsels; the which he

Cc

scs

1357. fees was practised by his enemies. And hauing cauled the deputies to attend many daies, A (this plot to holdis pursued) grew colde, and (tired with tediousnesse,) they retorne home to their houses, without any other frute, then great shewes: leauing the King languishing in prison, and the realme in pittifull disorder. But they parted not without leauing the chiefe leuaine of their intended mischiete at Paris, and too many hands to worke in this masse of confusion, to the great preiudice of France.

An ill aduised people hath this humor. To complaine still of the present estate, and to seeke the future with hope of better. The Parisiens who had seized vpon authoritie, (more carefull for the deliuerie of the King of Navarre, then of their lawfull king,) summon the Daulphin to set the Navarrois at liberty, according to the decree of the Estates: and taking his delaies for a deniall; they practise with Iohn of Piqueny, gouernour of the countrie of Artois (to whom K. Iohn going to the vnfortunate battaile of Poitiers, had giuen it in keeping, to deliuer him out of the Castell of Alleux in Cambrisis, where he had remained ninetie moneths a prisoner. This young Prince inuironed with all these difficulties, had yet one which exceeded the rest. The Bishop of Lion the chiefe of his counsell betrayed him, being a priuate and passionate partaker of the Navarrois. Charles King of Navarre is deliuered, meaning to come to Paris, and therefore he demands a safe conduct from the Daulphin, who grants it, will he or no; that is, he puts a sword into the hands of his most malicious and furious enemy, and lodgeth him in his owne house. These were bitter pilles, but he must digest them, euen the Daulphin and all good men that did assist him. But many of them (to the allow of these conuitions by their free contents,) retire themselves to their houses.

The Navarrois hauing his passport from the Daulphin, not onely as a gage of the publike faithfulness, but as a sentence against king Iohn being prisoner, goes to Paris with a state- lie traine, where they all prepare for his entertainment. The Bishop of Lion, and the Prouost of Marchants, with a great troupe of his Partisans meet him, who went to lodge in the Abby of S. Germaine. He lets the people vnderstand, that he desires to speake publicly vnto them. A scaffold is built, & the people throng in great troupes, bringing both hearts and cares. The Navarrois (a subtil and an eloquent man) represents vnto them the wrong of his imprisonment, and his interest to the Crowne: he desires iustice might be done him according to his desert and qualitie; but about all, he spares not to touch that sting which should aduance him to the royaltie. The people applaud him, and giue charge to the Prouost of Marchants to make the Daulphin acquainted therewith: the which he performs with a brauado. The Bishop of Lion (a treacheous servant to his Maistie) answers for him (being silent in this necessitie) That the Daulphin should shew grace and fauour to the King of Navarre, as one good brother ought to another. He makes the Daulphin so humble, as he prevents the Navarrois (who kept his lodging but to preach to this seditious multitude) and doth visit him first, whom he doth tearfully meete at the doore with a colde welcome. He requies audience of his demands. They are read in counsell, which consisted for the most part of men corrupted. When it was decreed: That all which the King of Navarre and his complices had done against the King, and his realme, should be forgotten as neuer done. his goods seized and in the Kings hands, should be restored both to him and his, with their honours, which had bene behoued by the commandement of King Iohn: their lones should be gathered together, and honourable interred: all acts of condemnation disannulled, and an act of their iustification authentically drawne, to free them and theirs hereafter from all ignominy. The demand of the King of Navarre pretended title, was remitted to another time.

But the Navarrois brings in the king of England, of whom the Daulphin demanded a truce: the which he grants vpon condition, That he might succour the King of Navarre & Iohn of Monfort duke of Brittain in their pretensions. Thus the seeds of warre were sown during the continued calamitie of this poore realme, by the means of Charles of Navarre.

At the same instant Edward makes rigorous demands of his prisoner Iohn, on whom (for all his good countenance) he meant to make a benefit by his captiuitie. He required homage of him for the realme of France, as holding it of the realme of England, and vpon this condition he would set him at libertie. K. Iohn being of a courageous spirit, though a prisoner

The King of Navarre set at liberty, comes to Paris.

The Bishop of Lion a traitor to his maistie.

The Daulphin yields to the Navarrois.

New causes of warre.

A in his person, answers him freely. That he must not speake to him of this which he neither ought, nor would do, to alienate a right inalienable. That he was resolved at what price soeuer, to leaue his children, as hee had received it from his Ancestors. That affliction might well ingage his person, but not the inuolable right of the Crowne, where he had the honour to be borne: ouer the which neither prison nor death had any power, & especialy in him, who should alwaies hold his life well employed sacrificing it for the immortal preservation of France.

This generous magnanimitie of King Iohn, gaue as great occasion to pittie his calamity as the strange conditions of the English being victor, ministered matter of grieue and disdain to all true hearted Frenchmen: but all this could neither temper the malice of the Navarrois, nor the furious impudencie of this enchanted people.

He exp in the Daulphin intreats the Parisiens to take pittie of his poore father: who not able to auide the inuitable crosses of fortune, common to all degrees, could well shewe his assistance in greatest afflictions. But these brutish mindes will not be moued by any apparent reasons: so as after this poore Prince had vsed all the submissions necessity could bring to win the people, in the end after the losse of his paines, he fought to the other Cities of France. Hauing left Lewis Duke of Anjou his brother at Paris, to supply his place, & to maintaine some shewe of authority, the effect whereof crept hourelly into the Navarrois power, he went from Cittie to Cittie, crauing aide of the French, for the deliuerie of his father and the restoring of his Estate.

The story doth much honor the Prouince of Languedoc, to haue made greateshewes of duty to their King being prisoner: for it obserues. That the three Estats of the Countrey (assembled in one body at Tholouse) vnder the authority of the Earle of Armagnac their gouernor, did freely grant a great aide to the King: for the performance whereof, they would not only employ their reuenues, but their most precious mouables, yea their wiewes, Jewells. And to testifie their generall heauines, they abandoned all sumptuous apparell and bankets, especially all daunces, makes, plaies and other pleasures, during the captiuitie of their King.

Champagne followed this commendable example. But examples did no more moue the Parisiens hearts: then reason had done, who answered the Daulphin roughly, when hee intreats them most humbly, that hee should call an other Parliament, where they would advise what was to be done. Their intent was to take all authority from the Daulphin, and to vltimate themselves: to dispose of the tresor, of honors and dignities, of peace and war, and of the life and death of the Kings subiects at their pleasures. To this end they made this young Prince contemptible & odious, assembling together both without his priuie & against his will, in Churches and publike places, in priuate houses, in great and smal troupes without any feare or respect of the royall dignity.

The Daulphin more a prisoner then his father, durst not repine against these disorders, which increased hourelly, like to a violent streame which falles from a high mountaine, through the force of much rayne. This furious multitude (puffed vp dayly by the practises of the Navarrois, who employed both heart and hand to ruine the Daulphin,) falles in the end to threats to blowes. The Apostum is ripe, it must needs breake. An exchager named Peter More, pickt a quarrel with the Daulphins treasurer, & kills him in Saint Maries street. Hauing slaine him, hee flies into Saint James of the Butcherie, and no man pursues him. The Daulphin seeing his authority too much blemished, in suffering himselfe to be thus treated, he caused the murtherer to be drawne out of the Church, and to be executed: his hand to be cut off in the place where the murther was committed, and from thence to be drawne to the gibet and hanged. And to the end the people should not murine, he went accompanied with a gerd of soldiars, led by Robert of Clermont Marshal of France.

The same day arrived the Ambassadors of King Iohn being prisoner, to sollicit his deliuerie, after many voiajes made forth the space of two yeares, that is to say two ages for a poore prisoner, to whome delay is a double languishing. But they were too true witnesses, both of the fruitlesse tears of this poore Prince, and of the barbarous cruelties of these Cannibals. They beheld the Bishop of Paris, in the Daulphins sight, and in the vewe of all the world, to take this murtherers carcase from the gibet, and to carry it to the Church,

King Iohn sends to the Parisiens for his deliuey: but in vaine.

The Parisiens in euilty to their King.

The Daulphin sollicit the other Cities for the Kings liberty.

The loue and duty, of them of Languedoc to their King, and of Champagne.

Horrible insolencies of the Parisiens against their Prince.

1357. from whence he was drawne, and there to be honourably interred. But this was not all. *John of Piqueny* comes to the *Daulphin* from the *Nauarrois*, to summon him to hold his promise, concerning the demands which were granted him in counsell. And as the Chancellor replied, that they had beene performed. He answered (the *Daulphin* being preter, and the two *Queenes*.) That whosoever would maintaine the contrary, had lyed. And to heape one mischief vpon another: the Prouost of Marchants, with some of the Vniuersitie, come vnto the *Daulphin*, who by a *Licobin* Orator called *Simon of Langres*, (for it is not at this day alone, that Monkes haue beene medlers in State) require him to periorne the promises made to the King of *Nauarre*, or else the people would rise against him, if he refused to apparant and reasonable a dutie.

A Parliament was likewise called for the Kings deliuey, wherevnto the blood of *France*, (which cannot degenerate) caused the cities to be inclined, so as things seemed in the end to promise some redresse. Being assembled at the *Augustins*, the Prouost of *Paris* gathered together three thousand men of the basest artificers, and comes armed to the house of *S. Pol*, where the *Daulphin* was lodged, hauing seized vpon the gate, and stopt all the passages, he ascends to the Princes chamber, being followed by his armed men.

The *Daulphin* was therewith much amazed. *Feare not* (saies the Prouost) for anything you shall see. for what shall be done, hath beene decreed, and it must be so. The watchword being giuen, behold *John of Conslins*, and *Robert of Cleremont* Marshalls of *France*: (two trustie seruants to the *Daulphin*.) are slaine before his eyes, and so neere vnto him, as the blood rebounded vpon his face. *Ha* (cries this poore Prince) what is this? will you attempt against the blood of *France*? *No my Lord* (saies the Prouost vnto him) *feare nothing, it is not against your person we pretend: they be your disloyall seruants we seeke, who haue sold aduised you.* Then he tooke the *Daulphins* hood, and put his vpon the *Daulphins* head, being halfe red, and halfe skie-coloured, the citie liuerie: and he did weare the *Daulphins* all that day, being of a browne blacke, unbrodered with gold, in token of his Dictatorship.

This done, their bodies are drawne to the Marble table, and from thence cast into the Pallace yard, for a spectacle to this furious people, which flock thither from all parts, with shouting and clapping of hands. He presently sends to the *Daulphin* cloth, both red and skie coloured, to make him a hood, and assembles the people at the Towne-house, at the *Creue*, where he makes them to approue this massacre: and afterwards both the *Daulphin* and the Estates to do the like, which were then assembled for very contrary effects. And to confirme and iustifie his vnbridled impudencie, he writes letters in the name of the City of *Paris*, to all the good townes of the realme, exhorting them to ioyne with the chiefe citie, and to take their liuerie as the *Daulphin* had done, the better to reforme the disorders of the realme.

As these confusions increased dayly and hourly, *William of Mountigu* Bishop of *Terouenne* Chancellor of *France*, with many other officers of the Crowne, fle from *Paris*, and for the most part retire into *Germanie*, as a shelter to auoyde these stormes, expecting a better season.

The Chancellor had left the great Seale with King *John*, being prisoner, so as then they vsed none but the small Seale of the *Chastellet*, as well in the decrees of Parliament, as in all other publike acts. The *Parisians* likewise erect a Councell of State, composed of *Stephen Coeg* Bishop of *Laon*, (the Cocke of this confusion) of *Renauld of Corby* the first President, *Stephen Marce* Prouost of Marchants (who in the end shal receive the reward of his wickednesse), *John Roussac*, *John Lisle*, with many of the Vniuersitie, who had not the least voyce in the new commonweale. Affliction is good for something: as the *Parisians* (whom their furious tingleaders had fed with an imagination of the soueraigne government of the State, to dispose of all things at their pleasures,) had assured themselves of a willing obedience from all the Cities of the Realme, to whom (as we haue sayd) they had written, to ioyne with them in a common league. So were they greatly amazed, that for answer to their imperious letters, they receiued a generall denyall from all parts

The insoleney
of John of Pi-
queny, in the
Daulphins
presence.

The Parisians
comes in ar-
mes to the
Daulphins lod-
ging.

Horrible mar-
thers commut-
ted in the
Daulphins pre-
sence.

The insoleney
of the Prouost
of the Mar-
chants.

The Parisians
solicite the
Cities to re-
bell.

The officers
of the crowne
fle out of the
realme.

The Cities
refuse to ioyne
with the Pa-
risians.

A of the realme; the Cities refusing to haiken to any priuate League, and detesting the ex- 1358.
cercable example of so audacious a rebellion: standing more carefully vpon their gard, for
feare of a surprise by the *Nauarrois*, whome they confidently beleecued to be the cause of
the *Parisians* frensie and confusions.

The *Daulphin* being thus vnworthily intreated by the *Parisians*, retires himselfe out of
this great citie of *Paris*, into *Champagne*, to the Towne of *Vertus*, where he assembles the
Estates of the Country, and according to the honorable offers they had made him, he ob-
tained all he could desire, answerable to their meanes and faculties. But the greatest be-
nefit he did reape, was the good example they gaue to other Prouinces, who imployed all
their meanes not to yeeld to *Languedoc* or *Champagne*, in the honor of their loyaltye, where-
vnto God and nature bound all good subiects to their King especially being in necessity.

Thus the *Daulphins* courage began to reuiue, (seeing by effect (in his extremest danger)
that all good *Frenchmen* were not dead. A lesson for great men neuer to despaire in most
deperate extremities.

The *Nauarrois* had no other care but to ruine the *Daulphin*. Not satisfied with his
practises in *Paris*, he solicits the King of *England* instantly, and represents vnto him by
sundry messages, that a fit opportunity is now offered to make himselfe master of this good-
ly citie. There was great likelihood (the King being a prisoner, and the affaires brought
to that extremity) that the English should soone haue preuailed ouer this realme. But
God had otherwise decreed, who shewed the rod, but stayed his arme, holding in his
hands both the hearts of men and the euent of things.

Edward obserued well the meanes to effect his desires in this confusion, but knowing
the ambitious & disloyal humour of the *Nauarrois*, he could not trust him. Yet not to con-
temne to plausible an occasion: he assists him with some helpes, by degrees, onely to ba-
lance what force should be offered, expecting some better and more safe opportunity, the
which hee promised himselfe rather by treatie with his prisoner: then by all the intelli-
gences and practises of this Prince, importunately disloyall against his owne blood and the
State: the which hee should haue mayntained with the hazard of his life. This turbu-
lent spirit, not able to containe it selfe within the limits of duty, assembles al his forces,
to beginne the game by open hostility against the *Daulphin*: and to this ende he labours
to corrupt the Captaines of places; but hee could no more moue their loyaltye, then the
Languedocians had done the Cities.

The *Daulphin* seeing the *Nauarrois* in armes, vnder the command of his brother *Phi-
lip*, doth likewise arme, and very lawfully against so vniust a violence. But heerein hee
did wisely drawe profit from his enemy, and maintaine his authority, not duely respected
with out force of armes: nor pleasing, if armes had not beene taken by necessity. And
from hence there grewe a great occasion to confirme his authority, in the reasonable and
necessarie imployment of his forces. The disorder and confusion of times had wonder-
fully disposed the Nobility against the people, by reason that the *Nauarrois*, (hauing im-
ployed them two yeares to make himselfe redoubtable and fearefull, and keeping cer-
tain troupes in field, which were abandoned to all licentiousnesse, for want of pay:)
they had no other enemy, but the Oxe and the Ass of *James the good man*: (for so did
these soldiers of confusion call the countyman in derision,) whome they had long tor-
mented with impunity. But patience too much moued turnes into furie.

The poore Country man thus tortured, in the ende resolves to shewe his teeth to this
honour of the people, and to fall on them with open force, who had so often oppressed
them without any resistance. Vpon this occasion they make a popular League in the
Country of *Brabant*: the people being armed in great troupes skirmish in diuers places,
and fall vpon the gentlemen, by whome they had beene wronged: they kill them, their
wives and children without respect: spoile, sack, burne and pull downe their houses.
The armed multitudes in the beginning did much harme, like to a fire suddenly kindled.
A dangerous course and of great consequence: but it was happily suppressed by the *Daul-
phin*, paying the fault, for the which the *Nauarrois* was blamed.

This popular frenzie quencht in the breeding, was called the *Iaquerie* of *Jacquet* or *James*
the

The Daulphin
leaves Paris.

Edward dis-
trusts the Na-
uarrs.

Liquet was
homme.

Country men
defeated by
the Daulphin.

1358. the good man, too common in the souldiers mouths, as we haue said, more ready to deuoure the coutriman, then to looke vpon an armed enimie. Thus it was supplified by the *Daulphins* diligence, who opposing his men of warre to this seditious multitude vanquished them easily, as the peoples rage moued against reason cannot long continue: dangerous fits of civil warre, when as such as haue the gouernement in hand, neyther can doe will do iustice to the subiect vnjustly oppressed, who haue reason alwayes to demand it, and can complaine when it is denied them.

But they seeke a remedie worse then the disease, whē as being culpable of the insolencies they reprehend in such as oppress them, they will take vpon themselves to seeke reuenge, the which they may not expect but from the hand, of such as may lawfully take it, thais from such as haue the publike authority vnder the law.

A Parliament called at Com-
piēgne.

The *Daulphin* (hauiug repaired this confusion) assembles the Estates at *Compiēgne*, to the great dislike of the *Parisians*, being partisans to the *Nauarrois*. They fought (as it were by especiall priuilege) to hold the possession of the Estates still at *Paris*, and were much discontented they should be held in any place else. But the Parliament proceeds without regard of their complaints, and decrees, That *Charles the Kings sonne, Daulphin of Viennas*, (who till then had bin called but lieutenant to his father being prisoner should be acknowledged and called Regent of the Realme of France & that all good Frenchmen should obey him as the King himselfe.

The Daulphin declared Regent.

This new title purchased great authority to this yong Prince throughout all France, and (making him to appeare in these obscure umes of attractions, as a lanthorne during the tempest of a cloudy night) reuiued his courage: seeing himselfe at liberty without the walles of *Paris*, whereas *Marell* should not braue him, nor murder his seruants in his chamber, yea in his bosome. Thus did he settle his authority by degrees, wondrously shaken by the audacious credit of the *Nauarrois*, who hauing another intent, did runne contrary courte. For as the *Nauarrois* dessein was to subuert the state against all orders, so he troade it vnder his feete, hauing recourse to vnjust violence. So as in the field he had armed troupes, in the city of *Paris* a seditious multitude, and generally passion and fury.

The two pillars of his desseins were Injustice and Violence, supported by the peoples fauour, who may do much being well aduised: but what mischief can we imagin in an enimie D which a multitude will not attempt, being bewitched by such as abuse them, like a brute beast which goes where he is driuen?

The project of this Prince, (otherwise great both by blood and meanes) had an unfortunate issue, as wicked attempts must haue a ruinous end. The mischief fell first on him by the people, in whom he had relied, and after by him vpon the people, whom he had deceived, to make them an instrument of many mischances: yet was the people lesse punished then himselfe, as lesse culpable.

But he who had disloyally abused this brutish multitude, fell in the ende therunto by hand of God, not onely in seeing al his practises proue vaine, but also feeling in his heart the fire of Gods wrath iustly kindled against such as confound the society of mankind by the laws of State vnder which they are borne. Without doubt, bad counsel is alwayes dangerous to the giuer. This Prince preached peace, and made warre: reformation of state, and nourished confusion: liberty, and yet brought those Cities which obeyed him into a new slavery. He abused the people with a shadow of liberty, and fought to win them: deuiles, but the contrary effects made him so odious, as hauing played the Tyrant of his credit, he fell into the hatred, and detestation of all the world, as the following discourse will testifie. To teach all men, That the greatest pollicie is to bee an honest man.

The Naurrois begins to grow odious to the Parisians.

The Regent countenanced with this newe Title, and the faithfull loue of the French, testified by the former effects, nor sought for by practises, but bred in their hearts; and encreasing dayly in experience of affaires, began to amaze the *Nauarrois* and to terrifie the heads of this *Parisien* multitude, hee seized vpon *Tours*, *Orléans*, *Nantes* and *Pont Charenton*. And not to loose any opportunity, hee approached the City

A Circle of *Paris*, and burnes and sacks the *Parisians* houses, in reuenge of that which the *Nauarrois* had done to the Kings seruants. Thus both armies were in field, and doing much harme generally, they multiplied the losses on either side vnder colour of reuenge. The *Parisians* thus tired, chose the King of *Nauarre* for their Capitaine, suiting him to bring souldiers, yea *Englismen*, into the Citie, of whom the most of his troupes consisted. The armies approch: the Regents forces incampe at *Coxsars*, and those of the *Nauarrois* at *S. Iams*. The *Parisians* heat began to coole amidst to many miseries, and without their commanders it had bene quite frozen.

loane the widow of King *Charles* the faire, and by that meanes Ante to the *Nauarrois*, she desired infinitely to see these two Princes at peace. Her degree and age gaue her free access to both. She visits them and perswades them to concord, with all the best reasons she could. In the end, after many iourneys, she obtaines an enterview, to parle themselves of their affaires without any mediators. The Regent (a yong Prince, wise and temperate) would not at the first be intreated, but in his heart he desired nothing more; soe

The Naurrois parle with the Daulphin.

seeing it to be the onely meanes to bring the *Nauarrois* in ialousie with the *Parisians*, who relented dayly, growing weary of his actions. The successe was answerable to his desire, for behold the people are presently incensed against the King of *Nauarre*, and the Priest, who had accompanied him to this parle. They sodenly make publike and priuate assemblies to preuent the practises of these two traitors (as they terme them) which would make their peace without them. *John Roussac* and others (ialous for that they were not employed) runne from shop to shop, to set fire to this flaxe, shewing that priuate treaties are very preiudiciall to the generall good of the Citie.

The Parisians grow odious to the Naurrois.

The *Nauarrois* is amazed at these newes; he leaues his armie, and runnes to *Paris* with the Prouost of Marchants, to pacifie these new tumults, the which he found to be practised against him. Being arrived, he employes ail his Partakers to preuent it; and by their meanes he renues the league with the *Parisians*, protesting to liue and dye together. He sweates the Regents death with them, and perswades them to admit a new supply of *Englismen* for the safety of the Citie. And to shew that he had his heart free from all intelligence with the Regent (as they had suspected) he makes a braue sallie vpon his troupes by *S. Anthonies* gate; but he soone found a stop: for as he did charge boldly, so D was he repulsed valiantly, being charged and beaten by the Regent, so as with difficulty he recovered the gate. Within few dayes after, he tries by the other gates, if he might speed any better, in diuerse resolute attempts. but all is in vaine; he is chased, shooted at and beaten with losse and shame. This charge did so alter the minde of this inconstant beast with many heads, I meane, of this *Parisien* multitude, who of late had so much loued, honoured and supported him in all his wrongs, as now there is nothing but cryes against him, as against a disturber, an ambitious and disloyall man, a prater, a deceiuer and teller of lies. That it is no longer time to depend on him, but the Citie must provide seriously for their owne affaires, and ioyne with their lawfull Lords.

Parisians discontented with the Naurrois.

During these popular humors, the *Nauarrois* appeares not, nor any man for him, being too odious vnto the *Parisians*, as it was very dangerous euen to talke of him. It was in vaine to hide himselfe at *Saint Denis*, during the heate of this popular rage. But to bring words to effects, the *Parisians* by a common consent in their Towne-house, resolute to treat with the Regent: and to this end they send a messenger vnto him, beseeching him to grant a safe-conduct for their Deputies to come vnto him. The Regent in braue this occasion, and giues them an ample passport; vpon which grant and assurance, the *Parisians* send a troupe of their grauest Cituzens to the Regent with these requests.

That it would please the Regent to pardon the *Parisians* (being ill aduised) what was passed, and to graunt them free trafficke, untill a peace might be made to his content. F The Regent hauing receiued them gratioously, graunts their requests and demands: and makes his troupes retyre from about *Paris*, to the *Contessis Valles*, expecting this peoples course, being newly reclaumed to their dutie, the which might as sodenly returne to their furie; suffering them to taste of peace, and to see the rod ready, being like

The Parisians submit themselves vnto the Daulphin.

1358. like unto a furious beast, not to be trusted but vpon good warrant.

The *Nauarrois* and the Prouost of Marchants labour to reparaire their credit at *Paris*, supposing (if this fury were once euaporated) they should returne into credit, hauing both the *Basilie* and the *Louure* at their deuotion.

But they are deceived. The chance was cast, and the howre of their ruine was at hand, the people being resolute to giue an apparent testimonie of their intent; and a fit occasion was offered.

The *English* nation was the chiefe support whereon the *Nauarrois* relied, hauing lodged them in great troupes both within and without the Citty, for his owne strengths; the which did much harme in all places.

The *Parisians* crye out, that there was no more neede of any souldiers, seeing that a peace was concluded, and then they began with the within the citty, which were in their power.

The occasion was very small. Behold a troupe of *English* men which came from dinner at the King of *Nauarres* lodging; the multitude (without any other cause, but that they were *English*) fallies iniuriously vpon them, they kill fise and twenty at the first, & take forty seauen, whom they drag into prison. Then euery man seized on his guest at one instant, so as there were 400. cast into the prisons of the *Louure*, without Magistrate & without order. Onely a tumultuous crye was heard in the streets. That they must punish these wicked *Englishmen*, which had committed so many disorders, and that the prisoners should answer the spoyle their companions did abroad.

The *Nauarrois*, the bishop of *Lyon*, and the prouost of Marchants, accompanied with their followers, run to this Alarum: they intreat the people to assemble and to do things by order and reason. The multitude comes to the *Greue*. The *Nauarrois* hauing whetted his naturall eloquence, with a long & artificiall discourse, makes known his loue and the good succours the *English* had giuen him in his necessity.

The multitude at this name of *English*, cries out. That they must kill them without any further speech, and then go speedily to *S. Denis*, to dispatch the rest.

So without any more speech they command the Prouost to lead them thither. The assembly being thus confusedly dissolved, the *Nauarrois*, nor Prouost not daring to reply, euery man runs to armes, especially such as were best furnished, so as in fewe howers there were fixtene hundred horse and ten thousand foote resolu'd to charge the *English*, which spoiled the cuntry with all impunity. The *Nauarrois* and the Prouost make a good shew at this sodaine mutiny of the people, and seeme more busie then the rest; to remaine still commanders of this multitude; but they dispatch sundry messengers vnder hand, to wishe the *English* men stand vpon their gard, and to attend resolutely this multitude of *Parisians*, which came against them without all order. The troupe is in field, the drums sound, & the Ensignes are displayed. But the King of *Nauarre* made a stande betwixt *Montmartre* & the windmills, to giue the *English* breath, who did lay a strong ambuscado at *Bois de Boilegnie*; & send forth some of their best horsemen to draw this vnwarlike and ill gouerned multitude into danger. These scouts appearing, they are hotly pursued by the *Parisians*:

but with such disorder, as is incident to people couragious in the streets, but cowardly in fight of an enemy that vnderstands his profession. They run in this Ambuscadoe, who charge of all hands vpon this disordered multitude, and folowes them fliuing euen to the gates of *Paris*, in sight of the *Nauarrois* and the prouost, who are beholders of this defeat and relieue them not. The *Nauarrois* retires himselfe to *S. Denis*, where the body of his Armie was lodged, & the prouost of Marchants to the citty, the which is filled with cries, lamentations and iniurious speeches against them both. The Prouost fearing the peoples fury goes garded with a troupe of 200. men: & least all should be lost, he seeks to assure himselfe of the *Louure* and *Basilie*. The maske is now vncovered, and the people runs to armes. *Iohn Maillard* (Captaine of a quarter at *S. Anthonies* gate) takes a banner with the Armes of *France*, and running through the Citty cries *Montiours S. Denis*. At this crye, & the sight of the standard, all flocke together on heapes. The Prouost seeks to saue himselfe in the *Basilie*, to auoid the fury of this multitude, whom he had so often employed to shed innocent blood: and with him were *Simon Palmier* and *Philip Gnyphart*, two torches of popular sedition

The *Parisians* mutiny against the *English* that had terned them.

The *English* beat backe the *Parisians* in view of the *Nauarrois*.

A sedition. They enter but (oh the iudgement of God which the wicked cannot fly, at such times, and by such meanes as he hath prescribed for their tyme) the place they had chosen for their safety, was the pitfall of their miserie: for being entred, they wilbe Masters, vnder colour of certaine letters from the King of *Nauarre*, who gaue the chiefe command of that place to the Prouost.

They fall to great words with them which commanded the place: and from words to blowes: where without any great difficulty they are all massared, to the peoples great content; who flocke to the *Basilie* to see the ende of their Prouost. They require the carcases, the which are presently deliuered vnto them and drawne from thence with all sorts of ignominy before *Saint Caterins* Church: whether the Prouost had dragd the bodies of the Marshalls of *France*, by him so vnworthely nurthered: to the ende we should honor God, who appoints the punishment according to the offence, with an equal ballance, and punisheth faults with answerable paines. Thus the Citty of *Paris* was freed from the sedition, and restored to the lawfull obedience of their King, in the yeare, 1358. the second day of August remarkable for so notable an act.

This iust execution thus made, the Citty (as it were recovered of a deadly disease) sends deputies to the Regent: beseeching him to come and take possession of the authoritie due vnto him. The Regent comes, and is receiued with as much affection as ioy, as before he had bene odious and contemptible. Such are the people: such they haue bin, and such they shall be, that great me may learne by these examples, how to gouerne a multitude.

This happy successe troubled the *Nauarrois*; who imagining the Crowne of *France* vpon his owne head: did (to his great grieve) see him seated in the State, who had bene almost ruined. Vntill then he had the Kings seruice alwaies in his mouth, as his good Kinsman and subiect, but now passions driue him into such fury and despaire, as he resolves to cast off the maske of humility and obedience, and all other ciuil respects: and to make war against the Regent with all violence, not only by secret practises, but by open force.

The *Nauarrois*, seeing the *Parisians* to grow affectionate to the Regent, sought by all means to torment them: making strange spoiles of their houses, especially of such as were his most deuoted seruants: but in general al that belonged to *Paris*, was abandoned to the spoile.

The Regent assembles his army, the which he had retired to ease the people. But the remedy proues often very hurtful to the champion Cuntry, vpon the first application. Behold two *French* armies are in field in the heart of *France*, committing that which we haue seene with our owne eyes in the bosome of our miserable Cuntry: for what better commentarie can there be then our own experience? Thus harme growes both from the enemy which assailes, & the friend that defends: so as we may truly say, that in ciuil wars the cure is often times more hurtful then the disease. The *Nauarrois* finding himselfe too weak alone, calls in the *English* to the sack of *France* without a head, and almost without a soule.

Edward aduerted from the *Nauarrois*, by sundry messengers, of the Estate of *France*, & Regents happy successe; condemned himselfe, as hauing failed his owne good fortune: taking the King of *Nauarres* complaint in no better part: who saied, that he had not bin assisted as the cause required, applying all his wit to the ruine of his Cuntry: holding it a gain to take from his owne bloud: so blind are passionate Councells.

He vpon *Edwards* sends new forces to the *Nauarrois*: who fortified with these succors, and with his goodly promises, begins the war more fiercely then before. He takes the Castiel of *Melun* with halfe the Citty, by the meanes of *Queene Blanche*, whilest that the Kings soldiers fight for the rest: he burnes the Abbie of *Lis*, & al other places alongest the coast of *Norme* and *Gastenois*. Then crossing the Isle of *France*, (to annoy the *Parisians*, and to strike a terror by his forces) he takes *S. Germaine in Laie*, *Creil* vpon *Oise*, *Poissy* and many other places, with great booties & many prisoners: running daily to the gates of *Paris*. Hauing stayed some daies at *Mont*, he goes to meete with the succors from *England*, taking *Castres* vnder *Montlhery* as they passe, the which he spoiles, sacks and burnes. led by *Capitall de Boche* in *Medoc*, a Cuntry in *Bordeleis*, a great and a mighty Lord: who resignes them to his brother *Philip* of *Nauarre*. With these forces he takes *Clermont* in *Beauuoisin*.

On the other side *Robert Knowles*, a valiant *English* Captaine, with a troupe of the cues

The Prouost is slaine and some others with him.

God punisheth faults with answerable paines.

The Regent receiued into *Paris*.

The new attempts of the *Nauarrois* against the Regent.

Open wars.

Edward represents an opportunity neglected.

The exploits of the *Nauarrois*.

1358. thecues rather then souldiers, runs vp the riuier of *Loire* into the country of *Auxerre*, spoyling, sackling, burning and carrying away both men and beasts into his forts, bringing the country to a miserable desolation.

The desolate
estate of
France.

This was rather a robbing then a warre, as commonly ciuill warres be: the which with more reason they may call vnciuill. The cattel taken, houses burnt, men being dead or beggered, the land remained desolate, vntilled and vnsowne. So as there fell so great a famine, as halfe the people died for hunger, lamentable troups of poore families wandred vp and downe creeping into townes, like desperate folkes, to beg bread of them which had it not.

The Parisians
murther againe

The *Parisians* seeing that this alteration did nothing repaire their estates, grew mad: & as the common sort values no friendship but for their profit, they abated much of the loue and respect which in the beginning of their reduction they did beare vnto the Regent: who was not onely troubled to incounter armed men in field, but also with mens humors growne bitter by affliction, especially in *Paris*: a sea subiect to the ebbing and flowing of mens sundry humors and affections.

The *Nauarrais*
makes
new practices
in Paris.

The *Nauarrais* (who was still watchfull to imbrace all occasions to annoy the Regent) seekes meanes to nourish the feedes of his ancient credit with the *Parisians*, by some of his faction: giuing them to vnderstand by diuers writings spread abroad, that he lamented to see *France* vndermined with this desolation, whereof the Regent was the original cause. He founded forth the vaine name of liberty and reformation of State, vexing the Regent more by his practices, then by open force, although he were supported by the succours of *England*. The Regent was thus perplexed with many difficulties, finding himselfe as it were besieged not only within the walls, but also within the humours of this great city, being ignorant howe to counterbalance force with mildnesse, in the perplexity of so many miseries, and the diuerty of such contrary humors, wherein he sees himselfe engaged.

The *Duchess*
executes some
villains in Paris.

Amidst all these difficulties, the wisdom and courage of this Prince is very considerable, for he seemed to the people of a resolute countenance: and in the managing of affaires he had alwaies a care to their reliefe, so as they could not but loue him for his amiable & sweet behauiour, yet for the maintenance of his authority (being come within the city) he caused some notable executions to be done, of certaine desperate & seditious men, and committed others to prison. This was done with the peoples liking, incensed against the *Nauarrais*, but seeing themselves to fall out of one mischiefe into another, the *Parisians* began to returne to their old waywardnesse.

He pacifies
the *Parisians*
being discontented

The Regent hauing worke for both hands, incounters his enemy in field by force, and in the City by eloquence, causing the people to assemble at the *Greue*, sitting vpon that crosse which we see at this day: his tongue preuailed more then his souldiers armes, whereof we obserue no great successe: but his eloquence was so happy, as the people regarded it as an Oracle, giuing him the title of wise, hauing ioyned a wife carriage to his admirable eloquence: as appears in those goodly discourses.

Three yeares passed thus, during the imprisonment of our King *John*, whom it is now time to visit in *England*.

Conditions
for the Kings
deliuey not
granted.

Edward had caused *John* to be conducted from *London* to the Castle of *Windfore*, with his sonne *Philip*. There he propounded vnto him new conditions of peace, not so rigorous as the former: but yet so hard as (being deliuered to the Regent, and by him to the Estates then assembled at *Paris*) all the Kings good subiects (though very desirous to redeeme him) did not allowe thereof, for that they did import the honour of the King, and realme too much, making too preiudiciall a breach in the soueraignty.

The resolution
of the Parliament.

The extremityes were notable, in the Kings languishing being a prisoner, and the present war: but least they should suffer al to run to ruine, in so great a suspence of affaires, the Estates resolute to comfort the King, by aduice, to attend an other time for his liberty, and to labour by all meanes to maintaine the warres.

Preparation to
defend the
Realme,

The Prouinces did their best endeauours to furnish money for this necessity: and euen *Paris* promised to maintaine 600. Lances, 400. Archers, and a thousand Corselets, that is 1000. foote armed with Brigandines a kind of armour then much vsed. The Nobility notwithstanding their priuileges, offered to contribute towards the charges, and restored

A the orders for martiall affaires, in a manner forgotten through the indulgency of our kings. The clergy shewed a notable zeale, and all those officers which had managed the publike treasure made a great & extraordinary summe of money, by meanes whereof they were discharged fro further accops, and the realme much eased. This position came happily for the preservation of *France*, against the which *Edward* made then great preparation at the instance of the *Nauarrais*. The truce expired, he did forbid the *French* to trafficke into *England*: in the meane time his army laids at *Calais*, & himself follows in person with a goodly traine.

Being landed & resolved to take possession of the realme of *France*, or by force to rume it, he marcheth directly to *Arras*, the which he takes in 3. daies, hauing assured it with a strong garnison: he goes towards *Champagne*, where passing onely, he besieged *Sens*, which yeelds without resistance, and by their example *Nevers*. All *Bourgonne* was strooke into such a terror, as they redeemed their country fro spoile with a great summe of money. Hauing thus found means to intertaine his armie at his enemies charge, & enriched his souldiers with an inestimable booty, he marcheth towards *Paris*, as the head city of the whole realme, & the chiefe end of his dessein, the certain triumph of his conquest, & the goodly theater of his victories. Our regent was nothing amazed at these threats of *Edward*, for, hauing assembled a goodly army with great expedition, he attends him at *Paris*, where the whole burthen of this war did lie. He lodgeth his army in the suburbs, & fortifieth against approaches, being taught by the examples of his grandfather & father, not to hazard any thing, resolving onely to defend himselfe within his trenches. This resolution succeeded happily, for *Edward* seeing the impossibility to draw the regent to fight (notwithstanding al his alarmes), raiseth his

Edward enters
France
with an army.

He besiegeth
Paris, but in
vaine.

C siege, & marcheth into *Britaine*, to refresh his army, to the great content of the *Parisians*, who could not sufficiently commend the wisdom of their regent, hauing so politickly auoided this storme. The regent embraceth this occasion, he furniseth *Paris* with abundance of victualls, & commands the souldiers to lue orderly without oppression of the inhabitants: he fortifies the weakest places with all speed, and doth so encourage the people, as they are ready to sacrifice the felues for the preservation of the State. *Edward* (supposing the great wast caused by the men of warre resident in this great city, would haue taken from them al means to continue, & haue bred an impatency in the minds of this vnconstant people, giuing him the better meanes to enter it) he returnes with his army being strong & lusty, by this good refreshing of *Britaine*. Being returned, he finds things better ordered then before: so as preuailling nothing, but walking about the city, & beholding a far off the great towers, and the admirable masse of so many buildings, as a briefe of the whole world, he resolves to leaue the siege & returne no more. Thus experience teaching him, what the strength of our chiefe city was, he packes all vp, and goes towards *Chartres*, meaning to besiege it. But whilest he lodged there, his army making a horrible spoile of the whole country, there chanced an occasiō (as the worke of heauen) which sodainely quailed his ambitious dessein to ruine *France*. for behold a horrible & extraordinary tempest of haile, thunder and lightning falls with such violence as many horses & men in the armie perished, as if that God had stretched forth his hand from heauen to stay his course. This amazement caused *Edward* to vow to make a peace with King *John*, and the regent his son vpon reasonable conditions. He which had thus thundred, did likewise open the Duke of *Britaine* his mouth, shewing how reasonable it was to limit humane attempts within restrained bounds, & not to attend an infinit & perpetuall prosperity in worldly affaires, being more faine to content himselfe with a meane successe, then to be transported with the violent course of humane hopes, cast in the mould of indiscreet desires. He likewise laied before him the impossibility of so extraordinary a dessein, as to make himselfe maister of all *France*, a notable example for Princes to behold their own infirmities and the greatness of God to whom they owe the homage of their enterprises. being the most happy, when they are most sober & temperate, without imagining an infinite power in the short weaknes of this mortal life, whereinto they are subiect like other men. This lesse mollified *Edwards* hart inclining to

Edward amazed
with a
thunder.
He resolves to
conclude a
peace with
King *John*.

the deliuey of *K. John* his prisoner, & to a general peace: the which was concluded at *Freigny*, a village nere vnto *Chartres*, in the year 1360. the 8. of May, vpon these conditions. That the country of *Poitou*, the Fiefs of *Thouars*, *Belleville*, the countries of *Cascony*, *Agenou*, *Percegot*, *Limezin*, *Cahors*, *Tarbes*, *Bigorre*, *Rouergue*, and *Angoumois*, in soueraignty with the homages of the

A peace concluded at
Freigny.
The Articles.

1360. the two next yeares after, at reasonable payments. And for the consideration, the said King of A England, and the Prince of Wales his sonne, ask for themselves their successors, should renounce all rights pretended to the Crowne of France, the Duchie of Normandie, the countie of Toumay, Artois and Maine: the souerainety and homage of Brittain, and the Earldome of Flanders, and within three weekes they should deliuer King John at Calais at their charge, the expenses of the Kings house only excepted. For allurance of which agreement, there should be deliuered into the King of Englands hands, these hostages: Lewis Duke of Anjou, John Duke of Berry, sonnes to the King of France: Philip Duke of Orleans, the Kings brother: Philip Duke of Burgoyne, the Earles of Blois, Aranson, Saint Pol, Harcourt, Perceval, Valentinois, Grandpre, Beaumont and Forest: the Lords of Flandremont, Couilly, Fyennes, Saint Venant, Preaux, Montmorency, Renieres, Rochegon, Estouteville, the Daulphin of Auvergne, Andregot and Craon. A choise of well selected personages, to be a sufficient caution for the money and conditions that were to be performed.

The hostages
giuen for the
performance
of the condi-
tions.

The Deputies for King John were John of Doumans Bishop of Beauvais, and Chancellor of France, John of Melun Earle of Tancarville, the Lord of Beaumont Marquis of France, the Lords of Montmorency and Vignay, John Croker, Simon of Bury, John Mares Lawiers, and John Maillard, and Stephen of Paris, Bourgeois of Paris. For the King of England were, John Duke of Lancaster, the Earles of Northampton, Warwick and Suffolk, Edmund of Cullyan, Chasteler of Mauny Knights, with certaine learned men for their Councell.

This treatie of a generall peace, signed by the two Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sonnes, Charles and Edward, and proclaimed by Heralds: first at the windowes of the Kings and Princes lodgings, and then at the corners of the street in great solemnitie. The hostages were deliuered to Edward, the father, who embarked at Harfleur, and lead them into England, leauing the Earle of Warwick in France, to see the execution of the peace.

King John
brought to
Calais.

King John (hauing long expected the time of his deliuerie) parts from England with a strong garde, and is conducted to Calais, attending the money promised, the first pawnee of his libertie. The Regent his sonne labours earnestly: the Citie of Paris did contribute willingly a hundred thousand Royals, and after their example all other cities paid their portions. Of such power is our head citie both to do good and euill: so by this end they made amends for all former errors. The money is brought to Dover, wherethe Regent comes to see the deliuerie: Edward returns to Calais, he is wonderfull kinde to John, and they sweare a league of friendship, and comprehended Charles King of Navarre (being absent in this peace) his brother Philip vndertaking for him, to the end that all quarrels might be troden vnder foote and all men liue in peace, vniue, and concord. So John being set at libertie, after a long and hard imprisonment of foure yeares, takes his leave of Edward with all the shewes of loue that might be betwixt brethren and constant friends.

The two
Kings sweare
a mutuall
league of
friendship.

Being parted from Calais, he findes his sonne Charles comynge to meete him, with a great and stately traine. I cannot well expresse the ioy of this first encounter: this good King imbracing his sonne (as his redeemer) with ioy mixt with teares, and full of fatherly affection, with the content of his sweete recovered libertie: seeing himselfe in his traine armies, who had giuen him so many testimonies of his faithfull loue in his necessitie, yet in the midst of his subiects with his first authoritie, depending no more vpon anothers will. And contrariwise, what ioy was it for this wife to me to enioy his father, to possess a gage of the authoritie, order and obedience of a State, and a great discharge for him of this painfull burthen.

King John re-
ceived by his
sonne with
great ioy.

Thus discoursing of what had bin done during his imprisonment, and of what was to be done, they arrive at Harfleur: whether not onely the whole countie repaires, but also the Deputies of Paris, and of all the prouinces of the Realme, to congratulate their good Kings deliuerie, where he disposeth of the gouernment of his house.

The King of Navarre meetes him at Compiene, hauing first sent back his hostages, to shew that he relied onely on his word, put himselfe into his power. Thus passeth the world,

world, after a storme comes a calme. King John made his entrie into Paris with this goodly traine, being receiued with an incredible ioy of all his subiects. The Parisiens going to kisse his hands, offer him their hearts, with a goodly cubberd of Plate, worth a thousand markes, for homage of their fidelitie and obedience.

1361.
The Kings re-
ception into
Paris.

The Parliament had surceaused about a whole yeare: John, for the first fruits of his recovered authoritie, would honour the opening of the court with his presence: being set in the seat of Iustice, in the midst of all his officers, to the incredible content of all men, who beheld the cheerefull countenance of this Prince, like the Sunne beames after a troubled skie. Such was the returne of King John into his realme after his imprisonment, as the catastrophe of a Comedie, in the which after mourning they reioyce. This happened in the beginning of the yeare 1361.

Some moneths were spent in these publike ioyes, but they must seeke to get againe his hostages, in the effecting whereof they found many difficulties: for neither the priuate Lords (whose homage he had bound to the King of England,) nor the countie (whose Soueraignities he had yeelded by this accord) would obey. They argue with the King in councell, and demand an acte, shewing that the King cannot dispose of the soueraignie of his realme, nor alienate the reuenues of the crowne. John on the other side (feareing least Edward should reproche this vnto him, as a practise betwixt him and his subiects,) made them sundry commandments to obey.

Difficulties in
the perfor-
mance of the
conditions of
peace.

He went to Auignon, to visit Pope Innocent, who dyed at this time, and Urban the sixt succeeded in his place, both Limosins. To hanfell Johns recovered libertie, and to ease his minde, afflicted with long imprisonment, Urban exhorts him to vndertake the voyage of the holy land, as generall of the action. John not remembering the examples of Kings his Predecessors, Lewis the 7. & 9. nor apprehending the present burthen of his great affaires; nor the danger of so mighty and watchfull an enemy, who had so long, and with so great paine kept him prisoner) accepts the charge, and makes a solemne promise: and to hasten the execution thereof, he returns into England. Some saye, the loue of the Countesse of Salisbury (whose husband had the garde of the King being a prisoner) was the principall moue of his returne. The which I cannot beleue, vpon the report of the English: being vnlkely that his age, his afflictions, his great affaires, and the voyage wherevnto he prepared, should suffer this Prince to follow to vnseasonable a vanitie. But whatsoeuer moued him thereto, he dyed there, leauing his life in England, where he had so long languished, as a preface of his death.

John promi-
seth the Pope
to goe with
an armie.

Thus John died in England, in the yeare 1354. the 8. of Aprill, leauing Charles his eldest sonne heire to the Crowne of France. A good man he was, but an vnfortunate Prince; wise in ordinarie things, but ill aduised in great affaires: iust to all men, but not warie how or whom he trusted in matters of consequence: temperate in priuate, but too violent in publick. To conclude, a good Prince, but not considerate: more fit to obey then to command. Truly these heroicke vertues are the proper Iewels of Crownes, and wisdom is a companion to the most excellent vertues, especially in Princes, who are aduanced vpon the Theater of mans life, to gouerne the rest.

John dies in
England.
His dispositio.

We haue noted that Bourgoigne had bene giuen to Robert the grand-child of Hugh Capet for his portion. A little before the deccasse of King John, it was vnited to the Crowne of France by the death of Duke Philip, a young man of the age of fiteene yeares, sonne to that John which dyed in the battaile of Poitiers. He was betrothed to the heire of Flanders, but both the Duchie, and the Daughter were for another Philip, the sonne of John:

Bourgoigne
annexed vnto
the Crowne.

to whom the father gaue this new succession, in recompence of the faithfull seruice he had done him the day of his taking, and had continued it in prison.

Dd.

Charles

CHARLES the 5. called the Wise,
the 52. King of France.



1364.

Charles his
raigne.

His manners.



His Charles, during the life of his father John, had giuen so many testimonies of his sufficiencie to gouerne well, that he was held for King before he tooke the crowne, the which he receiued at Rhene the 19. of May 1364. hauing before his coronation prouided honorable for his fathers funeralles.

He reigned fixteene yeares, being called and knowne by the name of Wise. In his youth he did taste the bitter rootes, and in his age the sweet frutes of vertue; beloued, honoured, feared, and respected, both of his owne subiects, and of strangers. A deuout Prince, wise, temperate, chaste, vigilant, louing Iustice, order and the people, indued with as great authoritie as any Prince that euer raigned ouer this Monarchie, accompanied with other vertues fit for those times, to preserue a state, the which had more need of counsell then of force, too venturously hazarded by his grand father and father. He was well assisted by the Princes of his blood, and the officers of the crowne: very wished worthy aduantages for a King, who being the head of an estate, ought to be well serued by the principall members, to guide and gouerne the whole body.

We haue said, that he had three brethren: Lewis Duke of Anjou, John Duke of Berry, & Philip Earle of Touraine: to whom according to his fathers testament, he resigned the Duchie of Bourgoigne, with a mariage of great aduancement. He gaue to Lewis the Duchie of Orleans, and to John he gaue Auvergne, Poitou and Xaintonge, (besides Berry) for his portion, and Langueadoc for his gouernment. He was likewise well serued for Militarie causes, by Bertrand of Guesclin a Brittain, (an excellent Capitaine) whom he honoured with the dignitie of Constable, in the place of Maurel de Fiermes (hauing deposed him for sundrie crimes) and for affaires of state, he had John Dormans Bishop of Beuonais, and Chancellor of France, & in the end Cardinall, whom his brother succeeded in the same charge. With these helpes of counsell and force, he soone restored the realme, being dismembred by the strange confusions of the forepassed raignes. In his youth (during these former broiles) he was poisoned by the practises of the Nauarrois, of whom we haue so often spoken. This was preuented by counterpoysons, yet left it a great infirmite in his bodie, the which forced him to a quiet life, more profitable both for himselfe and his whole Realme, then

Charles aug-
ments his
brethrens
portions.

52. King of France.

37

A then if he had bene a man of action: for he dispatched affaires in his Clofset without danger, and incountred his enemies with a happie successe. 1364.

In the beginning of his raigne, he married with Ioane the daughter of Charles Duke of Bourbon: a Princesse of excellent beautie: the which he preferred before the great wealth of the heire of Flanders, and the benefit of his owne realme: he had three sonnes and one daughter. In the former raigne there was nothing but warre, desolation, teares, cryes, lamentations, despaire, and generally the mournfull image of death. After these long and insupportable calamities, the wisdom of Charles (reducing things to their first beginning, by his happy dexteritie) gaue France a new forme: like vnto a man who hauing a long & dangerous sicknesse, recouers himselfe by carefull keeping. But there remained an infinite number of men accustomed to liue dissolutely, through the licentiousnesse of the warre; the which if he had sought to reforme by any good order, it had bred some tumult in the State: according to the violent and head-strong or restless humour of the French, who must be doing at home, if they be not employed abroad.

The English prouided worke for these warriors in Brittain, in Flanders, in the heart of France: and in Castille: but the wildome of Charles preuented all. I will note what happened, rather according to the subiect, then the order of times; for that the matters are so confused, as I cannot represent the dates distinctly, without repetition and tediousnesse.

Brittain was the first list to trie our men of warre: there might they make warre without breach of iuice; and the quarrell betwixt Charles of Blois, and John of Montfort, continued more violent then before: for that John of Montfort had married the daughter of the King of England, and Lewis Duke of Anjou, the daughter of Charles of Blois, who imbraced and inkindled their priuate quartels, by these new occasions.

Bertrand of Guesclin a Gentleman of Brittain (of whom we haue before made mention) had done the King good seruice, during the warre with the Nauarrois. Charles relying vpon his fidelitie and valour, giues him the charge of the warre, to assist Charles of Blois, being old and broken; who was pressed by the enemy, being supported with forces from England. Guesclin being arriued, the Nobilitie of Brittain (which were of Charles his faction) repaire vnto him, to the number of 1500. lances. The Historie names the houses Rohan, Lancel, Leon, Dinan, Rieux, Chastelau-Briand, Tourne-mire, Raiz, Malestroit, Quintin, Auzgour, Lohes, Ancenis, Pont, and many others.

This notable occasion was ministred to imploy these forces; seeing that Ioane the heire, the Duchesse of Brittain, would not end this controuersie by composition, as her husband Charles of Blois desired. John of Montfort besieged the Castell of Aulroy, well defended by the contrary faction. John Chandos an Englishman, a wife and well experienced Capitaine, commanded the English troupes. He had an aduersarie in front, no lesse valiant then himselfe, Guesclin, who fought for his countrie, and the despaire of Charles of Blois (much grieved with the tediousnesse of so painfull a processe,) was a new spurte to animate him to fight. They ioyned with their troupes, the encounter is furious, well charged, well defended. The two commanders made great prooffe of their valours. Guesclin & Chandos are noted to haue omitted nothing of their duties: but God, who holds victories in his hand, gaue it to John of Montfort, and the English armie. The ouerthrow was great, for Charles of Blois (the head of the armie) with John his bastard brother, the Lords of Dinan, Auzgour, Lohes, Malestroit, Pont, Quergourlay, and many others were slaine: the Lords of Rohan, Leon, Raiz, Mauny, Tonerre, Kouille, Frainville, Renouall and Rochfort, were taken prisoners, and so were John and Guy the sonnes of Charles of Blois, with Bertrand of Guesclin, the which did greatly preiudice our Kings reputation. The place of battaile, the ensignes and the dead bodies, remained in the power of John of Montfort, who sent the body of Charles of Blois with an honorable conuoy to his widow. The Castell of Aulroy (the cause of this battaile) yeelded to the conquerour. This hapned the 29. day of September. 1364.

This great defeat troubled Charles, as a thing beyond his expectation. John of Montfort sends his ambassadours, beseeching him (as his Soueraigne) to receiue homage of him and his: the Duchie of Brittain, wonne by rightfull armes, by the defeat of his enemy, as God adiudging vnto him this right and possession.

D d 2.

Charles

1365. *Charles* embraceth this occasion: he assignes him a day for the performance thereof, and to do right and iustice to both parties being hard, the widow of *Charles of Blois* being called, and the matter debated, he reconciles them vpon these conditions: That, for the interest which *Joane* pretended for her and hers, to the Duchie of Brittain, she should haue the Earldome of Ponthieu, the Seigneuries of Auanoir, Guello, Gincamp, Rochedorie, Lauaton, Chajaulin, in Cornuaille, Duall, Vhelgost and Rospreden, to the value of twentie thousand liues or franks of rent: and if *John of Montfort* died without lawfull heires, the Duchie of Brittain it should returne to *Joane* and her issue male or female.

King Charles reconciles the pretendants for Brittain.

2000 pound sterling.

This accord drew *John of Montfort* to Paris, where hauing done his fealtie and homage, as well for the Duchie Brittain, as the Earldome of Montfort, and other Lands hee had in France, the widow of *Charles of Blois* ratified it by vertue of the decree. *Oliuer of Clifton* at the same treatie was restored to the possession of all his Lands, forfeited when his father was beheaded, (as we haue said). He shalbe Constable, and shall giue vs good cause to speake of his life.

This accord was made in the Towne of *Guerande*, in the year. 1365: but it continued not long: for *Lewis of Anjou* the Kings brother, (sonne in lawe to the Duchesse of Brittain) was not pleased with this agreement: whereby he said he was greatly wronged, & *John of Montfort* distrusting King *Charles*, had his recourte to the King of England, to whome he went in person, to require ayde against the forces which he pretended would come against him: leauing *Robert Knowles* an Englishman in Brittain, who not attending *Johns* returne, began to make warre vpon the French, with all violence. *Charles* being protested, both by the Duchesse *Joane*, and by *Lewis of Anjou* his brother) declares *John* guiltie of high Treason: for that he had broken the accord, & would not appeare vpon sundry summons daily made vnto him. So the warre began againe: the successe whereof we wil note heere after. Thus there passed six or seauen yeares, with varietie of accidents in Brittain.

The warre continued in Brittain.

In Flanders.

Whilest that Brittain was thus shaken with sundrie stormes, *Flanders* was not without trouble, by the accustomed practises of the English. *Lewis* Earle of Flanders, sonne to that *Lewis* which was slaine at the Battaille of Crecy, had one only daughter named *Marguerite*, who remayning here of this great and rich estate, was the Leuaine of the ancient ieaalousie betwixt the two Kings, *Charles* and *Edward*, struing who should haue her.

The Cities of Flanders, of greatest power in this purlieu, held stoutly for the English. *Conte Lewis* rather to the maide, was in suspence: fearing both the English and the French, for diuers respects: and yet hee loued the first and feared the last: But in the end, by the meanes of *Marguerite* of Arthois, mother to the Earle: a marriage was concluded in fauour of *Philip* the hardy, brother to *Charles* King of France, to *Edwards* great griefe, both father and son: who in disdain of this refusal, sought all meanes to breed new troubles in France.

The treatie of Bretigny ministred a newe subiect, and apparent cause of discontent to the King of England, who complaind that hee had bene deceived by *Charles*, vnder a shewe of faithfullnesse, hauing restored vnto him all his hostages, receyuing onely the sommes promised for the ransome, leauying vpon his simple word, the reuenues of those Seigneuries granted him by the treatie.

The cause of new warre betwixt France and England.

Charles had retired all his hostages, in good time paying readie money: and making knowne vnto *Edward*, the sundrie charges he had giuen to the Countiees and places comprehended in the treatie, to yeeld them slues whollie into his power, he likewise signified vnto him his subiects answers: who in the beginning excused themselves ciuilly, by honest delauies but in the ende the generall Estates giue *Charles* to vnderstand, That the question being for the generall interest of the States they were not to bee forced to yeeld to an vnlawfull action directly contrarie to the fundamentall lawe of the realme, which suffers not the King to induce the Crowne, nor to alienate the reuenues thereof, which were not to be alienated. That this accord made in prison for the Kings redemption was forced, and so by consequence, vniuall, and not to be allowed by the Lawe of nations.

The effects followed this resolution, with such an obstinacie of the Countiees, Cities & Noble men, which were charged by this treatie to yeeld, as they protest freely to *Charles*, that they wil willingly spend, goods & liues, rather then fall into the king of Englands hands: & contrariwise, wold employ all their meanes to liue vnder the subiectio of the king of France.

This

A This iusticiall instance of the interrelled subiects, must needs be pleasing vnto *Charles*: but that he himselfe had made this treatie, his honour was greatly engaged, the which he must iustifie by good and auaylable reasons: and make it knowne vnto all Europe, who had their eyes fixed vpon these two Princes, playing their parts vpon so famous a Theatre. *Charles* complaines by a sollemne Ambassage to the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, who ke the paines to come into France, with an intent to employ his authoritie and command to reconcile these two Princes: but it was in vaine. The cause of this fruitlesse attempt proceeded from *Edward*, being resolute to haue his part tryed by armes, being incited by his victorious successe in the former raiges.

The Emperour seeks to reconcile these two Kings.

Charles had alwayes protested to obserue the treatie of *Bretigny* inuolable. But hauing considered the generall resolution of the States, and of the countiees and Noblemen incited by the said treatie, he resolues to protect them: and hauing excused himselfe both to the Emperour and forraigne Princes, by a publike declaration, he sends a Gentleman called *Chapponeau*, to the Prince of Wales being at *Bordeaux*, summoning him to appeare before him at Paris, at the instance of the Nobilitie and commons of *Guienne*, complaining of him. He also sent a Herald to the King of England, to proclaim warre against him. The Earle of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret* (who had newly married *Isabel* of *Barben*, and by this alliance was become French) the Earles of *Perigord*, *Comminges* and *Carmain*, the Lords of *Barde*, *Condon*, *Pircoinet*, *Pardullan* and *Agenois*, began the opposition against the King of England, followed by all those Prouinces, protesting for the recovery of France.

Charles proclaims warre against the King of England.

At this example all the Townes of the Countie of *Ponthieu*, yeelded to *Guys* Earle of *Arundell* and to *Guy of Chastillon* Maister of the Crosbowes. Then the Kings armies marche towards Paris, vnder the commands of the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, & the Constable *Gaston*, to whose wisdom, (& especially to the Chancellor *Dourmans*,) they attributed the obedience of the people of *Guienne*, discreetly practised by them. *Limoges* and *Cahors* yeeld at the sight of the Kings armie. *Carlet*, *Bergerac*, *S. Senere*, and in the end *Romagne*, and by the successe of these Cities (reduced to the Kings obedience by force) *Lin d'Argely*, *Angoulesme*, *Xaintes*, *Fontenay*, *Parthenay*, and many other Townes obeyed voluntarily. The fortresses of *Mortagne*, *Lusignan* and *Senezay*, are added to this conquest: and in the end *Tours* stretcheth forth her hands to the King, and shakes off the English yoke. Whilest that the Kings armie performed these happy exploits in *Guienne*: the Prince of Wales (a hardie and generous warrior) to turne aside this deluge, the which he feared falling vpon the countie of *Bordeaux*, resolues to enter by another quarter, which being an enemy should be found without defence.

The successe of the French armie in Guienne.

Hauing made a flying campe of English & Gascons well armed, he slips into *Anuergne*, from thence into *Bourbonois* & *Berry*, where hauing refreshed his troupes some daies, he passeth into *Forest*, and gathering together his forces vpon the riuer of *Loire*, he passeth ouer at *Morsigny* of *Nannes*, & so crossing *St. Jeanis*, he comes into *Bourgoigne*, where finding all desert, without victualles, all being carried into walled Townes, by the care of *Philip* the Kings brother, he marcheth into *Saxennois*, and from thence into *Gastinois*. In the end he staves before *Eppeyran*, with an armie of twenty thousand men, which terrifies the whole country, and takes the Towne easily, being not relieved.

The exploits of the Prince of Wales.

Charles recalls his armie out of *Guienne*, giuing the Constable *Gaston* commission to follow him: the which he executes so happily, as all this cloud was presently dissipated: so as the Prince of Wales could hardly retire himselfe to *Bordeaux*, not laden with spoils as in former times, but with shame and losse.

This was the successe of the first passage the English made through France. But what is become of our *Anuarois*? we haue obserued how he made his peace with *K. John*, when he returned from prison. He thence retired himselfe quietly into his realme of *Nauarre*, where he remembered his ieaalousie, and watching all opportunities to crosse the affaires of *Charles*, he was spared him with so great respect. The neerelie of *Bordeaux* was a fit meanes for him to continue his practises with the English vnder-hand: although by meanes of the *Guennies*, he entertained a shew of friendship with *Charles* his brother in law.

The Navarrese returned from prison, practises vnder hand against Charles.

1366. *Castille* ministered matter of imploiment for our warriours, with a very notable successe. A
The subject of warre in
Castile.

Peter King of *Castille*, sonne to *Alphonfus*, (making great protection of loue to the *French*) married *Blanche* the daughter of *Peter* duke of *Bourbon*, and sister to *Joane* the wife of our *Charles* the wife, and so brother in law to the King. Whilest the *Castilian* loued his wife, the alliance and friendship of our King, was his greatest honour: but abandoning himselfe to a strumpet named *Fadille*, he forooke all duty to his wife, left *France*, and lincked himselfe with the *Englysh*, against his sworne faith to his allies. To this treacherie he addes the murder of his wife, and a cruell tyrannie against his subiects.

Peter King of
Castile mur-
ders his own
wife.

These execrable proceedings procured the wrath of God against him, with the hatred both of great and small, which drew him headlong to his ruine. *Alphonfus* his father making him his heire and successor of his realme of *Castille*, had bequeathed a legacie by testament to *Henry* his bastard sonne, a vertuous man, that is to say, as lawfull by his vertue, as *Peter* was growne degenerate by his vices; and as greatly beloved of the people, as *Peter* was hated in generall, by reason of his abominable life. He spoiled *Henry* his brother of this legacie, the which his father had left him; but thinking to take from another, he lost his owne. for *Henry* (thus ill intreated) flies to Pope *Urban* the 5. resident at *Avignon*, beseeching him to vse his authoritie by admonitions to his brother, aduising him to restore that which his father had given him. *Urban* inclining to his iust request, cites them both to appeare before the consistorie, to draw them to their duties; *Peter* not onely refuseth to obey the Pope, but doth outrage to his *Nuncio*. *Henry* thus repulsed, repaires to *Charles*, by the meanes of *Peter* of *Bourbon*, brother to the Queene of *Castille*, whom her husband *Peter* had murdered. The indignitie of this fact procured *Henry* great succours from King *Charles*, euen at such a time as he wanted worke for his men of warre. The command of this armie was giuen to *Peter* of *Bourbon* a Prince of the blood, with the counsell and direction of the Constable *Guesclin*, who also bare the name, as he took the greatest paines. The armie is leued in *Languedoc* by the kings command, & the exceeding care of the Duke of *Berry*, gouernour of that country, to the incredible ioy of many voluntaries, who went cheerfully to so iust a warre: the successe was both happy & speedy; soderly as the *French* armie appeared for the succour of *Henry*, all the *Castilians* reuolt against *Peter*, who (with great difficultie) saues himselfe with his concubine, and three daughters he had by her, and one onely seruant, carrying nothing with him but a little ready money, and the miserie of a dispossessed Prince.

Charles sends
an armie into
Castile against
the King bee-
ing a mur-
derer and a ty-
rant.

The *Castilians*
reuolt against
Peter and ex-
pell him.

The King of
England suc-
cours *Peter* &
restores him.

The *French*
defeated in
Castile by the
Englysh.

This his calamitie did first moue the Prince of *Wales* to compassion, & then his father *Edward* commanding his sonne to succour him with all his forces; the which he performed speedily with a goodly army, meaning to crosse the designs of our *Charles*: But (oh the patience of God, which giues a sinner to long a time of repentance, that in the end (without any excuse) he might pay both the principal and interest :) the successe of this *Englysh* armie was such in fauour of *Peter* of *Castile*, that hauing vanquished the *French* armie, by a notable defeat of foure & twenty thousand men taken *Guesclin* the Constable, *Arnoul* of *Andregien* Ma. shall of *France*, and many other great men prisoners; *Peter* was restored to the possession of his realme, and *Henry* dispossessed: who escaped hardly from this great danger, & retires himselfe into *Languedoc*, to *John* duke of *Berry* the Kings brother, and gouernour of that countrie. But after this gracious assistance of Gods mercy, his iustice must take place, as it did against *Peter* by this meanes. *Henry* being courteously received by the Pope & the duke of *Berry*, and the Constable of *Guesclin* set at libertie with all his companions, hauing paid their ransomes to the Prince of *Wales*, he recouers a second aide by the bounty of our wife *Charles*, and the diligence of the duke of *Berry*, to attempt a new recuperie of the realme of *Castile*. The Constable *Guesclin* was appointed to this charge, to withstand the first check, if it were possible. The cunct answered the project, and by an admirable meanes, the which ruined *Peter* through his owne folly.

This tyrant (growne proud by the withfull successe of the *Englysh* forces) makes no regard to satisfie the Prince of *Wales* for the charges of this warre (although the successe were for his good, but buying himselfe to take reuenge of such as had risen against him, he contemned such as had succoured him: yea treading all pietie vnder foote, he affected

A himselfe with the King of *Belle-marine* a *Sarasin*, and marrying his daughter) he abiured the Chriitian Religion; holding the neighbourhood of so mighty a King, to be more certain and profitable, then all the forces of *England*. But it fell out contrary to his conceipt, for *Henry* assisted by the constable *Guesclin* and the *French* forces, hauing won fivc battels against *Peter*, in the ende he was quite defeated and taken prisoner.

Peter King of
Castile behead-
ed.

Hauing him in his power, at the *Castilians* sute (wonderfully incensed against this Tyrant) he caused his head to be cut off, reaping the fruites of his impiety, the which made him to forsake the true religion: of his vanity, trusting to a rotten plank, with the losse of his conscience, and of his exceeding cruelty, hauing murdered his wife, tiranised ouer his subiects, and spoyled his brother of his estate against all right.

E An excellent lesson for all men, especially for great Princes, not to dally with God, who punisheth haynous crimes with haynous punishments, euen in this life, attending the euellastng paine in the life to come.

Charles King of *Nauarre* was much perplexed, seeing himselfe betwixt two armies, for desiring to be a neuter and to please both, he knew not how to gouerne himselfe. He seeks to intertaine both *Charles* and *Edward*, although he were more ingaged to the *Englysh*, and could not well trust his brother in law, hauing greatly offended him. So hee lets the *English* army to passe through his dominions when it marched into *Castile*, to succour *Peter*, and suffered himselfe to be taken prisoner by *Oliuer* of *Mann* a Gentleman of *Britaine* who led him into *Castile* to make the *Englysh* thinke he had bin forced, and the *French*, that hee did willingly imploy himselfe for them being in their troupes.

The King of
Nauarre dis-
sembling.

C A miserable hypocritie, which of a maister makes himselfe a slaue, who might haue bin one of the chiefe of the army, without this wretched dissembling.

The good and wise King, taught by the example of his father *John*, that an Eccl is lost by ouertipping it, desired onely to pacifie his brother in lawe, although he were well acquainted with his bad disposition, and the practises he continued with *England*. So he gaue him a safe conduct to come vnto him, and restored vnto him *Mantes* and *Meulan*, and the free possession of his lands in *Normandy*. but this prince fraught with malice, could not be reclaimed, neither by the Kings prosperity, nor by his clemency, for (not trusting him) hee retires to his realme of *Nauarre*, where he continues his old practises with the *Englysh*: hee helps the Briton with men out of *Normandie*, and attempted against the Kings person, seeking to poyson him by *Iaquet Rue* and *Peter* of *Tertre*, his domesticall seruants: who were executed, and the *Nauarrois* places seized on, as guilty of high treason. Thus *Charles* was forced to fight against his owne blood, and to haue the malice of his kinsmen and allies. No small combate for a great Prince.

The *French*
seek to poy-
son King
Charles.

We haue discoursed at large of the valour and happy successe both of *Edward* the 3. King of *England*, and of *Edward* his sonne Prince of *Wales*. Put as humane things are not durable, so there chanced a great accident vpon his returne from the war of *Castile*, which brought them both to the graue. The Prince of *Wales* finding himselfe threatened with a doopley, passed from *Bordeaux* into *England*, to take the ayre of his native country, but hee died soone after his arrival, the 46. yeare of his age. A Prince of great hope, not onely lamented of his friends but comed of his enimies. *Edward* the father, seeing his right arme as it were cut off, died for griefe: leauing *Richard* the son of his son *Edward* in his place, who was received (without any questiō made by his vncles) as the first by right of succession.

The death of
both *Edwards*

Richard (not to degenerate from the example of his grandfather and father, being crowned King, vndertakes a warre in *France*: whether he sends a goodly army vnder the command of the Duke of *Clarence* his vnkle, who (hauing landed at *Calais*) passeth the Riuer of *Somme*, at *Clery* neere vnto *Peronne*, & bending towards *Soisson*, he croseth the Riuer of *Oise* & *Ain*. Then marching towards *Chalons* he passeth *Marne*, and shewing himselfe before *Troyes* in *Champagne*, he spoyles the country, and so goeth ouer *Seine* betwixt *Ville-neufue* and *Soucy*, and bending towards *Beauuise* and *Gassinis* he croseth into *Brittaine*, there to reuie the war in fauour of *John* of *Montfort* spoyling the country with a strange desolation. On the other side there lands an other army at *Bordeaux*, the which hauing entred the country, fortified such places as held for the *Englysh*, to nourish the seeds of this new warre.

The *Englysh*
second pas-
sage through
France.

1380 In the country of *Genaudan* (a diocess in that large Prouince of *Languedoc*) there was a Castle neere to *Mande* named *Randon*, whereas the *English* maintayned a strong garnison, a retreat for theeeues, which did infinite harme in the country. The country hauing sued vnto the King, to free them of this incombrance, he graunted them *Gueselin* the Constable, a man of great reputation, but the army should be deftayed at their charges.

He comes into *Languedoc*, be seegerh *Randon*, and brings them to the last extremity: but as the beseege (not able to hold out) were entered into composition, behold the Constable (sick to the death) yeelds vp the ghost. At the same instant the place was yelded vnto the King, so as insigne that the honour of this prize was due to *Gueselin*, the Captaine carried the keyes of the castle vpon his herse.

The death of
the Constable
Gueselin,

Thus died *Gueselin*, leauing an honourable testimony of his valour and loyalty: and to *Charles* an exte came sorrow for his death, who honoured him with a notable obsequie, causing his body to be interred with the Kings at *S. Denis*: & at the foot of his own tombe was that of *Gueselin*, with a burning Lampe maintained by foundation, called *The Lampe of Gueselin* vnto this day.

King *Charles* had giuen all *Burgogne* to his brother *Philip* for his portion, according to the will of his father *John*, as we haue said, and had married him with *Margueret* the rich heyre of *Flanders*, being in possession of *Burgogne*, there happened another occasion in *Flanders*, which won him great credit with those people, whom he should command after the death of *Lewis* his father in law, who was yet liuing.

Troubles in
Flanders pacified by *Philip*.

The Inhabitants of *Gand*, a mutinous people by nature, who neuer want matter to mutine, had then a great discontent, both against their Earle in generall, (by reason of some new impositions) and against them of *Bruges* in particular (iealous to see them in so great fauour with their Prince) by reason of a Chanell which they had drawne from the riuer of *Lis*, for the commodity of their country, which Riuer crossing the riuer of *Gand*, the *Gantois* supposed it was all theirs in proper: so as none might vse it without their liking.

This iealousie grew so great, that this great city (as big with their wayward and contentious humors, as it was populous and rich) being thus moued, resolues to make shewe thereof, and in this fury they make a League, and choose a head, bearing a marke or token of their faction, and from words they go to blowes. One called *Leon* (a bold practiser of popular seditions) was found fit to be the Ringleader of this tumult: their marke was a white cap, for all the troupe. These *Gantois* gather together, they hinder the worke of this chancell, and the gathering of the custome, becing the cause of this quarrell: they kill Collectors and receiueurs, and in the ende the gouernour of the citie called *Roger*, who being there for the Earle, laboured to teach them their duties.

Their fury exceeded so farre, as they spoyle the Earles Pallace, fire it, and in their rage pull it downe to the ground. They run in great troupes to other townes, to draw them to their league. They beseege *Ypre*, held by the Earles men, crying in all places, Liberty, as hauing a meaning to change their Lord, and then to seize vpon *Flanders*.

This cruell disorder amazed the Earle, when as behold *Philip* Duke of *Burgogne*, his sonne in law, flies vnto him to quench this fire: and as men admire rather the Sunne rising then sitting, and that the name of the house of *France*, and the greatnesse of his goodly portion gaue him great authority: so it chanced that he pacified this rebellion, to the content both of the Earle and cities, taking a happy possession of this great inheritance, by a famous and profitable occasion.

Sedition at
Montpelier.

But *Flanders* alone was not subiect to these madde mutinies: for those of *Montpelier*, newly reduced to the obedience of our King, grew into to great a fury, as they slew *James Pontel* a Knight of the order, and Chancellor to *John* Duke of *Berry*, Gouernour of the Country, *Guy* of *Serry* Seneschal of *Roergue*, *Arnould* of *Montclair* Gouernour of the said city, and other officers of the Kings and Dukes, to the number of fower score, and cast their bodies into a well. As the outrage was odious, so the punishment was memorable.

The Duke of *Berry*, comes with forces, assisted by the whole Prouince, detesting so foule an insolency, so as the Inhabitants (calling to minde their audacious phrenesie,) resolved

A solue to submit themselves to punishment, and not to stand desperately against force.

The Consuls of the Cittie hauing halters about their necks and torne cloaths, the keys of the city in one hand, and a red cap (the marke of their office) in the other, met with the Duke their gouernour being followed by the Clergy (carrying a croisse) all crying for mercy, and weeping with a lamentable noyse.

In this mournefull sort the Duke enters the city gates, being without any gard, he finds the streets full of poore and desolate people, vpon their knees, men and women, olde and yong, crying for mercy, and redoubling their pitifull cries, as witnesses of their repentance. Then the Duke commands, they should presently bring all their armes into one place nere vnto his lodging, placing a gard at the gates and vpon the walles. The next day, he caused a scaffold to be made in the market place, where hauing sharply rebuked the people for their rebellion, he pronounced a sentence in the Kings name, whereby he declares: That

all their priuileges were taken from them, their Consullship, Towne house, common Arches, vniuersity, their Bells, Salpannes, and all Iurisdiccions of the citie, cyther of soueraigne courts, or of the commonalty: six hundred Inhabitants to be chosen at aduerture, condemned to die, that is, two hundred to loose their heads, two hundred to be hanged, & two hundred burnt, their children declared infamous and slaves for euer, & their goods confiscate. The commonalty should pay six score thousand franks of gold, and the charges of the Dukes voyage, and his armies. The Consuls with certaine Councillers that were named, should drawe the bodies of such as had bene massacred out of the well, and bury them. A Chappell should be built for their obsequies. With the same Bell which did found the alarm. The gates and city walles should be beaten downe, and their armes burnt publicly.

The sentence
pronounced
against them
of *Montpelier*.

This was their doome: but it was moderated at the intercession of Pope *Clement*, then resident in *Avignon*, by the meanes of *Cardinall de la Lune*. The same was qualified, the priuileges restored, the gates and walles preferred: but the Authours of this sedition were put to death, that the rest of the Inhabitants might liue in safety.

The sentence
moderated.

A notable president for subiects to suppress their fury, euen when they thinke to haue a iust cause of complaint, feeling themselves surcharged or otherwise grieved: considering the errors are sooner committed, then repaired. And for commanders, that it is a dangerous resolution to let loose the raines to a mad multitude, which augments the mischief, supposing to cure it.

Queene *Joane* wife to our wife *Charles*, daughter to *Peter* of *Bourbon*, dies about this time, to the great griefe of her husband, to whom she left two sonnes, *Charles* & *Lewis*, both very yong: for *Charles* was borne the 3. of December 1371. and was carried to the Font by *Charles* of *Montmorency*, and baptised by *Dourmans* Bishop of *Beauuois*, and Chancellour of *France*, *Lewis* was Duke of *Orleans*. She left him also one daughter, *Isabell*, married afterwards to *Richard* King of *England*. Necessary obseruations for the course of our history.

Her children.

This good Prince after his wiues death, was nothing healthfull, so as broken with poyson the which had much weakened him, & with the tedious toiles of his youth more then with age, he decayed dayly, and he himselfe perceiued it, so as feeling the ende of his life to approach, remembreing what troubles he had past, during the mournefull imprisonment of his Father, by the contempt vsed of his yong age, least the like should happen to his sonne *Charles*, vnder colour of his minority gouerned by tutors, he decreed in a general assemblie of the States, by a lawe, and an irremocable Edict, That after the decesse of the king of *France*, his eldest sonne should succeed him presently, and at the age of 14. yeeres should be declared capable to gouerne the estate alone, & be freed from Tutors. But (oh the weakenes of mans wisdom) he did not foresee that his son should be ill gouerned by his Tutors in his minority, that the age of 14. should not free him from Tutors: and that euen his sonne coming to mans estate, should giue more scope to the ambition of his owne vncles (more worthily to be called murderers, then tutors) then his weakest youth had done.

He had a Fistula in one arme, by the which those ill humors were drawne away, which grew by poyson, and gaue him great ease when it did run. It chanced this Fistula stopt, and then his maladie encreased much.

Charles

1380. Charles (resolving by this sharpe alarm, to go the common way of all flesh) calls for his three Bretheren, *Lewis, John, and Philip*: and hauing recommended his children and subiects vnto them, he giues them particular aduise, for the gouernment of the Realme. leauing the custody of his sonne, and the Regency of the Realme vnto them. He died the 16. of September: 1380. in the Castle of *Beauuy*, seated vpon the Riuier of *Marne*. He commaunded that *Oliuer of Clifton* should be Constable, hauing commended his fidelity and sufficiency, and that they should carefully preserue the amity of *Germany*.

Charles dies. Thus died *Charles* the wife, wonderfully beloued and lamented of his subiects, leauing his Realme in good estate, after so horrible a desolation. And although the confusions passed had wonderfully impouerished the subiects, and wasted the Kings Treasor, (neyther was his raigne free from warre) yet did he leaue the Prouinces of his Realme very wealthy, and an infinite tresor in his cofers: although he had built the *Louure*, *S. Germaine in Lay*, *Montargis*, *Creill*, the *Celestines*, and some other Churches.

Of such power is good husbandry in this realme, as in riches it yeelds not to the treasures of *Peru*, nor in fertility to any country vnder heauen, to subsist amidst so many storms, and to be presently restored by good husbandry.

An example for Princes to imitate, and not to despaire in like confusions, but to hope for all that may be wished for in the restoring of an estate, by patience and dexterity, virtues proper to our wife *Charles*.

A Prince so much the more praise worthy, hauing preserued this Estate, when it seemed lost, religious, wise, modest, patient, stirring and stayed, when need required, able to entertaine euery man according to his humor: hauing by these virtues wonne a great reputation, both within and without the Realme, and honourable to his posterity: as he to haue saued *France* from shipwracke.

He loued learning and learned men: *Nicholas Oresme* was his schoolemaister: whom hee honoured with great preferments. He caused the bible to be translated into *French*, imitating *S. Lewis*. I haue leene the originall in the Kings lodging at the *Louure*, signed by King *Charles* and his Brother the Duke of *Berry*.

A goodly obseruation of the auncient simplicity of these royall characters. I haue likewise seene a Manuscript of the translation made by the commaundement of *S. Lewis*. He delighted in the reading of the holy Scriptures & Philosophy: hauing likewise caused the *Ethicks* and *Politicks* of *Aristotle*, with many bookes of *Tully*, to be translated into *French*. The fame of he shewed to learned men, stirred vp many good wits, who began to draw the Muses from their graues, both in *France* and *Italy*.

The History doth particularly note, that he did often visit his Court of Parliament and his chamber of accompts: gaue audience vnto suitors, read their petitions, and heard their complaints and reasons, imploying some dayes of the weeke, euen in his greatest affaires, to do those fatherly and royall workes of Iustice. He tooke great delight to aduance his household seruants, giuing them meanes secretly (and without the piniuity of any) to instruct their sonnes, and to marrie their daughters. A testimonie of a good conscience, and of a wise man. This bond of loyaltie could haue no better foundation, then in transporting it from the Father to the sonne: nor almes be better imployed then from the master to the seruant.

Royall virtues and worthy of eternall memory. But alas, what shalbe the success of this bounty and wisdom? The raigne of his sonne *Charles* shalbe most miserable. He hath done the part of a good Brother, of a good master, a good Father and a good King: but God the Soueraigne of Kings, had limited the euents of his cares. To reach vs a notable example: That *unless the Lord build the house, the workemen labour in vaine*: for an eternal maxime of gouernement and state, *Who seuer glories, let him glory in the Lord*. But virtues are not hereditarie, *John* not very wife, begat *Charles* a wife and happy Prince, and he beges a fruitlesse man, vnhappy both in youth and age. We may on the other side oppose other considerations very disputable. Profit aduised him to marrie the heire of *Flanders*, not onely to pacifie that country, but also to enlarge his owne dominions, adding thereto that great and rich

Considerations worthy to be observed by Princes.

A rich estate of *Flanders*, from whence so many mischiefs haue sprung to *France*, but his delight made him preferre the fayre before the rich. Moreouer the rules of State did not permit him so to aduance his brother, making him in a manner equal to himselfe in power, the which must needs be the cause of many inconueniences, as it after happened.

The cause of his brother *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, is ordered by the same rule, for who can with reason mislike that *Charles* giues a portion to his brother by his fathers will; and that in the rich marryage of a Prince his vassall, and of a neere estate (whereby his realme was dayly annoyed) he preferres his brother before his capitall enemy? But God had reserued the honour to himselfe. *Bourgogne* since *Robert*, the Grandchild of *Hugh Capet*, had bene successiue in the power of Princes, who had alwayes done faithfull seruice to the crowne, and now it shalbe a scourge vnto it: yet in the ende it shalbe vnted vnto the crowne againe and taken from such as had abused it. Experience doth teach that in matters of State, the ende is not alwayes answerable to the beginning, nor the successe to the dessein, to the ende that Princes may depend of him who is greater then themselves who hath made them, and can marre them: & without whom they cannot do any thing.

Behold the life, death, race, raigne and manners of *Charles* the 5. called the wife. But before we enter into the trouble some raigne of *Charles* the 6. Let vs obserue the estate of the Empire and of the Church. We haue saide that *Charles* the sonne of *John* King of *Bohemia* had bene chosen Emperour, and called *Charles* the 4. Hee held the Empire 32. yeares, beginning in the yeare 1350. So the raignes of *John* and *Charles* his sonne are contained in this Empire, for he died in the yeare 1378. Before his death hee provided that *Wenceslaus* his sonne should succede him in the Imperiall dignity.

The Estate of the empire.

At the first he married *Blanche* Countesse of *Valois*, daughter to *Charles* Earle of *Valois*, and sister to *Philip* of *Valois* King of *France*, beeing very yong, (for she was but seauen yeares old when hee was betrothed vnto him) hee had bene bred vp in the Court of *France*, and learned the *French* humors: he loued our crowne better then our Lawes. A Prince wholly inclined to his owne particular: making shewe to loue our Kings, but vnderhand hee supported their enimies against them.

This was the principall reason why his coming into *France* proued fruitlesse, after so long a voyage and so great expences, ministring a sufficient cause of ialousie to our *Charles*, who gaue him the best entertainment he could, to make him knowne, that the souerainty which he pretended to haue ouer *France* was but a dreame. Yet hee suffered the Country of *Dauphiné* (which they called the Empire) as a member of the auncient Realme of *Ayles* to bee wholly infranchised from that subiection, to cut off all pretensions from his successors, embracing the commodity to settle his affaires euen by their meanes who he knew were not his friends.

This Emperour *Charles* the 4. did all he could both in *Italy* and *Germany*, to apply vnto himselfe the rights of the Empire, being wholly inclined to his owne profit, for the which he vied the name of Iustice & good order, being more learned in law, then in doing right, and hauing more knowledge then conscience. It is he which made the Golden Bull, both to rule the Election of the Emperour, and the rights and dignity of the Empire.

The Emperours disposition.

The former confusions of the Empire had so dispensed all priuate gouernours of counties and cities, as euery one played the Emperour in his gouernement.

These tyrannicall disorders were the cause of the *Cantons*, in *Switzerland*, who since haue established a goodly commonweale, consisting of thirteene *Cantons*, who maintain themselves with great order and force, hauing the amity and alliance of the neighbour monarchs, and an honourable place among the Estates of Christendome vnto this day.

Originall of the Cantons in Switzerland.

Their particular history, belongs not to our subiect, it sufficeth to haue noted their beginning, and the occasion of their common weale, newly erected in the disorders of that age. The church of *Rome* was in very poore estate, first by the continual factions of the *Guelphs* & *Gibellins*, and of it selfe by a distraction bred by an open schisme, hauing two Popes, two chaires, two seas: and a deadly hatred, the which troubled all the Kings & princes of christendome, some defending the Pope, others the Antipope as his opposite.

Estate of the Church.

1380. We haue said that in the raigne of *Philip of Valois* the Pontificall Sea was translated A from *Rome* to *Auignon*, where it continued about 70. years, *Clement 6.* hauing bought this citty for his successors, being a pleasant and trutesfull seate.

These quarrells continued with such violent passions had tyred mens minds like as a long proceffe doth wea: y the most obdinate pleaders. The Popes beeing absent from *Rome*, gouerned the estate of *Italy* by three Cardinals their Legats, but all went to ruine. *Gregorie 5.* a Limosin, being chosen Pope at *Auignon*, went to *Rome* to redresse these confusions, wherein there was small helpe. Being receiued with an incredible ioy of the *Romans*, and of all *Italy*, he returns no more to *Auignon*, but passeth therest of his daies at *Rome*. After his death the people with all vehemency require a *Romaine* borne, or an *Italian* for Pope: but there was some difficulty in the election, for the Colledge consisted, for the most part of *French* Cardinals, who desired to haue one of their owne nation. They were much diuided: but the Cardinals (fearing the peoples fury, armed with an intent to murder them if they did not choose one of their nation) yeilded to the election of a *Neapolitane*, named *Bartholomew*, who was receiued and proclaymed by the name of *Vibian* the sixt.

Diuisiō at
Rome for the
Election of a
new Pope.

An Antipope
chosen.

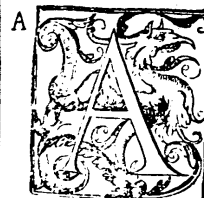
But within few dayes after, the Malecontents retyred from *Rome* (vnder colour to flee the plague) to *Fundy*, a towne in the Realme of *Naples* (of the *French* faction, by means of *Queene Ioune*, when they did choose *Clement* the 7. a Limosin, who retyred to *Auignon*, and was opposite to *Vibian* the 6. with open despayance one of another: which schisme continued vntill the Countell of *Corisance*, each Pope with his faction. *Clement* had for him the Kings of *France*, *Castile*, and *Scotland*. *Vibian* had the Emperour, the Kings of *England*, and *Hungary*. *Clement* held his seat at *Auignon*, and *Vibian* at *Rome*.

In those dayes liued *Bartholomew*, *Baldus*, *Petrarch*, *Boccaccio* *Plinudes* a Greeke by nation, *Bona uenture*, and *Iohn Wicklife*. These huriburles touched the hearts, & opened the mouthes of many good men, wonderfully grieved to see such diuisiō in the Church, apparantly growne by the ambition of such as had greatest authority in the same.

Their writings lye open to their reasonable complaints, which euery one may read, without any further discourse.



CHARLES the sixt, 53. King of France.



It is necessary to haue some direction to passe through a Labyrinth; so this crooked raigne hath need of some order to guide vs, in the disorder of so many obscure confusions, which we are to represent. I will first obserue the most famous acts and worthiest personages of this raigne, and then will I distinguish the subject according to the occurrents.

1380

Necessary
obseruations
for the vnder-
standing of
this raigne.

This miserable raigne continued 42. yeares, beginning in the yeare 1380. and ending in the yeare 1422. *Charles* the 6. succeeded his father *Charles* the 5. at the age of 12. yeares (being borne in the yeare 1368.) he was crowned in the yeare 80. married in 84. dismissed his Tutors to raigne alone in 87. falls into a phrensie in 93. and dyes in the yeare 1422. So being vnder age with his Tutors, and of age in perfect sense, he reigned 13. yeares, and liued in his phrensie 29. yeares. Who sees not then the iust calculation of 42. yeares in this raigne?

The seuerall
dates.

Charles the 5. his father, had three brethren: *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, *Iohn* Duke of *Ferry*, and *Philip* Duke of *Bourgoigne*. *Queene Ioune*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, wife to *Charles* the sixt, and mother to *Charles* the sixt, had one brother, *James* Duke of *Bourbon*. These four vnckles shall plaie their parts vpon this stage in diuers occurrents; but let vs adde therest, euery one shall haue his turne.

The Kings
Vnckles.

We haue said, that *Charles* the wise left two sonnes; this *Charles* the 6. whose raigne we now deser be, and *Lewis* Duke of *Orleanse*. And our *Charles* had three sonnes, *Lewis*, *Iohn* and *Charles*: and one daughter named *Katherine*, all by *Elizabeth* of *Bauiere*, one of the chiefe fier brands of this Tragedie: an outrageous woman, an vnnaturall mother, and altogether vnworthy of this crowne.

of *Charles* vn-
worthily
married,

These three sonnes were *Daulphins* one after another in their fathers life: but *Charles* succeeded him, notwithstanding all crosses and difficulties: and *Katherine* his sister was married to *Henry* the 5. King of *England*: a mournfull gage of a horrible confusion for this Realme.

Ec

But

1380. But alas, how many cruell acts of ambition, vanitie, and treacherie of such as held the helme of this estate, being either royall persons, or seised in the highest dignities? How many changes and reuolutions of these froward humors, daring any thing vnder the libertie of this raigne: the King being cyther a child, or sick, and alwayes weake and vnable to gouerne so great a charge?

Strange
newes.

In the first Scene of this Tragedie, we shall see the Vncles of this young King in diuision one against another. *Lewis* Duke of *Aniou* (declared Regent, as first Prince of the bloud) is crossed by his bretheren, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgogne*, and he abuseth his authoritie imperiously.

Lewis Duke of *Aniou* being dead, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, brother to King *Charles* the sixt shall take his place, as the first Prince, and shall fall to quarrell with *Philip* the Hardie, duke of *Bourgogne*, his Vncle, who dying, shall leaue *John* his sonne successor of his ieaousie, against *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* his cousin.

John shall exceed all humanitie, and kill him; but the hatred shall not dye, being transplanted into *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, sonne to *Lewis* massacred, the which shall breed infinite troubles.

The *Daulphins* shall play their parts, sometimes friends, and sometimes enemies one to another. *John* who had murdered *Lewis* of *Orleans*, shall be slaine by *Charles* the *Daulphin*, who shall be King: but from *John* shall spring another *Philip* of *Bourgogne*, who shall kindle a new fire, to be reuenged of his fathers death.

The Stranger is engaged in these ciuill warres: women augment it by their furies. On the one side *Valentine* Duchesse of *Orleans*: on the other *Isabel* Queene of *France*. The Constables of *Cliffon* and *Armagnac* are likewise drawne in: and the subiect growes licentious in these disorders. Passion preuailes with such furie, as the mother forgets the birth of her owne wombe, and so abuseth her authoritie, as she dares attempt (against the fundamentall law of state) to giue the realme to a Stranger, who was crowned, and proclaimed King in the heart of *France*, by her boldnesse.

These be the contents of this wretched raigne, with these two parcels distinctly to be obserued; the Kings *Minoritie*, and his *Maioritie*, and thereby we shall diuide our whole discourse.



The

THE MINORITIE OF KING Charles the sixt.

From the yeare 1380.

When as *Charles* receiued the Crowne by the decease of his Father, vnto the yeare 87. that he dismissed his Vncles, to rule alone with absolute authoritie.



He generall estates assemble at *Paris*, presently after the death of 1380. *Charles*, called the *Wife*, to prouide for the gouernment of the King and realme, and to auoide all apparant ieaousie betwixt the Kings Vncles, they decree, That according to the declaration made by their good King deceased, *Charles* his sonne should be annoynted and crowned King, and that until he were of competent age to gouerne so great an estate, *Lewis* Duke of *Aniou*, (as eldest of the house of *France*, and so the first Prince of the bloud) should be Regent, and haue

Lewis of *Aniou* Regent.

the authoritie of Councell and royall command.

And likewise by vertue of King *Charles* his will, *Oliuer* of *Cliffon* (a braue and valiant Knight borne in *Brittanie*) was made Constable of *France*. *Oliuer* of *Cliffon* tooke possession of his charge, preparing for the Kings Coronation: And the Duke of *Aniou* receiuing the Kings treasour, which they say was eightene hundred thousand Crownes. A very great summe for those times, and after so wretched a season. He forced *Sauvisy* the head Treasurer, to deliuer those summes into his hands, and by this excessse laide the ground of a great presumption which followed.

Charles is annoynted at *Rheims*, and Crowned after the custome of *France*, the 25. of October, in the yeare 1380. in a sollempne assemblie of his Princes of the bloud, Princes allyed, and Officers of this Crowne. The Dukes of *Aniou*, *Berry*, and *Bourgogne*, the Kings Vncles, *Wenceslin* Duke of *Brabant*, the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Barre*, the Earles of *Sauoy*, of *Marche* and *Eu* (friends and confederates to our Kings) did assist. At this sollempnitie there was some question for place, whether should take it: the Duke of *Aniou* as Regent of the Realme, or the Duke of *Bourgogne* as first Peere of *France* and Deane of the Peeres: distinguishing the degrees according to their qualities, to whom the order was giuen.

The King to crowne his installment by some notable act, tooke vpon him to decide this controuersie, and decreed: That for as much as at the Kings annoynting, the Peeres of *France* ought to hold the first ranke, in all ceremonies: the Duke of *Bourgogne* as the first Peere should take place of the Duke of *Aniou*: And so *Philip* was preferred before his elder brother, continuing the possession of the name of *Hardie*, the which he purchased in defending his father *John* so stoutly at the battaile of *Poitiers*. But he encreased this name of *Hardie* too much in his carriage, leauing it hereditarie to his children, conuerting this stoutnesse into an imperious presumption, which bred a huge deluge of miseries to the great preiudice of the whole realme.

The day after the coronation, the States beseech the Regent to prouide for the reliefe of the poore people, whose burthen was too heauie for the great arrerages they were to pay of debts crowne in former raignes, and the rather for that there was no warre which imposed the necessity of so great a charge.

The Regent did not yeeld therevnto, but continued these leauies of money more and more, which was the occasion of tumults in diuers Prouinces of *France*, as if this popular humour had beene like vnto a pestilent seauer, or an infectious disease.

Ec 2

Flanders

Tumults in
France.

1380. *Flanders* likewise kindled great fiers vpon sundry occasions, which were quenched with A much trouble, after memorable combustions.

Flanders shall imbarke first in this misfortune, and shall come last to land, not without danger by strange accidents. To teach Princes, how farre they should presse their subiects. And for subiects, with what respect they should reuerence their Superiours, in seeking out remedies for their afflictions; for in the ende (amiddest all these tumults) the victors weepe and lament in the ruine and notable losse and ouerthrow of the vanquished.

Flanders. We haue sayd, that *Philip Duke of Bourgogne*, made a composition for the *Gantois*, with the Earle of *Flanders* his father in lawe. But this accord lasted not long: for the Earle disdayning the indignities he had digested, during the sedition, could not forget them: B but vnder tained quarrels (to the end they should haue no cause of complaint, as breaking the accord (he pincheth some, and ruines others: and for that the *Gantois* stood vpon their garde, not suffering the Earles men to attempt any thing within their Citie, he made a search in the Citie of *Bruges*, (where he commanded absolutely) for such as had bene of the faction of White Cappes, where he executed aboue fise hundred. This execution kindled a new fier: *Gand* falls to armes, and *Ypre* followes; to whose succour the *Gantois* send three thousand men. The Earle being the stronger, cuttes them in peeces betwixt *Couttray* and *Pourpriery*, as they marche: *Ypre* yeelds vnto him; being entered the Towne, he cuttes off leauen hundred of the cheefest mens heads: and then without any stay, he marcheth to *Gand*, and beseegeth it. But his forces were too small in regard of that great and spacious Citie, so as hauing employed all his meanes, they had still the libertie of foure gates.

The *Gantois* loth to be shut vp, and to endure the discomforts of a siege, hauing a wonderfull aduantage by the numbers of their people, resolves to prouide well for the garde of the Citie, and then to drawe forth a good troupe to spoile the Countrey, and to force some of the Earles places, thereby to make a diuersion of the siege. They go to field with six thousand choise men, vnder the command of *Iohn de Launoy* one of their Tribunes.

The Gantois go to field with an armie and are defeated. They take and burne *Tenremonde* and *Gramont*, Townes belonging to the Earle, committing infinite spoiles in the countrey. The Earle leaues the siege, and marcheth away D with an intent to fight with them. He findes them neere to *Niuelle*, chargeth them, defeats them and puts them to flight. They recover the gates of *Niuelle*, and the Earle enters with them pell mell: some of them (led by *Launoy*) recover the fort of the Towne: the Earle besiegeth them, and causeth many Fagots and Bauins to be brought about this Tower, and to be set on fire. All these poore wretches are burnt, making most horrible cryes.

Many of the burnt in a Tower. This Tribune intreateth, that they might be receyued to ransom, and shewing his purse, but receiuing no answer from them, but scornes and mockes, he castes himselfe from the toppe of the Tower vpon their Halbards and Pikes, and so hee dyes very E valiantly.

A cruell execution of a Lord against his subiects. This sight was horrible, and truely vnworthy of a Lord displeased with his subiects, and yet he continued it with a new slaughter of this poore people, who being amazed with this great defeat, had neither feete to runne, nor hands to defend themselves. All are put to the sword, so as of six thousand, there hardly escape three hundred. But the *Gantois* shall soone haue their reuenge.

At the bruchereof, they were as much amazed, as the Earle was puffed vp with pride to pursue his victorie, being in so ready a way for the execution and pursue thereof.

In this disorder, the *Gantois* choose another head, *Philip of Arteuille*, sonne to *James F of Arteuille*, (who (as wee sayd) was slaine by the people,) who aduise them to humble themselves vnto their Earle, and to craue pardon. They are resolved, ha-
uing necessitie for their chiefe Councillour, praying and beseeching their Earle, To haue pittie

pitie of the blood of his subiects, who submitted their liues and goods to his mercy, to dispose at his pleasure, eyther in pardoning them, or suffering them to depart, in abandoning their native Country, as a perpetuall banishment, that it would please him onely to graunt them their liues.

The Earle was greatly incensed against them, and in such a choler, as they could receiue no other answer. But that all sorts within the Citie, men and women about the age of fiftie yeeres, should barefeet and bareheaded submit themselves to his mercy, and being in this soire desperate, giue he would aduise what to do.

The people of *Gand* seeing him transported with wrath, and no meanes to pacifie it. They resolve (by the aduice of *Philip of Arteuille*, their leader, in this extreame necessity) to bazzard all, and not to hope for any safety but in dispaire, being the least of two mil- chieues, to die courageously, for the liberty of their country, and defending themselves against the vniust violence of so inexorable a man: then hauing scene their wiues and daughters deflowred, they should either suruiue their infamie, or bee slaine and massacred without any defence, like Dogges, at the mercie of so cruell an enemy. The event, or rather GOD the protector of the afflicted, fauoured this courageous resolution.

For the effecting hereof, they make choise of fise thousand of their most resolute and best armed men, to trye their fortunes against the Earle, and prouide the best they can for the gard of the Citie: with a generall resolution and consent. That if these fise thousand men should be defeated: to the ende they should not attend the doubtfull event of a siege, nor fall into the hands of so irreconcilable an enemy, they would set fire of the Citie, and euery one saue himselfe as he could.

This being concluded, *Philip of Arteuille* parts from *Gand*, with his desperate troupe, and marcheth directly to *Bruges*, takes a seat of aduantage, and intrencheth himselfe, attending the oportunitie, eyther to defend themselves with aduantage: or to sally vpon the enemy.

The Earle puffed vp with his first successe, imagining them too few for the *Laquaies* belonging to the Gentlemen of his traine, came to charge them within their trenches, and to force them to fight. *Arteuille* not like a Brewer of Beere, as he was, but as a great Captain, ordred his troopes with such dexteritie, as the Earles armie had the sunne in their eyes: vpon this sodaine change, hauing a full view of the Earles men, he goes resolutely to the charge, leading forth this desperate troupe, which fell vpon them like a great streame of water, breaking forth sodenly, hauing found a passage.

The first ranks (troubled with the Sunne beames which dazeled their eyes, and not able to withstand so violent a charge) giue way, and turning their backs, they disorder all the rest.

The *Gantois* vpon this aduantage, teare all in peeces, they encounter, as famished Woioes do in a flocke of sheepe. This braue Nobilitie flies, as astonied, and is put to the sword.

The Earle cries, intreates, and runnes, but all in vaine: he that had the swiftest horse, and the best legges, to flie was the most valiant. The passage thence to *Bruges* was neere: the multitude flies thether, like a current of water. The Earle encounters with the rest, not able to gather againe together his people, and shuttes himselfe into his Castell.

The *Gantois* following, and killing them that fled, enter pell mel, and seized vpon the gates.

Arteuille hauing speedily prouided for the guard thereof, the *Gantois* (being victors) disperse themselves through out the Citie, crying against the vanquished. The Citie is none: and proclaimed for the good Cittizens, Libertie, killing all such as they found to fauour the Earle, searching all houses for his seruants, and commanding to spare the good Cittizens.

The Earle (foreseeing by this brute) that the enemy would presently pursue him, he sodenly leaues his riche attire, and takes the simplest of one of his gromes, and so forsakes

1380. the Castell, to teeke some corner to hide his head in. He was scarce gone out, but his Castle was beset, and easily taken and spoiled, whilst that he saues himselfe in a poore womans house: where in her fillie cottage she had onely one roome beneath, and aboue a garret, to the which they mounted by a ladder. The Earle creeps into this cabbin, and the woman hides him in the bed-strawe, where her children did lie, and coniming downe, tooke away the ladder.

The *Gantois* hauing made search in every corner for the Earle, they came to the house where the Earle was, and searching it, they went vp to the place where hee laye hid, den.

He that could haue read the secrets of this poore Princes heart, in this amazement, should haue scene a remorse of conscience, for that he had not intreated his subiects with more mildnesse.

Being thus freed, hee creeps out of this cottage, and gettes forth of the Towne, being alone and on foote: running from bush to bush, and from ditch to ditch, fearing euery one that passed. when as behold (lying hidden in a Ditch) he discouers a household seruant of his owne, named *Robert Marshall*, who takes him vp on horse-backe behind him, and in this order herecouers *Lisle*.

This vnexpected successe bred new desseignes, in the frantick braine of this Tribune: and of this furious multitude, who should haue bene satisfied to haue auoyded shipwracke, and (returning to their houses) should haue fallen to their vsuall trades, and haue vsed this profitable successe to good purpose, and made their peace with their lawfull Lord, being sufficiently chastised. But vanitie thrusts them on, and the certaintie of Gods threats shewed it selfe in the following punishment: to teach vs, *That man hath but the miserie which he seekes by his owne folly*. A generall lesson for great and small, both for men, families, and States.

Artenille with his *Gantois* (hauing glutted themselves with the sacke and blood of such as were any way affected to the Earle, hauing spoyle his Castle, and left it desolate, beaten downe the gates of *Bruges*, and filled vp the ditches) From thence they goe to conquer the other cities of *Flanders*, where he conuected a newe Empire.

Presently all obey him. *Ypre*, *Dam*, *Bergues*, *Burlbourg*, *Furnes*, *Scluse*, *Pourprigne*, *Courtray*, and the lesser townes, *Andenard* resists. It is presently besieged. At the brute of this successe, all *Flanders* flies thither: so as in few daies there were aboue a hundred thousand men assembled before the towne.

The Earle amazed with so violent a reuolt of all his subiects, hath recourse to his son-in-law *Philip* Duke of *Bourgonne*, that by his meanes hee might bee relieued from the King: although he were more affected to the *English* then *French*, hauing bene too much respected by our Kings. A proud Prince he was in prosperity, and too much dejected in aduersity.

The Regent and the Councell refused to venture the King with this man in so dangerous a cause: but two reasons moued the King therunto, and made him ouerule both the Duke of *Aniou* his Vncle, and his whole councell by the perswasions of the Duke of *Bourgonne*.

The one was *Artenille* himselfe, who during the siege of *Andenard* (not content to haue ruined the Noblemens houses of the Country) had made some roades vpon the frontiers of *France*.

The other was King *Charles* dreamed that he was mounted vpon a flying hart, which carried him gently through the ayre, and a Heron vnder him, which did beat downe all other birds, came then flying to his fist, and the Hart brought him to the place from whence he carried him to his great content.

Artenille, to auoide this storme, fortifies the passages into *Flanders*, especially *Pont du Lis* neere to *Comines*. The french surprise this passage cunningly, hauing patiently attended all night in the miery fenne vp to the ancles, expecting the commoditie of the passage there.

All Flanders reuolts and joynes with the *Gantois*.

King Charles succours the Earle of Flanders, contrary to the aduice of the Regent and Councell.

The Earle hides himselfe.

The Earle of Flanders in great perplexitie.

The error of the *Gantois*.

As the King conceiued a delight to report this dreame, as presage of some good successe, so the Duke of *Bourgonne* labored to drawe him into *Flanders*. The King vpon these moues doth presently leue an armie, and goes to field.

Artenille to auoide this storme, fortifies the passages of *Flanders*, especially *Pont du Lis*, neere vnto *Comines*. The french surprise this passage politilly, hauing attended all night in the dirty marsh vp to the ancles, expecting the comoditie of the passage. Their patience was the more commendable: for that it was in the depth of a sharpe winter, in December, *Comines* and *Verain*, being taken, sackt and burnt, the Towne of *Ypre* kills their gouernor, who wold not suffer them to obey the King, and yelded themselves, paying fortie thousand franks for a composition. By their example, *Cassel*, *Bergues*, *Burlbourg*, *Grauelin*, *Furnes*, *Danckerke*, *Pourprigne*, *Tourmont*, *Vaillant*, *Messine* & other neighbour Townes resolute to seaze vpon their Gouernors, being *Gantois*; and to send them bound hands and feete vnto the King as testimonie that they had yelded vpon force.

Charles receiues the Townes to mercie; and cuts off the heads of these vnlawful Gouernors. *Artenille* fearing the reuolt of other Citties, and that his forces (which were great) would fall from him, resolues to preuent *Charles*, and to force him to fight, promising himselfe the like successe as he had against the Earle before *Bruges*. With this resolution he chargeth the french army betwixt *Courtray* and *Rosebecque*, vpon the Mount of gold: but hee found an alteration. The *Gantois* charge our foreward, like furious beasts, which at the first shocke did somewhat amaze them, they recoyling a little, but without a Cny disorder: yet supported by the Battaille and rereward, they breath, and all together charge this multitude with so great a furie, as all are put to flight, are cut in peeces, or taken with a strange disorder.

They number aboue threescore thousand men slaine, and an infinite number of prisoners, taken: after the Nobilitie had glutted their cholier vpon this seditious rable, who had made rebellion a vertue, *Philip* of *Artenille* their leader was slaine: he was found breaching among the dead carcases, whom the King commanded to be hanged, and so he had the reward of his imagined Empire.

This double euent may serue as a lesson, both for great and small, for great men, in the Eales person; for small, in that of this Tribune. For the first, to command well, for the others to obey well: and for all, not to passe the bounds of their duties. God punishing the great for their tyranny and crueltie, and the lesser for their disobedience: dangerous plagues of mankind: the which cannot stand but by order and authoritie, well gouerned, and well applied.

They call this ouerthrow the battaille of *Rosebecque*, which chanced in the yeare 1382. in December: it was the more remarkable, for that the vanquished had soone their reuenge.

Charles thus victorious, could not manage his victorie: for in steed of surprising the *Gantois* in this amazement, he lingers too long at *Courtray*, to seeke out the remainder of those miserable muiynous, which remayned in this defeate: whereas, in pardoning the vanquished, the victor gets a double victory.

This place also (being infamous by a great ouerthrowe which chanced in the yeare 1312.) moued him to cholier, for that this ill aduised people, to auare the memory of that day, did celebrate a tollingne feast yearly, and had reserued fide hundred pair of gilt spures, which they had taken from the french in that battaille. *Charles* was so transported with the remembrance of this audacious indignitie, as he caused this poore Towne to be burnt. An vnworthy reuenge of so great a monarke, who should hold it the greatest reuenge vpon his enemies, to pardon when he may reuenge. The Duke, of *Bourgonne* in all this confusion, did not forget to seeke for goodly mouables, whereof there was abundance. He carried away that goodly flock, and that exquisite tapistry, which is now at *Dijon* in the Kings house.

The *Gantois* seeing their ruine, flee to *Richard* King of *England*: they choose *Francis Arthemis*, one of their Cittizens for their head, and reuue the league of white caps, more ob- stinately then before, being resolued to die, rather then to trust their Earle, to whome they imputed

1382.

The Townes of Flanders seaze vpon their Gouernors and send them to the King.

The Flemings ouercome by Charles and threescore thousand slaine.

An vnworthy reuenge taken by King Charles.

The *Gantois* flee to England for succour.

1382. imputed the cause of all their miseries, the which had continued five yeares, and deuoured two hundred thousand men. So fatall are ciuill diffentions betwixt the Lord and his subiects: *Lewis* their Earle, hauing labored to settle his affaires both by the *French* and *English*, against the *Gantois*, fealing daylie the inconueniences of this rebellious people, as thornes in his sides, fell into such a melancholic, as hee died. Leauing his whole estate much troubled, to his sonne-in-lawe, *Philip* Duke of *Bourgongne*: who beeing faine ingaged in his Father-in-Lawes quarrell, was nothing pleasing to this his people.

A strange
meane to pa-
cifie *Gand*.

The warre was reuiued, both by practises of the *English*, and by meanes of *Artreman*, the head of that faction: who hauing tasted the sweete of popular commaund, desired nothing more then to maintayne this diuision: but there fell out a sodaine accident, which pacified all this great trouble, as a little raine doth a great winde. Two Citizens of *Gand* (whose names deserued well to be registred in this historie) discoursing one day of their common miseries, and noating the true causes of these calamities within their Citie, as feeling the wound, they sought the meanes to cure it, the which had continued so long, and cost their miserable Countrie so deere.

The Kings pleasure, and the Duke of *Bourgongnes*, must be knowne: they were not ignorant of the peoples humour, being verie wearie of so many miseries.

Their enterprise was not without exceeding danger, by the absolute authoritie of three or fower, who had most credit with the people, being susceptible of any mischiefe, when they are thrust forward with a shewe of good. It was requisite in the managing of so important a busines to vse wisdom and silence, vntill the foundation were well layed: and for the execution thereof, there needed one which had both credit and authoritie with both parties. The God of peace presented one vnto them, which gouerned this action discreetly, *John Delle*, a gentleman of *Gand*, but bred vp in the Court of *France*. He that seeks peace, finds it. This *Delle* goes to the King, and Duke of *Bourgongne*, hee layes open his desciue, and is well entertayned. He returnes with a good answer, both by letters of credit, and private instructions, to the *Gantois*. At his returne the matter is so well furthered by those two Citizens (who were in great reputation with the people) as without the priuie of *Artreman*, or the *English* Negotiators, the banner of *Flanders* (the signall of their popular power) is solemnly planted in the great market place. All the people flocke thither, where hauing signified vnto the chiefe *Magistrats*, that they would haue peace, and obey the Duke of *Bourgongne* their Prince: Deputies are appointed with power to negotiate & conclude a peace with him. This was effected after a long confusion, to the content, both of the Earle and *Flemings*. Of a light beginning, God performes a great worke, when it pleaseth him. Thus the Duke of *Bourgongne* pacified *Flanders* in the yeare. 1384. when as he feared greatest tumults by meanes of some seditious persons: to whose great grieve a peace was proclaymed throughout all the *Estats* of *Flanders*, which gaue an incredible content to all the people after so manie miseries.

The earle in *Fland*-
ers

Nowe King *Charles* grewe great, and although he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet was he desirous to marry. The Duke of *Aniou* his Vncle, according to the aduice which King *Charles* the wife had giuen on his death bed, thought good to seek him out a marriage in *Germanie*, in the house of *Bauiere*, to counterbalance the credit of the Emperour *Wenceslaus*, no friend to the house of *France*, what shewe soeuer he made. He therefore matcht with *Isabel* the daughter of *Stephen* Duke of *Bauiere*, a Princesse from whom they expected much good: but shee brought infinite troubles to *France*, as we shal see hereafter.

marriage
the wife
desire.

Thus mans wisdom is deceyued, when as hee hopes for best: that God might be knowne for the author of al good, both in the family and State. This imperious *Proserpine*, verified the prouerbe, *That a woman raiseth, or ruines a house*. She had almost ouerthrowne the State. But shortly there shal an *Italian* woman be ioyned to this *German*, to augment the confusions of this raigne, reasonable good in the beginning, but verie miserable in the ende. This yeare likewise concluded a peace in *Brittain*, after many troubles, *John* of *Montfort* hauing renued his homage to the King, and sworne fealtie, which shal not long continue, to the great preiudice of the King and his realme.

The

A The truce was continued in shewe betwixt *France* and *England*, but with no more loue of the two Kings, then betwixt capitall enimies, who sought to annoy one another by new attempts. *Charles* hauing pacified *Flanders* and *Brittaine*, resolues to bee reuenged of *Richard*, who had sought all meanes to annoy him in eyther prouince, besides the ordinary brauadoes he gaue him within the hart of his realme. He therefore sends a thousand men at armes to *Dauid* King of *Scots*, and threecore shippes well appoynted with furniture to arme twelue thousand men of his country, vnder the command of *John* of *Vienne*, Admirall of *France*. Their entry into *Scotland* was pleasing, but the *Scottishmen* grew soone discontented with our men, eyther through their fault or ours, they accusing vs of insolency and loofenesse, and we them of barbarousnes and cruelty to their friend a stranger, who came to succour them.

Charles sends
men and mu-
nition into
Scotland.

B This diuision caused *Dauid* to make a peace with *Richard*, and our Admirall of *Vienne* to returne speedily home with his *Frenchmen*: but not without obseruing the manners, strength and commodities of this Island, diuided into two kingdomes.

And least he should seeme to haue made a fruitlesse voyage, yeelding an accompt vnto the King of what he had done, seene and learned in *Scotland*, he lets him vnderstand, that the strength of *Scotland* consisted but in five thousand horse and thirty thousand foote halfe armed, and that of *England* in eight thousand horse and threecore thousand foote.

C This relation (were it true or false) gaue aduice to assaile the King of *England* in his owne Country, where he might be vanquished with more facility then abroad: the which so moued the minde of this yong Prince, (transported with the great harmes suffered with much indignity by the *English*) as it was easie for the Duke of *Bourgongne* whom it much concerned to haue the *English* molested, being often disquieted by him in his country of *Flanders*, to perswade the King to vndertake this war. Opportunity did likewise seeme to inuite him: for that the Duke of *Lancaster* (pretending right to the realme of *Castile* by his wife) had exhausted *England*, both of men and money, and the *Gantois* being pacified, all *Flanders* would be held in subiection by this check.

Charles re-
solues to
make war in
England.

The Regent acquainted with the Duke of *Bourgongnes* humor being his brother (who for his private interest would hazard the whole) and noting the eminent dangers in the Kings person (who would imbarke himselfe in this action) the great want of money the peoples exclamations: the great danger of tumults, by the great exactions which must be made, and in the action it selfe, the inconueniency so apparant to any one that would open his eyes, the impossibility of so great an enterprise; to assaile a great King (so oft a Conquerour) within his owne Realme, not holding any land there; he was verie against it, yet he spake soberly, least he should offend the King, who greatly affected it.

The Regent
dislikes of this
enterprise.

Lewis Earle of *Touraine* the Kings brother (who soone shal be Duke of *Orleans*) the Constable *Ciſſon*, the Earle of *S. Pol*, the Lord of *Couſy*, and others in whom *Charles* had most trust, had beene so perswaded by the Duke of *Bourgongne*, as they had nothing else in their mouths, nothing founded in this yong Princes eares, but the necessity, profit, honour and facility of this voyage. What my Liege (say they) are you lesse then the King of *England*? shal the *French* yeeld to the *English* in valour, courage or force? what an indignity is it to haue this people alwayes at our gates, to nourish them in our bosomes, and to furnish them with armes to beat vs? what a benefite wil it be to take their nest from them and leaue them no place of retreat? Your Countries of *Guienne*, *Normandie*, *Picardie* and *Flanders*, are wholly yours. How much doth that import for the honour of your Maiessty, and the good of your Realme, to returne them their owne, who haue so often defeated your armies, taken your ancestors, spoyled your Estate, braued it in your Townes, and besegged your chiefe city of *Paris*? As for the facility of the execution, who sees not but you may effect it if you please? The Saxons conquered *England* with a handful of men, far from their own home and with small meanes. and *William* the Conquerour with his sword alone. And you my Liege hauing a realme ful of men, victualls & monie, euen at your enemies gate shal not you persuaile? *England* opens her armes vnto you: your Realme inuites you, which without doubt will employ both heart and purse for so great & generous a desciue the which imports both the honour and quiet of your Maiessty.

Such

1382. Such and like speeches they did continually buzz into *Charles* his cares, but from his Chamber they were published in the Court, and so through out the whole realme, as that which pleaseth the King doth commonly please all. The deffine was to bee wished against a capitall enemy of the State, and the proceeding had a fayre shewe.

At the generall instance of all the *French*, the King decrees in counsell, to leauy a great armie, for the voyage of *England*: letters are sent out to all parts, Subsidies, Taxes, Loans imposed, greater then during the imprifonment of King *John*, but all was shadowed with this reason. That they must endeaour once for all, to roote out the *Englisch*, who vndermined this estate and sought to ruine it. This decree was put in execution with great applause of all men, as if *France* had layed new foundations of her greatnesse: both to warrant it selfe from danger at hand, to haue a reuenge of former losses, and to build a newe Estate at the cost of the common enemy of the *French* nation.

The Nauie is prepared at *Seluse* and *Blanguerge* to the great content of the *Flemings*. They armed fower hundred eighty feuen Shippes for warre, with an infinite quantity of victuals the which came from all parts like to a flowing stream.

Preparation
for the warre
of England.

The nobility striues who shal be best appointed. Strange Princes are intited. The King of Spaine (then a friend to our King) the Earle of *Sauoy*, The Dukes of *Saxony* and *Bauiere* send men. Our Princes will not yeeld one to another in costly shewes: they adde superfluous curiosity to necessity. They paint and gild their shippes: All glisters with goodly ensignes, penons, banners, standards and streamors. The masts painted with rich grounds shining with leaues of Gold, gaue notice to all men, that they went not onely to a certain victory, but to some ioyfull nuptials. But all this feast was made without any reckoning with God, who laughs from heauen at these ants, that strue to climbe without a Ladder, and at Princes, who made these brauadoes at the poore peoples cost, who remembered not that God hath a soueraigne court, and a register to controll their actions, and to oppose against their vanities.

The armie was prepared in two places, in *Flanders*, and in *Brittaine*. It consisted of twenty thousand Knights and Squires, as many *Genouois* archers on foote, and fure hundred men at armes *Brittons*, vnder the command of the constable *Cliffon*, who was with the fleet in *Brittaine*.

They had a care safely to lodge this great army after their descent in *England*, expecting with safety the variable euents of warre, against a king and people, whom they came to fight with on their owne dunghill.

A strong fort
of wood
made.

To prevent all inconueniences, they build a great frame or engine (some attribute this inuention to the Constable *Cliffon*, others to *John* of *Vienne*, A dimitall of *France*, who had layde the first plot of this enterprife) like to a towne of warre, with towers, bastions, bulwarks, flankes and other defences, according to the manner of that age. There was a lodging for the King and his court, according to the degrees of Princes, Officers and Noblemen of marke: Lodgings for the chiefe of the armie, according to their quarters, and space to set vp their tents and pauillions, halls and common places for the munition and victuals which followed the army, and to conclude, conuenient roomes to imbarrell a great number of men of warre.

This inclosure or frame was round, and made of many peeces with admirable arte, and so great abundance of stufte, as if they had cut downe a whole Forrest: it was finished with wonderfull speede, by the great number of workemen which came from all parts.

To the men, shippes, victuals and this engine, the Kings court gaue an extraordinaty beauty, being accompanied with the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Bir*, the Earles of *Sauoy*, *Armagnac*, *Geneue*, *S. Pol*, *Longueuille*, *Eu*, *Daulphin* of *Auuergne*, the Lord of *Couffy*, Master *William* of *Namur*, with all the great Barons of *France*, and an infinite number of braue nobility who imbarked themselves more willingly then in the voyage to the holy land.

The prepara-
tion of the
English for
their defence.

Thus was the preparation made in *France* for *England*, where they remayned in great perplexity, to see so great a storme readye to fall vpon them. They provide the

A the best they can, first by deuotion, (hauing recourse vnto God) then they fortifie their ports and all passages with great diligence, both with men of warre and all sorts of incombers, to helpe those places which nature had made of hard acceffe in this Iland. They say that *Richard* leauied a hundred thousand foote, and ten thousand horse, which was not answerable to the Admirals relation, the first Architect of this ridiculous attempt. But thus are princes oft times abused, imbarcking themselves in dangerous actions without reason, whole endes are not answerable to their beginnings.

All was ready in the end of September: the King had provided for the gouernement of the realme in his absence, leauing his brother *Lewis* Earle of *Touraine*, assisted with the Duke of *Berry* his vnle, and the bishop of *Beauuois* his chancellour. Thus he parts from *Paris*, and comes to *Seluse* with great speed, to recouer the time lost. The Regent should not abandon his person in so long and important a voyage, but he stayes behind the King promising to follow presently, but his meaning was to bring this enterprife to nothing.

The king beeing arriued, the howers of stay are tedious, he tells the minutes, and complaints of the time lost: he sollicites his vnle to come by sundry letters, and sends post after post: he stamps, he chafes by reason of his stay. The whole Court is of the same humour. The Duke of *Anion* answers the King, that he will part to morrowe. but he stayes at *Paris* to make good cheere at leysure, of purpose to draw on winter, to make the voyage impossible, and so to ouerthrow the action, the which was neuer pleasing vnto him, eyther for that it was pleasing to the Duke of *Bourgogne* his brother, and so to crosse him, or for that he held it preiudiciall to the King and his realme.

The Regent
seekes to o-
uerthrow the
action.

But seeing himselfe preft by importance, and impatient letters from the King, he parts from *Paris*, and the same day the Constable *Cliffon* waies anchor at *Lantriguer* in *Brittaine*, with this great Towne of wood, and seuentie two shippes of warre, meaning to ioyne with the whole bodye of the armie at *Seluse*: but it fell out contrary to his discline, and otherwile then the facility of his supposed victory had represented vnto him.

For hauing run his course towards *Flanders*, to take port at *Seluse*, behold a contrarye wind casts him vpon the coast of *England*, where (notwithstanding all the diligence of his Mariners) his fleet was disperfed into diuers parts, three shippes (wherein this great Engine was) are driuen into *England*, and runne on ground at the mouth of the Riuer of *Thames*. Behold our *Argonautes* as much amazed to see themselves taken in a weyre, as the *Englisch* were glad, who with ioy and admiration see themselves possessed (beyond all hope, and without any paine) of that which had cost their enemies so much to ruine them.

Part of the
French nauie
disperfed at
sea.

Their newes flie speedily to King *Richard*, who commaunds this great booty to bee brought vp the riuer vnto him, whether all the Country flocks to so strange a spectacle, and euery one holds it for a preface of good successe, to haue taken their City which should haue taken them. An other part of the Fleet is driuen into *Zealand*, and the Constable of *Cliffon* with the rest arriues at *Seluse*, much amazed at this first successe.

All their ioy of an assured victory is conuerted into a generall feare, least some newe lesse should followe this vnforgotten beginning. But whilest this amazement troubled most of the *French*, the Duke of *Bourgogne* and those of his faction (who desired the performance of this voyage at any rate) made these difficulties light, as common accidents which should not hinder great enterprises, the which cannot bee executed without some crosses, for the which they must seeke a remedy and not dispaire. He had perswaded the King againe, easie to be drawne to what he desired. Hereupon the Regent arriues, who (seeing the King resolu'd to imbarke) vales his maske, speakes plainly, and tels the King in his Counsell, That he will neuer consent he should expose his person and estate to the hazard of the sea, of weather, and of war, and vpon an aduice which seemed apparently false: being most certain, that the King of *England* had assembled aboue a hundred thousand fighting men. That these first losses were aduertisements fro heauen to bridle those vaine hopes, which are sooner conceiued then brought forth. He had alwayes sufficiently declared, that it was not his aduice, yet for that he would not seeme to contradict the Kings will, &c. crosse such as gaue him this counsel, as honorable

The Regent
opposeth him-
selfe directly
against this
voyage.

1382. to himselfe and profitable to his Realme, he would not rashly oppose himselfe. But seeing now that God spake, he did open his mouth the more boldly, bearing in his heart a saythfull zeale unto the Kings service and the good of the State. That shortest errors being best, it were better to retire in time then to make an absolute shipwracke of the Kings person, and the honour and good of the Realme, too much dismembred by former afflictions.

The enterprise broken off. This checke from heauen which God had sent; Winter, and the feare of worse, made the Regents aduice to be allowed, both by the King and his counsell, who changed opinion for their voyage to England.

So this great enterprise was disappointed, being very preiudiciall to the poore people, who endured the warre that their enemy should haue felt, by an vnseasonable and excessiue charge.

I haue coated this action in the yeare 1381. vnder the Regency of the Duke of Anjou. I know some attribute it to the Duke of Berry, but I haue followed the first opinion, vpon the relation of true Authors, and as it shall appeare by the progresse of this report most likely.

This action was the cause of seditions at Paris and Rouen, bred without doubt by the discontent of this bad gouernment: for this great shewe so incensed the people (being weary and grieved to haue borne so great a burthen for so vaine an enterprise) as they rise at Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Poitiers, Lyons, and many other Citties, by this new occasion which presently succeeded the first folly.

Sedition at Paris.

The Regent was blamed by the people, to haue bene too slacke in his oppositiō against this preparation for England, and the chiefe in Court hated him for being so hastie, for that he was the onely itaie thereof. Thus ill thought of by both, he was maligned of all handes.

Naples offered to the Regent. It chanced the realme of Naples was offered vnto him by Queene Ioane and Pope Clement the 7. This was his whole desire, but he must conquer it by dint of sword. The title only was offered him, both by her that might giue it as being heire, and by him that might confirme the donation as being Pope.

All the Kings counsell, being weary of the Regents cōmand, wished to see him gone: but they must flie to the people for money; the which was hard to get, as experience did witness.

Presently as they heare talke at Paris of a newe imposition (although they sweetened these bitter pilles with the goodly name of subsidies) all the world begins to crie out: and from Paris this brute flies through the whole Realme. The people runne tumultuously to the Greue, they desire the Prouost of Marchants to bring them to the Regent, the which he delays from day to day by excuses, but in the end he cannot retaine them.

A great multitude runs to the Regents lodging, they giue him to vnderstand by their Prouost into what extremity they were brought, and vige the late superfluous expences. To what end then (say they) serues a new warre to conquer a new kingdome in the aie with the ruine of the widow and the Orpheline? This was not decreed, nor practised by the good and wise King Charles, wherevnto he had bound his sonne, who should not suffer the memory of his fathers ashes to be taxed with this dishonour. The Chancellour Dormans speakes at the Regents request: he layes before their eyes the necessity of this voyage whereby both the King and realme might reape profit & honour, promising the King should prouide for the reliefe of the people. This was gently put off, to make them loose this humour in diuiding them: but the people continue more obstinate, they require a plaine & resolute answer to their demaund, so as the next day, they come in troupe before the Kings lodging, where the whole Counsell was assembled with the Regent.

The King giues audience to the prouost of Marchants in the peoples name, who delivers the same complaints. Then John de Marais an aduocate in Parliament, an eloquent and popular man, prepared carefully for the purpose, makes a goodly and artificiall oration to diuert the people from this bitterneffe, laying before them their duties, the necessity of the Kings affaires, and the good which should redounde by the enterprise of this foraine warre. He omitted nothing of the office of a good Orator: but he preuayled not, for

A the people going from thence, without respect of the King or his Counsell, runne presently to the Iemes, Lombards, and such other Marchants houses as had bene accustomed to gather all publike exactions: they breake vp their shoppes and counting houses: they take away what was good, and ill intreate all such as they meete of that profession, yet they kill no man in this first tumult. The Regent winking at this insolencie, and fearing least it should encrease by mouing the people already in choller, thinks it best to referre the matter to another time, vntill the fume of this bitter discontent, were blowne ouer: aduancements comming from all parts of the realme, that the Citties grewe into the like humour.

But all this dissuads him not from his enterprise; he employes all such as he thinks fit to winne the people. John of Marais, Peter de la Riviere, James Andelle and such like Tribuns, who seemed to be in credit with the people, in shewing themselves affected to the common good. And to loose no time, he prepares his armie, being resolute to leuie this imposition by force whatsoeuer it cost. The farmers of this leuie, haue charge to beegin it. A Collector at the Hales requiring a denier from a poore gardiner, for a basket of herbes, she crying out, a great troupe flocke about this Collector and teare him in peeces.

But this is not all, in this tumult all runne to gither on heaps: Porters, Pedlers, Carters, Butchers, Tauerneers and such like, the scumme of the baser sort: they goe in troupes to the Towne house, they breake open the doores, and take such armes as they finde. By the Constables command they had made beetles or axes to arme their men withall: they

C take them, and so vse them, as this sedition was afterwards called, by the name of *Mailloins*. Being thus armed, they goe to the Farmers Lodgings, beat downe the doores, breake open cofers, cubberds and counting houses, they drawe forth their books and papers, they teare and burne them: they take away money and mouables, and in the ende they kill and massaker all the farmers they can finde, searching all corners of their houses.

They crie that one had saued himselfe in Saint James Church at the Butchery, they runne thither, and murder him holding the image of the blessed virgin in his armes. Some saue themselves in Saint Germaines Abbay, where they are presently besegged. But whilst that some labour after this sege, the rest runne to the prisons of the *Chastelet* and *Fourl' Euesque* where they release the prisoners and arme them: They bethinke themselves of a head,

D there was a very sufficient man in prison named *Hugh Aubriot*, who in former times had bene Prouost of the Marchants, and had with honour executed great charges, both in the Tresorie and State, but for certaine dislikes of the vniuersities, (which was then in great credit at Paris) he was condemned to perpetuall prison. This multitude drawes him forth, vpon promise to be their leader, but being at libertie he slips away and retires wisely to *Dyon*: being loath to ingage himselfe in these popular confusions, the which discrete men doe flie, as plagues in a Common weale. This rabble finding themselves countenanced with a Commander so well experienced: presume farther, yet seeing themselves abandoned by the departure of *Aubriot*, and recalling themselves from this phrensie, their hearts faint and euerie one bethinkes himselfe howe to yeeld an account of that

E which had chanced, all this zeale of publike good vanishing away with the consideration of priuate danger. Such as had most to loose, (finding themselves actors in these insolencies) seeke for Counsell of *John de Marais* a popular Aduocate, intreating him to be intercessor for them vnto the King. The vniuersitie is also requested to imploy their credit with the Prouost of Marchants and other notable Cittizens, which were not guiltie of these phrenesies.

There is a number chosen to goe to the King, and to sue for pardon. These deputies, in their habits, countenances and words shew the greatest sorrow that may bee, for an offence committed. *John de Marais* is their Aduocate, the King hauing heard them, sends them away, vntill his Counsell had aduised what answer to make: who decrees, That for punishment of this popular insolencie, the Cittie of Paris should pay a hundred thousand francs, and the heads of this sedition (with such as had broke the prisons,) should be at the Kings discretion.

This decree is deliuered to *John de Marais* to make knowne vnto the *Parisians*, in whose

1382.

The Parisians in arms.

The cruel insolency of the Parisians.

The Parisians begin to faint.

The Parisians sue to the king for pardon.

1383. name he had spoken to the Kings Councell. He acquaints them with the Article for the tyme, and conceales the punishing of the Authors of this sedition: whether it were by commandement, or otherwise, the Historie makes no mention: yet he kept their heads and his owne for the scaffold, as we shall presently see. to reape the deserued punishment for dealing in these dangerous affaires, and to pay a deere interest of their popular brokerage.

The *Parisiens* tamed by this reprehension, pay the hundred thousand franks, as a fyne for their folly, and the whole taxation imposed for the warre of *Naples*, without any question.

These summs are giuen to the Regent for his voiage into *Italie*, where his Bretheren, the Constable of *Cliffon* and the greatest part of the Councell wished him, rather then in *France* (the *Chanceller Dormans* onely excepted, who soone shall reape the frute of his departure.) notwithstanding any shewe they made him, to see him in so good away to settle his greatnesse. He parts from *Paris* taking an honorable leaue of the King, of his Bretheren and of the whole Court, leauing the Regencie to the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgonne* vntill his returne. But taking the way of *Italy*, he takes the way of much paine, and the *Rendez-vons* of death, which soone swallowes vp both his life and all his desseins. His army was goodly, some say thirty thousand horse and an infinit number of foote: others thirty thousand men without specifying horse or foot: but all agree that he went to the conquest of this realme, not onely well accompanied but also well furnished with siluer, the necessary synecwes of a long warre. They gaue out, that it was the Treasor of *Charles* the 5. the which he caused *Sauoyss* to deliuer in the beginning of his Regency.

The order of the Historie commands mee nowe to set downe the titles of the realme of *Naples*, for the which our *Lewis* of *Aniou* marcheth into *Italie* with his army: and the successe of this voiage. We haue sayed, that *Charles* (brother to the King *Saint Lewis*.) Duke of *Aniou* and Earle of *Prouence* by his wife *Beatrix*, was called to the realme of *Naples* by Pope *Vrbaine* the 4. and conquered the possession by his sword, hauing defeated *Manfroy* and *Conradin* of *Suenia*.

That he was dispossessed of *Sicile* at the *Sigilien* Euen-song, by Peter of *Arragon* sonne in lawe to *Manfroy*, fauored by Pope *Nicolas* the 4. taking from *Charles* what his predecessor *Vrbain* had giuen him: so as after hee had contended long with Peter of *Arragon*, the realme of *Naples* remayned vnto him, leauing it to his children with more trouble then content. This *Charles* of *Aniou* brother to *Saint Lewis*, had many Children, *Charles*, *Robert*, *Lewis* and *Philip*. *Lewis* surnamed the Lame, married *Marie* the Daughter of *Stephen* King of *Hongarie*. *Charles Martell* had two sonnes, *Lewis* and *Andrewe*: *Lewis* was Prince of *Durazzo* or *Di-rachium*, and *Philip* Prince of *Tarentum*. All appered on this Theater in some sort, but *Robert* second sonne to *Charles*, was King of *Naples*, and Earle of *Prouence*: he had one sonne named *Charles*, who succeeded him in these two citats, and he had but two daughters, *Ioane* and *Marguerite*.

Ioane as the eldest, was Queene of *Naples* and Contesse of *Prouence*, and was married to *Andrewe* brother of *Lewis* King of *Hongarie*; a loose and an audacious Princeesse, who slewe her husband (as we haue sayed) and married with *Lewis* sonne to *Philip* Prince of *Tarentum*, his Cousine, against all order. *Lewis* King of *Hongarie*, sonne to *Charles Martell*, comes to *Naples*, to reuenge the murder & adulterie of this mastiue bitch: who flies with her incestuous husband into *Prouence*, yeelding him the free possession of the citie of *Naples*, and that of the greatest part of the realme, some places remayning in *Apulia*, in the gard of certaine Capitaines, confident seruants vnto *Ioane*: who were the meanes to put hir againe speedilie in possession of that estate, soone wonne and soone lost. It is manifest that the institution of the realme of *Naples* belongs to the Sea of *Rome*.

Lewis King of *Hongarie* being victor, hauing performed the dutie of a good Brother, and done all hee could against this vilanous murderesse, returnes home, leauing all his newe Conquest to the disposition of Pope *Clement* the 6. a *Limosin*, then resident in *Auignon*.

Ioane who was neere vnto him, and to whome *Auignon*, (where the Popes had

Lewis of *Aniou* crowned King of *Naples*, goes to take possession.

The title of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Ioane means to reuenge *Naples*.

1383. A nowe long held their Sea) belonged, had no great labour, for yeelding *Auignon* vnto him he recovered *Naples*, both by the Popes fauour (who had the chiefe authoritie,) as also by money, wherewith hee did both winne the Gouernors of places most easie to corrupt: and also leuied an armie to force them that were most affected to the King of *Hongarie*. Nowe hee is settled againe in the realme of *Naples*, with her Adulterer *Lewis* of *Tarentum*, who struined not long after this exploit of *Naples* and the sale of *Auignon*. After his death shee marries presently with *James* of *Arragon* Duke of *Calabria* of whome shee was soone wearie, falling in loue with *Otho* of *Brunswike*, a young *Germaine* Prince, of a good house, but not of abilitie to support *Ioane*, so as she held him not as a husband, but vied him as a Stallion.

B Amidst these alterations of *Naples*, the Sea of *Rome*, was not quiet, for after the death of Pope *Gregorie* the xi. who retired from *Auignon* to *Rome*, the Colledge of *Cardinals* fell to a horrible contention for the Popes election: the *Romains* being resolute to haue one of their owne nation, and the *French* one of theirs: from whence sprong that strange *Sieisme* whereof we shall speake.

Vrbain the 6. was chosen at *Rome*, after the decease of *Gregorie* the xi. and the *French Cardinals* yeelded to this election: but for that they sayed they had bene forced by the *Romains*, who had them in their power and threatned to kill them, vnder colour to change the aier, hauing obtained leaue to goe to *Anagnia*, they retier to *Fundi*, a Citie of the realme of *Naples*, fauored by Queene *Ioane*, *French* by stock and humour, and there they choose

C *Clement* the 7. for Pope, to oppose him against *Vrbain*. *Clement* rettyed to *Auignon*, and *Vrbain* keeps at *Rome*. A *Sieisme* in the Church.

Two Popes, two Seas, two FaCTIONS, which trouble all Christendome with horrible confusion. *Clement* seekes to fortifie himselfe, and as *France* held for him, so did he labour to haue *Naples* wholie at his deuotion, by reason of the neerenesse, much importing for the Citie of *Rome*, where the chiefe quarrell was debated, Contrariwise *Vrbain* the 6. to bereuenge of *Ioane* (a partisan to *Clement* the 7. his enemie,) hath recourse to *Lewis* King of *Hongarie* the first interessed, being brother to him whome this stumpet had slaine, that he might oppose the same scourge which had already corrected her. But *Lewis* excusing himselfe by his age, and the infirmity of his body, sent him *Charles* issued from that *Lewis* Prince of *Durazzo*, who we sayed, was sonne to *Charles* of *Aniou*, seeking euen in the race it selfe, a man to punish this wicked woman, giuing him a goodly armie to that ende. *Ioane* seeing this great storme readie to fall on her, flies to Pope *Clement* the 7. and by his aduice adopts our *Lewis* Duke of *Aniou*, of whome we nowe treat.

Lewis hauing prepared his army, and being crowned King of *Naples* and *Sicile* by Pope *Clement* the 7. in *Auignon*, hee lands at *Naples*, to take possession of the realme, whereto the lawfull heire and the Popes authoritie did call him. But he came too late, for *Charles* of *Durazzo* (being parted from *Hongarie* with his army, and happylie landed,) entred the Country, ouercame *Otho* the pretended husband of *Ioane* and holding him prisoner, he forced this miserable woman to yeeld vnto his mercy, the which was too great, for that he only caused her to be smothered betwixt two pillowes, deseruing as cruella death as her life had bin execrable.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, *Lewis* of *Aniou* (thrust forward by his owne ambition,) proceeded: hauing giuen such order to his affaires (after the adoption, made by *Ioane* in his fauour, and the Popes coronation) as he procured all the Capitaines of places to hold for him, hauing ingaged them by money and golden promises, so as many places held good for him: and the people desyred him, being glad to be freed from *Ioane* and to haue so mightie a Lord; to maintaine them in peace.

Lewis enters the realme of *Naples*: at the first hee winnes *Tarentum* and *Beri*, but whilst he determines to proceede in his desseins, death surpriseth him, making an ende of his infinit ambition and of all his toyles: but not of his childrens, *Lewis* and *Charles*, nor of their posterities.

Thus *Charles* Pince of *Durazzo*, of the race of *Aniou* (called the *Hongarien*, for that he had bene borne and bred in *Hongarie*, and brought vp by King *Lewis*) remayned peaceable

1383.

A *Sieisme* in the Church.

Eldest of *Naples*.

Queene *Ioane* taken and smothered.

Lewis Duke of *Aniou* and King of *Naples* dies by Adoption.

1384. able King of Naples: leaving two Children, *Ladislaus* and *Joane*, who shall prepare a newe stage, whereon our Princes shall soone playe their patts, as you shall vnderstand.

Let vs nowe returne to *France*. The Duke of *Anious* departure put all authoritie into the hands of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgongne*, who began to manage the affaires of State at their pleasures.

The Duke of Berry and Bourgongne in credit.

There was no great loue betwixt them, although they were bretheren, but onely to maintaine themselves against such as might hinder their ambitious plotts. And for that they had knowen the Chancellor *Dormans*, to be wholly affected to the Regent, they perswaded the young King to dismisse him, for some reasons, the which are not specified in the Historie.

The Chancellor Dormans disgraced.

But Princes want no colours when they will disgrace their seruants. *Peter Orgemont* was appointed in his place, after the seale had remayned some time in the hands of *Robert of Corby*, first President of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and of *Philip Moulins* a Chanoine of the fayed Cittie.

New troubles in Flanders.

But *Flanders* (which alwayes bred some monster in that age) stirred vp by the *Engliss*, and putte vp by the ridiculous conclusion of this great and vaine preparation, began new troubles, and had praictises with them of *Paris*, to drawe the rest of the Citties of the realme into some popular league. These newes put the King into great perplexitie, the rather for that he had surprised certaine letters from the *Mailloins* of *Paris*, to the white capps of *Gand*, to make a correspondencie betwixt them, the accustomed Leuaine of rebellion with ill aduised people.

The Engliss enter Picardie.

As these things amaze both the King and his Vncles, behold *Richard* lands at *Calais*, with an army vnder the command of the Duke of *Lancaster*, who at first spoiles *Picardie*, and then plants himselfe before *Ypre*, and beleageeth it. The *Gantois* had made a good shewe, both to the King, and Duke of *Bourgongne*, vntill that time, seeming resolute to obserue their former accord: but the *Engliss* armie being entred into *Flanders*, they go to field, and ioyne with them before *Ypre*.

The Kings Vncles muster men in all places with great diligence, and intreat their nearest friends to come speedily to their succour. The Dukes of *Lorraine* and of *Bar* make hast: the Duke of *Brittain* comes with a goodly troupe. They haue sodenly assembled twentie thousand Frenchmen at armes, besides the succors of *Lorraine* and *Brittain*, the number of foote is not specified.

A great quarrell grows for Precedence.

Charles (thus accompanied) comes to *Saint Denis* in *France* and hauing taken leaue of the *Martyrs*, (according to the ancient custome of Kings) and giuen the forward of his army to the leading of the Constable *Cliffon*, and the Duke of *Brittain*, (the Constable marching before the Duke, by reason of his place) the ground of a dislike fell out betwixt them, which beeing nourished by diuers occasions, shalbe the subiect of a great defaister both for the King and realme.

The King followed (accompanied with the Dukes of *Berry*, *Bourgongne* and *Bourbon* his Vncles, and the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Bar*: he lodgeth at *Blandelle*, two leagues from *Cassel*, with an intent to charge the *Engliss*: who presently leaue the siege of *Ypre*, *Cassel* and *Grauelins*, and retyer to *Bregues*, where *Charles* presently beleageeth them.

Charles makes a truce with the Engliss.

The *Engliss* demande a parle with the Duke of *Brittain*, they put him in minde of the benefits he had receiued from their nation, and demande requitall in this occurrent. The Duke of *Lancaster* remaines at *Calais*, by reason of his weakenesse: the *Engliss* Capitaines requier respite to vnderstand his pleasure.

In the ende the King receiues them vpon honest conditions, to depart with bagge and baggage and to leaue *Flanders*, the which they performe. Being returned into *England*, they are accused to haue sold the Earldome of *Flanders* to the *French*, so as by *Richards* commands they are beheaded.

The *Gantois* made a dutifull answer, and promised obedience and loyaltie to the King.

A Truce was concluded for one yeare with the *Engliss*, by meanes of the Duke of *Lancaster* for King *Richard*, and the Duke of *Berry* for our King *Charles*.

Such was the issue of this fodaine voyage of *Flanders*, being a meanes to settle a business of a deeper consultation and more dangerous consequence; seeing it concerned not onely the heart, but the whole body of the State. They sought how to suppress the sedition, which was apparently bred in *Paris*, and by their example, in many great citties of the Realme. To this ende, *Charles* vpon his returne from this voyage, stayed at *Saint Denis* with his vncles, the Constable, Chancellor, and his whole Councell: they were all troubled to resolute in so important a cause, for what should they do? To punish the poore people tyred with the warres, threatened with losses: halfe dead by the feeling of so great calamities, that were to beat one lying sicke in his bed, for his waywardnesse, and

The King consults what course to take with the mutinous Parisians.

not to cure him of the paine which is the cause thereof. It were a meanes to driue him to despair, to apply a remedye worse then the disease. And not to punish them, would argue feare, and make them grow more proud and insolent, a means to animate them to all unpurue, and to lay the way open to a disordered rebellion.

But the last aduice preuailed, beeing well verified, that since the payment of the fine, the *Parisians* were growne worse and more bitter: hauing had conference with the *Commons* audacious mutines, and the right artisans of rebellion, holding it a vertue to play the madde men against their naturall Lords: and also had so farre abused the Kings bountie, as they had presumed to sollicit the best Citties of the Realme to the like disorder. It did greatly import for the good of the Kings seruice and of the State, that such phrensies should be suppressed by an exemplarie punishment done vpon the chiefe authors.

John de Marais was verie deepe engaged in these tumults, and the more dangerously, for that he cast the stone, and withdrewe his arme: and making a shewe of seruice to the King, he fed the people in these madde humours, very torches of sedition, vnder a colour of the Common weale: for who can beleue they would put so famous a person to death without some iust cause. I knowe they write diuersly, and euery man hath his iudgement free: yet is it not true nor likely, that in pardoning a whole multitude offending, they would punish him in whome there were no shewe of offence. If hee were not culpable at the least, he was accused of that which was the subiect of a publike condemnation.

Charles being aduised to punish the *Parisians* for the insolencies they had committed in his presence, caused his armie to lodge about the Cittie, and on a certen day he sends for the chiefest of *Marchants* & the Sheriffs, who come vnto him to *Saint Denis*, with a countenance full of humility, and shewe of amendment.

The King gaue them to vnderstand, by *Peter Orgemont* his Chancellor, that he ment to goe to his Cittie of *Paris*, to punish the rebels and seditious, who had not respected his presence.

The Prouost makes answer. That the whole bodie of the Cittie was wonderfully grieved for that which had beene committed by men in despaire, worthy to be seuerely punished: but the good Cittizens had no community with these rascalls: and that the whole Cittie was readie to do him faithfull seruice.

There were many about the King which made all odious that concerned the *Parisians*: but *Charles* made them no other answer, but that he would be soone at *Paris*, and doe what reason and the dutie of a good King required. He causeth his foreward to march, led by the Constable *Cliffon* and the Marshall of *Sancerre*, who seaze vpon the gates, the which they found open without any guards. The King accompanied with the Dukes of *Berry*, *Bourgongne* and *Bourbon*, with other Lords of his Councell, and an infinit number of Noblemen and Gentlemen in great shewe, terrible to the people, marcheth into the Cittie. Being come to *Saint Denis* gate, he causeth the barres to bee beaten downe. The Prouost of *Marchants*, the Sheriffs with the chiefe Inhabitants of the Cittie, carrying the keys, beseech the King to giue them audience: hee denyeth them, and passeth on to the house of *Saint Pol*, but the army is disperfed throughout all the quarters of the City. Presently they take away all the chaines, and send them to *Fais*

The King enters Paris with his army.

1385. *de Vincennes*. They search all houses for armes: the which are instantly carried to the *Louvre*, and the *Bastile*. The Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgogne*, with the Prouost and his Archers, go throughout the city, causing 300. of the most tedious to be apprehended.

The next day many heads were stroke off at the *Halles*, &c. amongst the rest, that of *John de Marais*, who al men had heard of late discours to eloquently with admiratiō, being held for the Oracle of *France*. These executions were done by fits, with such a shewe of grauitie, as the seat of Iustice did more terrifie, then the executioners arme vpon the scaffold. A whole day was spent in these slow proceedings, the city gates being kept so straitly, as no man might issue forth: houses and shops were shut vp, with great silence as if all had bene dead, euery man being hidden in his house, or else so amazed as he durst not looke into the streets.

The vniuersity (which then was in great credit with the King) becommeth tutor for the people, and beseecheth him not to include the Innocent with the culpable.

The King answereth coldly, that he would aduise what to do, willing them to retire. In the meane tyme a great Scaffold is made on the highest staire of the Pallace, before the great image of *Philip* the faire, with great shewe and pompe: in the middest was a royall throne, and seates on cyther side.

The Herald giue commandement throughout the city in the Kings name, that euery man should repaire to the Pallace at a certian howre. The King sitting in his seat of Iustice hauing on cyther side of him, the Dukes of *Berry*, *Bourgogne* and *Bourbon*, his Vncles, with al the rest of his Counsell in order: he commanded *Peter Orgemont* his Chancelour, to deliuer his minde to the people of *Paris*. The multitude beeing disarmed, compassed in round about with armed men, beeing bare headed, they fall vpon their knees, seeing *Orgemont* rise from his chaire: who hauing made a great obeysance to the King, hee turnes to the multitude. *If thou haddest* (quoth he) *O City, as much care of thy duty, as thy Kings haue* *Orgemonts* *speech to the* *Parisians.* *alwayes mildly and fatherly intreated thee, thou wouldest remember the soveraigne bounty and clemencie of our late King of happy memory, Charles truly wise, who desirous to tame thy folly & rashnes by a wife mildnesse, pardoned the strange and cruell errors which thou haddest committed against his father being a prisoner, without any respect afflicting the afflicted, and supporting his capital enemy against him, with all treachery and insolencie. Thou canst not deny, ingratefull people how much thou wert indebted to that good Prince: doste diuine thee to sacrifice thy selfe cherefully for him in his afflictions. But all these things being troden under foot, he used towards thee all the humanity, which the most affectionate and faithfull subject may hope for of his Prince. His sonne our King seated at this day in the royall throne, and heire to his vertues, hath followed his fathers steps in this mildnesse and clemencie, hauing supported thee more then a father could do his childe. But thou hast followed, beeing mad and ingratefull thy wretched disposition, suffering thy selfe to be furiously transported by thy wicked counsellors, (the firebrands of sedition and disobedience) and by the unruly passions of thy blind furie. The goodly worke thou hast made of late, the disloyall intelligences thou hadst with those mutines, enemies of all commande and policie: the audacious practises thou hast presumed to make in the Citties of this Realme: and the blood which thou hast spilt in the bowels of this thy country, whereof thee hath horror, feeling her losse polluted with the blood unrightly shed by thy violent hands. All these horrible and tragick effects are knowne to the world: for the which thou canst yeeld no excuse, which doth not double the offence. O wretched people: be not these authenticke testimonies to the whole Realme yea to all nations, of thy ingratitude, disloyalty, crueltie, villany, and fury? Miserable, what hast thou deserued? The Kings bounty? But thou hast treacherously abused it. Thou hast made shewe to contemne publike authority, drunke with thine owne phrensie and of thy wicked counsellours. The King, the King I say, shall make thee feele, that he hath one arme to support and mainteine the good, and another, to punish and roote out the wicked. Thou hast seene examples vpon these wicked heads, which made thee to forget thy duty. But the punishment is light in regard of the offence. neither dost thou feele any smart, whereof thou thy selfe art not the cause.*

Orgemont, hauing thus ended, turnes vnto the King. *My Liege* (saith hee) *is this it which*

your

A your Maiesie commanded me to say vnto the people. It is (answered the King) *but this sufficeth not, in regard of what they haue deserued.* This short and rough answer from the King, the Chancellors speech, vttered with great vehemencie, and especially the bloud fierly spilt, which they did see as it were rebound vpon the place of execution: the fearfull armes wherewith the people were compassed in, had brought them into extreame perplexitie, like men already in the graue: so as euery one bethought himselfe, according to the offences he had committed: and such as had wealth, according to the enemies which did maligne them, being terrified with the tragick spectacle of *John de Marais*.

They stand all mute, their eyes fixed on the ground, prostrate before his throne, men and women, young and old, infinite in number. In this great silence the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgogne* rise from their seates, with a very mournfull countenance, and fall at the Kings feete, beseeching him to haue pittie of his poore Cittie of *Paris*, and not to comprehend the innocent with the culpable; good men with falcalls vnworthy of his grace.

Presently after their speech, without expecting any answer from the King, the sorrow of this miserable people, suppressed during these complaints and threats, burst forth into so lamentable a crye, as if the whole citie had bene lost.

All cryed for meicy. There was nothing but cryes, lamentations, and howlings, of women and men, olde and young. The Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Citie, with their haire hanging downe, full of teares, crye out. *Leege Lord, will you ruine your Citie of Paris for somersalcies. let it begin by vs and ours, we desire not to suruiue this miserie. Take pittie Leege Lord of your people, who sue for pittie.* The people crye out againe with a fearfull voyce, *Mercie, Mercie.*

This spectacle was pittifull to behold: there was no heart so hard but relented. The King in the end answered, (the noise being quieted,) *That he would not punish the good for the bad, so that he did pardon the people, vpon condition they should be better aduised hereafter, and not suffer themselues to be seduced by these wicked ring leaders of sedition. That for Gods sake, and at his Vncles sute, he gaue life vnto the prisoners, paying such fines as his Counsell should decree.*

Those to whom the prisoners belonged, cryed out, *God saue the King*: and the people freed from their feare, redouble their cryes with great ioy, and so they all depart. The counsell decrees, *That forasmuch as the Citie of Paris had bene engaged in this sedition, they should be deprived of their Magistrates, chaines and armes, and should loose all priuiledges until the King had otherwise determined. That for recompense of this capital crime, as well the prisoners as all others guiltie of the sedition, according to information duly made, should pay the moiety of their goods.* The which was speedily put in execution, to send home the men of warre, by meanes of the great summes of money which they leuied by this exaction.

Thus the sedition at *Paris* was suppressed, and afterwards at *Rouen* and *Orleance*, but with farre more rigour then at *Paris*. An example for all subiects, how to oppose themselves against their Lords: who soone or late make them to reape the fruites of their rashnesse and insolencie.

Their Magistrates, chaines, armes, and all priuiledges, were soone restored to the Parisiens, by meanes of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who from that time sought all meanes to creepe into the peoples fauour, which he and his sonne shall vse no lesse then the *Nicarrois* had done: this happened in the yeare of our Lord God 1387. in the moneth of December.

This iust execution did greatly countenance the young age of *Charles*, for that in so sollemne an acte, he had carryed a countenance worthy of a royall Maiesie. His age and the name of a King, made him know that he was a King; together with the dayly instructions which did sound in his eares, by his most inward and trustie seruants: yet his Vncles kept him still in his minoritie, disposing of matters in counsell by their authority.

1388. Charles was much discontented with this proceeding of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bour-gongne*, who should rather haue preuented him then he them, experience hauing taught all *Frenchmen* what he was. He therefore seekes a remedy for their errour.

He caused a counsell to be held at *Rheimes*, where it was decreed, That *Charles* should be free from the gouernement of his vncles: for that both his age and the prooffe of his iudgement did testifie plainly that he was worthy to gouerne his realme.

Charles out of his vncles gouernement who grewe discontented.

This resolution greatly displeased the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgongne*, who would gladly haue held a longer possession of this royall authority which they inoyed, being discontented with such as had put this spirit into the yong King. The Cardinal of *Laon* (one of the first authors of this counsell) enioyed it not long, for he died (not without suspition of poyson) *Iohn* of *Montague* shall pay both principall and interest in this time. *Iohn Mercier* B and the Lord of *Noiant* shall haue their parts, these shall now enter into quarter, and haue all the credit. It is this *Noiant* which caused the golden Hart in the Pallace to be made for a modell of that which he would make of gold, of the Ingots hee had gathered together in the Treasurie, hauing reduced the coyned money into this forme, least *Charles*, a yong Prince and very bountifull should giue it away prodigally.

The Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgongne* retire themselves quietly to their houses, making a shewe to be very well satisfied, although they hatched a great discontent, and especially *Philip*, being a man of an imperious and insupportable spirit.

The order of this relation.

We haue drawne *Charles* out of his Minority, the first parcell of our discourse. Let vs now see his Maiority, into the which I tremble to enter, foreseeing so happy a beginning to haue so lamentable an end. But alas what shall wee see therein, which wee haue not scene in our miserable age. Our experience shalbe vnto vs a mournfull commentary, most true in the raigne which we are to represent.



The Maiority of King Charles the sixt.

Remarkable in two respects, of health and sickness.



He reigned thirteene yeares, eyther with his Vncles or alone in his good sence, and 29. in phrensie, not ruling but ruled, or rather rauished by the sundry passions of others. So wee will distinguish his Maioritye, according to the calculation of these two seasons, and in eyther of them the most famous actes of these home-bred confusions.

The

1388.

The first time of the Kings health.

From the yeare 1388.

vnto 1393.



France enioyed a long rest, the tempests of these popular tumults being pacified, *Flanders* subdued, and the *English* forced to hold a truce (by reason of their home-bred quarrells, the which brought forth strange effects, as we shall hereafter shewe.) *Charles* then vnderooke the charge of his Realme, to gouerne alone, without any Tutors.

The flower of his youth, framed to great affaires, and commendable for his milde disposition, promised the fruites of a raigne both wise, moderate, peacefull and most happy. But oh the vanity of mans hopes, a dreame of him that wakes, a fruitlesse paine which hunts and gets nothing.

Being freed from the gouernement of others, hauing absolute authority, he was desirous to marry *Lewis* his onely Brother, and to giue him authority: neither would he abandon his cousins of *Anjou*, *Lewis* and *Charles* in their pretensions to the Realme of *Naples*.

The Estate of *Milan* did wonderfully import to aduance this action, for the commodities it hath in *Italy*. To this ende he married his brother *Lewis* with *Valentine* the daughter of *Iohn Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, a marriage which succeeded not according to his desire, no more then his owne. An *Italian* woman ioyned with a *Germane*, shall make strangework: to shewe that all is not gold that glisters: for both these marriages were built vpon grounds of apparant good, as farre as humane reason could comprehend: to the ende they might haue great intelligences both in *Germanie* and *Italy*, alliances which import much for the good of *France*.

Philip of *Faliois*, the Kings brother, and *Iohn* Duke of *Orleans*, were dead without children, and the duchy returned to the crowne. *Charles* giues this duchie to his brother *Lewis*, who was but Earle of *Touraine*, and now shalbe duke of *Orleans*, and by this name shalbe much spoken of.

Charles giues the Duchy of Orleans to his brother Lewis

In this profound peace, it was necessary for *Charles* to make himselfe knowne to his subjects, after so many confusions. He makes a progresse into *Languedock*, one of the farthest Prouinces from his chiefe City, lying vpon the Mediterranean sea, and yet one of the most fertill and best affected to the crowne. He had especiall reasons to visit this goodly Prouince, for the great complaints they made against the duke of *Berry* their gouernor, who committed great extorsions by his officers, vnder colour of authority.

Charles passeth by *Dijon* to his Vncle the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who accompanies him to *Auignon*. The Earle of *Sauoy* comes vnto him, the people of *Daulphiné* and *Vinarez* shewe a wonderfull ioy to see their King after so troublesome a time. So he comes to *Auignon*, being kindly receiued and much made of by Pope *Clement* the 7. who could not stand without him, hauing *Vrbain* the 6. for his competitor. The widow of *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* repaired thither, who by the fauour of *Charles* caused *Lewis* the 2. her eldest sonne to be crowned King of *Naples*. This course wee must hold for the continuance of our history.

He visits Bour-gogne.

From *Auignon* he went into *Languedoc* to settle his authority, the which was much respected by the people of that country, but had beene greatly blemished by the gouernement of the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry* his Vncles, Gouernours of that goodly Prouince one after another. Hee stayes at *Montpellier* a Citie of a goodlie

1389.
Great complaints against the Duke of Berry in Languedoc.

Retiring the Duke's treasurer burnt.

The tragical death of the Navarrese.

Great robbing during the truce.

A voyage into Affricke by the French & English together.

goodly and pleasant situation; where he heard many complaints against the Duke of Berry, his Vncle, for his great oppression of the countie. But the absence of this Prince, and the authoritie of his name stayed the remedie to another season. The Estates of the countie made sute to haue the Earle of Foix for their gouernour, hauing heretofore liued quietly vnder him; but he would not accept of this gouernment, without the good liking of the Duke of Berry, so as all the punishment fell vpon *Betizac* his chiefe Treasurer, who was burnt at *Beziers*, purging in the fire the extorsions he had committed vnder his maiesties authoritie.

At that time *Charles King of Navarre* died, so often blemished in the truth of this historie: we haue noted how he had retired himselfe from Court, into his realme of *Navarre*. As this retreat was vnto him a reprochfull banishment, so this shamefull solitarinesse was a ciuill death. But the Catastrophe of his tragically life was a famous prooffe: that God doth often reuenge notable sinnes by notable punishments euen in this life. He was much broken by the excesse of venery, and all sorts of dissolutions, the which he had exceedinglie vied with his wonderfull tyrannie and crueltie. As they did anoint him with medicines fit to warme and comfort his benumbed members (some say they had chafed him with *Aqua-viue*, and wrapt him in a sheete) but behold, fire takes hold of this sheete with such violence, as (being vnable to quench it) he was consumed by degrees, liuing some daies, as suruiuing his paine; and that which encreased the horror of Gods iudgement, his death made both great and small to reioyce, and was receiued in *France* with as great content, as the winning of a great and famous battaile.

There was a generall truce betwixt the *French* and *English*, so as the garrisons lying still, the Souldiars bred vp and nourished in armes, fighting no more by order vnder their ensignes, sought now their prey by disorder vpon the labourer and marchant. The counties of *Rouergue*, *Perigord*, *Limosin*, *Auvergne* and *La Marche*, had *English* garrisons, who spoiled these counties, and did runne vp into the neere parts of *Languedoc*, *Velay*, *Gewaudan*, *Vivarrez* and *Suenes*, where the villages are for the most part walled in, to prevent these soldaine incursions. There were many theecues amongst them: *Teste noire* or *Black-pate* in the Castell of *Ventador*; *Amerigor Martel* at *Roche-Vandais*, who breaking the truce, sought to be supported by the King of *England*, but in the end they all fell into the hang-mans hands, or perished miserably by some strange death, an Image of our late confusions.

Libertie had bred vp these warriors with so great abundance, as the *English* passed the sea to make Turneyes, and to fight at Barriers, as they vse at great Triumphes. There was a Tilt set vp betwixt *Calais* and *Saint Iaques*, where the Nobilitie made trial of their valour, as in a Schoole of Fence.

To take away this troublefome abundance, they tooke occasions to make long voyages into *Castille* and *Italie*, but in the end there was a very famous one offered against the miscreants of *Barbarie*, at the *Geneuois* request, who suffered many discommodities in their traffick, by these barbarous *Affricans*.

Charles granted them succours willingly, and gaue the charge of this warre to *Peter* duke of *Burbon*, assisted, with the Earles of *Auvergne* and *Foix*, the Lords of *Coney*, *Guy of Tremeuille*, *John of Vienne* Admirall of *France*, *Philip of Arthois* Earle of *Eu*, *Philip of Bar*, *Harcourt*, *Antoing*, *Linge*, *Pyquiny*, and many other great men from all parts of the Realme, which ranne to so famous an action, vnder so worthy a commander, and at so great expence, more painfull then the toyle of warre, to men that desired nothing but employment.

Richard King of England, to imitate *Charles*, granted succours to the *Geneuois*, vnder the command of the Earle of *Salisbury*, accompanied with many Noble men and *English* Gentlemen, moued with desirelike vnto the *French*, in the enterprise of this pleasing paine. The Deputies of the Kings of *France* and *England* assembled to treat of a generall peace: but not able to effect it, they continue a truce for foure yeares, with goodly provisions against robberies, for the safetie and quiet of their Estates. *Charles* gaue free passage to the *English*, by the Counties of *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, to passe the *Alpes* safely.

All

A All come to *Genes*, to the great ioy of the *Geneuois*. Being shipt, they land within fewe dayes in *Barbarie*. Presently they beseege the City of *Affricke*. So our histore termes it, as bearing the name of all the vast and barbarous countie. They call the *Affricanie* commanders *Agadin* of *Oliferne*, and *Brahadi* of *Thunes*. But our *Argonautes* found them which stayed their fury. The *Barbarians* defended themselves with an obdurate resolution.

But their force did them lesse harme then the ayre, and diet being very contrary to their complexions, so as our armie decreased dayly, especially of men of accompt. This siege continued six weekes with much losse & no hope to preuaile. The *Geneuois* hauing conceived a hope of a soldaine victorie, began to grow cold and slacke in furnishing of the armie. The Duke of *Bourbon* foreseeing the difficulties which might grow in continuing obdurate at this siege, fearing the winter, and not trusting the *Geneuois* (who are famous for that they haue no faith) remembreing the example of the King *S. Lewis*, resolved to returne, without any greater losse. He trusteth vp his baggage, & bringes backe his troups into *France*: continuing the example to all such as are capable of reason, how difficult it is for Christians to performe these strange attempts, after the experience of many ages.

The *French* and the *English* hauing liued louingly together in this voyage, returned to their houses, without doing of any memorable act, but to haue endeauored to doe something worthy of memory, to auoide idleness during so peacefull a time.

Enigane did then conceiue, and afterwards bring forth more preiudiciall effects then *Barbary* itselfe, and the way was made by light occasions to horrible and monitrous effects, to the great preiudice both of the King and Realme: for a notable testimonie to posterity, what Councillors Enuye and ambition be in a state, we like wretches seeke for peace, and when God giues it, we flie from it, we maligne an other mans good, and depriue our selues of our owne. But alas it were a small matter for a great personage to hurt himselfe by his owne passions, if this poison did not spread abroad to the preiudice of the common weale.

We haue said that *John of Montfort* remained peaceably Duke of *Brittaine*, by the death of *Charles of Blois*, and the agreement he made with his widow, whose eldest sonne *John of Brittain* Earle of *Ponthieu* was redeemed from prison out of *England*, by the constable *Cliffon*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage & payed his ransom. The constable was a *Briton*, and so a subiect to *John of Montfort* Duke of *Brittaine* his ancient and capitall enemy, and yet by this newe succession was become his Lord.

Doublelesse in this quality *Cliffon* could not but yeeld vnto him as his vassall, but as constable of *France* and deere beloued of his Maister, the greatest monarch in *Europe*, and Soueraigne to the Duke of *Brittaine*, herein the Duke must needs respect him, his place giuing him authority in many notable actions, ouer the greatest personages within the Realme. This was the ground of their hate, which not onely embarked King *Charles*, lord vnto them both, but carried him so farre into the maine, as he could not auoide a notable shipwracke by their meanes.

E By the former accord, *John of Montfort* was to yeeld vnto *Cliffon* all his patrimonye, whereon he had seized vnder colour of a confiscation, reuoked by *Charles*. the which he had not yet performed.

And although he had promised the King and giuen him a newe assurance, yet did hee not trust the King but continued his intelligences with the *English*, fortified his places, and eschyned both gold and siluer against the Lawes of *State*. He refused likewise to acknowledge *Clement* the 7. for lawfull Pope, whom *France* approoued: nor to suffer the Earle of *Ponthieu* afore said to beare the name and armes of *Brittaine*. These were the chiefe causes of their complaints and differences. The King and his most secret counsell *Meytier Montagu*, and *La Riviere* held for the Constable. The Dukes of *Berry*, and *Bourgonie*, and the Chancellour *Orgemont*, for the Duke of *Brittaine*, a cunning dissembling Prince and high minded. He spake proudly, by reason of his intelligence with *England*, which could not faile him and mildly when as he found meanes to do his business vnder-hand, & not to breake with the King.

He

1391.

He is reconciled to the King & Constable.

He comes to *Tours* vnto *Charles*, where after many discourtes, their quarrells are ended by marriages: the Kings daughter (being yet young) is promised to the Dukes sonne, and the sonne of *John Earle of Ponthieu* borne of the Constables daughter to the Dukes daughter, who promisseth likewise to restore *Cliffon* his lands, in shew, friends, but in their hearts irreconcilable enemies.

Hereupon *Cliffon* goes into *Brittaine* to receiue his lands. The Duke held a Parliament at *Vannes*, whether he called his nobility. The Constable comes, fearing no enemy: the Duke had built a Castle called the *Hermine*, where he feasts the States. The Constable is called and welcommed with the first, this countenance did not shew what was prepared for the end of the banquet against the Constable.

After dinner the Duke taking him by the hand, vnder colour to shew him his building and to haue his aduise, as of a great Captaine and well scene in Architecture, he leads him from place to place, through halls, chambers, and clofers, vntill hee had brought him to a great Towre, hauing an iron dore, wherein were armed men. The Duke enters first, the Constable followes him as viewing the proportion of this worke, and the thickeesse of the walles by the windowes. But behold the Duke slips out of the Towre, where he leaues the Constable, and shutres the doore after him.

This signe giuen, the armed men seaze vpon the Constables sword, and keepe him prisoner putting irons on his legges. The Constable was not so much amazed at this strange vsage, as the Duke reioyced at this sweet content of reuenge, thinking to attaine the full of his desires, to be reuenged of a capitall and cruell enemy, and in the heat of his fury he commands a faithfull seruant of his, called *Iohn Baualan* to dispatch the Constable presently. *Baualan* accepts this charge, but he doth not execute it. He goes to the Towre and assures himselfe of the Constables person, retaining the souldiours, whom the Duke commanded to obey him, and so he passeth the night with the constable. But the night gaue him Councell. The Duke transported with ioy in the heat of his choler, goes to his rest, but care awaked him, and reason (of more force then his passion) lets him know the fault he had committed, and repentance followed this first act.

A wife seruant in not obeying his masters passion. The Duke lying restless a great part of the night, riseth early in the morning, calleth *Baualan*, and demands what is become of the Constable: his passion bewrayes his minde before he speake, witnessing the shame he had of his choler, and his griefe for this furious charge. *Baualan* comforts him, and assures him that the Constable is well. The Duke wonderfully glad of this newes, which freed him from so cruell a torment, commands he should be well intreated and with respect, attending newes from the King: from whom there comes post vpon post with complaints and commandements to the Duke.

The Duke without any great delay excuseth himselfe of his imprisonment, and sends the Constable to the King. It had beene more auailable for him to haue suppressed his choler, in committing this error. But he did verifie. *That he which offends doth neuer forgine.*

The Constable goes to the King to *Blois*, he thanks him for his care of his deliuey: the Duke doth likewise send vnto him, to craue a safe conduct to come himselfe to make his iust excuses, and to shewe what reason had moued him to put the Constable in prison.

The Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgonne* holding openly for the *Britton*, obtaine leave for him to come vpon the Kings word. He comes well accompanied, and not onely iustifies the taking of *Cliffon*, being his subiect, and in his owne Country, but also hee would haue the King beholding vnto him for the respect he bare vnto his officer, who otherwise he might iustly haue put to death. It is an easie matter for great men to manage their affaires at their seruants cost.

The Constable digested quietly this new affront, being glad to haue recouered his liberty, but the Duke of *Brittaines* malice shalbe the cause of great miserie both to the King and realme, seeking new deuises to satisfie his choler, a furious beast which can neuer be tamed by flattery. It burst forth vpon a light and ridiculous subiect, which bred a horrible Chaos of sundry confusions.

The Duke of Brittain is reuenged treacherously on the Constable.

The Duke of Brittain repents him of what he had done.

Peter Craon a Nobleman of the Countrie of *Aniou*, had great credit with the King and with *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, who loued him so deere as he trusted him with his greatest secrets, euen with his amorous passions, wherevnto his loose disposition, his age, ease, and Court made him too proane, to the great discontent of *Valentine* his wife, who exceeding iealous of her husband, and an *Italian*, seeking by all meanes to learne how he was affected, feeling him so colde to her, she finds no better expedient then to gaine *Craon*, whome shee handled so cunningly, as she drew the worme from his nose.

Hauing speciall aduertisement of her husbands loues, she threatens the Ladie that was beloued, and complaynes to her husband, naming the reporter. The Duke of *Orleans* finding himselfe wronged by this disloyall affront done him by *Craon*, in a verie light subiect, but a prooue of his rash treacherie, vnworthie of so strict a friendship where with he had honored him, he complayned to the King his Brother, who loued him exceedingly. Both of them detesting this disloyal rashenes of *Craon*, as a treacherous and an insufficient man, holding him vnworthy of their seruice, dismisst him with great disgrace, refusing to see him or to heare his pretended excuses.

Thus *Craon* retyers to his house wonderfully perplexed with this disgrace, and finding himselfe not greatly safe, he retyers to the Duke of *Brittain* his kinsman and deere friend, to whome he reports his misfortune. The Duke imbraceth this occasion, and with a deeper reach, perswades him that the Constable is the cause of this disgrace, making his profit of the passions of these young Princes: and proceeding in his discourse, (thrust on by the inueterate hatred he bare him) he perswades *Craon* to kill him, to ridde the world of so pernicious a man: and therevpon offers him his means, vpon all occasions.

This was that miserable councell which hatred & malice gaue him, two bad counsellors: for it choller be a short furie, who sees not by the effect, that hatred is a continuing rage, the mother of reuenges, the seede of all miserie to mankind.

As it was simply concluded betwixt them, so was it vainly executed by *Peter of Craon*. He had a house at *Paris*, whether he finds means to send men fit for this murder, and follows himselfe secretly: (an easie matter in this great forest of *Paris*;) who knowing the howers of Court, and hauing set spies to obserue when the Constable should goe from the King at night to his lodging, he attends him with his murderers in a little house where he should passe, and lets vpon him with twentie armed men.

The Constable thinking at the first, that the Duke of *Orleans* had done it in iest, made no great regard thereof, but vnderstanding it was *Craon*, he defends himselfe, with a great keene, (such as they did vsually weare in those dayes;) who being charged of all sides by the twentie murderers, and crying for ayde, he saues himselfe (all wounded) in a bakets shop.

The people that were neere, came running at this noyse: *Craon* saues himselfe on horsebacke by *Saint Antonis* gate, with the greatest part of these murderers: three onely were taken in this disorder.

The Constable was carried to his lodging called the house of Mercy (it is now the house of *Guse*, as the historie obserues) all wounded. The King and Court (disquieted by so audacious an attempt,) are all the night in tumult. These murderers being examined confesse that *Peter of Craon* had not onely caused them to commit this acte, but was also present at the execution, and so they are beheaded.

The King comes to visit the Constable lying in bed: he doth comfort him, and assures him, that he will not leaue so execrable an acte unpunished. But in effect this affront so impudently done to his Constable in the bosome of his head Citie, in the vewe of all his Court, and in his presence, together with the scorne of his audacious imprisonment, and the patience of *Cliffon*, who keeping sylenece, the indignities he had so outreeyed of the Duke of *Brittain*, pleaded for him, being sealed by these outragious wounds. All these things put *Charles* into such a choller, and made so great an impression

1392.

Peter of Craon disgraced from Court.

The Duke of Brittain perswades Peter Craon to murder the Constable Cliffon.

The Constable assaulted by Craon.

1394. passion in his heart of settled hatred against the Duke, as he was farre more sicke then the Constable himselfe.

Notes of
Charles con-
demned for
attempting
against the
Constable.
King Charles assisted by his Councell, declares *Peter of Craon* guiltie of high Treason, and enemy to the Crowne of France, hauing attempted against his chiefe Officer, and doth cite him to come and iustifie himselfe speedily. Hee is called, and (not appering) is condemned for his contempt: he is declared a banished man, and his body and goods confiscate. And in the execution of this sentence, his house at *Paris* was razed. The Tragedie began by this acte, in the yeare 1393. in the moneth of May, but it shall continue with many other mournfull acts, and shall cause newe Scenes vpon this Stage. This sentence thus executed at *Paris*, it went into *Aniou* and *Brittain*. All *Craons* places and houses were seized on, and put into the Kings hands: and the Duke of *Brittain* was commanded by the same Commissioners, to deliuer him.

The first act
of no mourn-
full tragedy.
The Duke of *Brittain* excuseth himselfe, sweares that he hath him not in his power: discouers the place where he is: makes offer of all his meanes, for the execution of Iustice: he sends to the King to reiterate his excuses, assuring him, that he was not priuy to this murder. *Craon* was fled to the Towne of *Sablé* in *Maine*, which appertained vnto him.

Charles (transported with choller) lost both meate and rest, incensed by the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother, and his most trustie seruants, *Noiunt*, *Mercier*, and *Montagu*, dreaming of nothing more then to be reuenged of the Duke of *Brittain*, whome he held to be the very cause of this attempt. Such as were of iudgement and without passion, thought no otherwise. But alas how weake is mans vnderstanding, euen in the best things, wherein there often wants a good proceeding. *Charles* had great cause to be greeued with the Duke of *Brittain*, but he should moderate the heate of his choller, by the temper of wisdom, expecting wisely a fit oportunitie to punish, not troubling the quiet of his minde with such violence, in seeking reuenge of his enemy.

Charles dis-
tempered
with choller.
We may well say. That *Charles* had a good cause, but it was ill managed, and the Duke of *Brittain* a bad, the which he governed with policy. Wherein our *Charles* should haue vsed cunning, to crosse his enemies cunning: following the example of his wise father *Charles* the 5. who vanquished the *Nauarrois* with patience, and tyeing the vntempered rashnesse of *John* his grandfather, who seeking hastily a reuenge of the same *Nauarrois* his enemy, did thrust himselfe into a mortal prison.

The Children are neyther heires of their fathers vertues, nor of their happinesse, whose bodies they haue by the will of God, being the instruments of their essence, but hereserues to himselfe the soueraignty of vertue and happinesse, to gouernethem in the difficult pathes of this world.

The Kings
Vncles dis-
swade him
from the war
of Brittain.
The Dukes of *Ferry* and *Bourgonne* aduise the King their nephew to leaue the deciding of this quarrel to the Constable and *Craon*, and not to attempt any thing against the Duke of *Brittain*, who disauowed the fact, who feeling himselfe oppressed, would seeke for extraordinary remedies to defend himselfe, whereby strange inconueniences might insue.

But the King was resolute, at any hand to make warre against the Duke of *Brittain*. All are sent for: euery man doth march: the *Rendez vous* is at *Mans*. *Peter* of *Craon* retyers from *Sablé*, whilst this storme riseth: but the King marcheth on, assuring himselfe that he was in *Brittain*, although some say that he was in *Arragon*, and that the Queene of *Arragon* had giuen him intelligence, that she held a French Knight prisoner at *Pe pignin*, who would not discouer his name.

This distempered choller had much impayred the Kings health, who carried in his face the disease of his minde.

The King
marched a-
gainst the
Duke of Brit-
tain.
His Physitians disswaded him from this voyage, as most preiudiciall for his health, and the Duke of *Brittain* by a new excuse, beseeched him to beleue, that he had no dealings with *Peter* of *Craon*.

The King could not bee diuerted by all these difficulties, from passing on in this journey, so willfully vnderaken by him. although his Vncles found newe deuises to stay him, both at *Chartres* and at *Mans*, employing his physitians, to shewe vnto him, how

A how dangerous it was to march in Sommer, being extremely hot, considering the debility of his health, much impayred sence his burning choller, the which had altered all his blood, whereof he had prooffe by daylie feauers. But this passion of choller had so possessed his poore afflicted spirits, that such as were about him, besides himselfe, perceiued his griefto be the more weake in that he was insensible of what he suffered: & his seruants espied that which they could not but see in him, by the extreme apprehension they had of the harme which was at hand.

Moreouer the Duke of *Brittain* (to calme this great storme which was readie to fall vpon him, (although in truth hee had hidden *Peter* of *Craon* at *Susmet*, and was sory that he had not slaine the Constable *Cliffon*) sends a certaine Bishop of his Country to the King, called the *Bearded*, a very famous man for the integrity of his life: to beleech him to beleue that he was nothing guilty of this attempt, neyther did he knowe what was become of *Peter* of *Craon*, whome he would send vnto him with his hands and feete bound, if he were in his power. That he should not make warre against his owne Country, and against a poore people, which must suffer for an other mans folly. In the ende, this man pronounceth the threats of Gods iudgement against *Charles*, if hee should proceede vnto warre, so lightly vnderaken against his vassalls and subiects, and against the articles of marriage concluded betwixt his daughter and the Dukes sonne, as a seale of their loues. This Bishop was heard in Councell, and the Duke of *Berry* speaking more boldly then the rest, for the authority which his degree and white haies

C gaue him) layed open all that might hinder this voyage. But *Charles* stopt his eares to all good Councell, hauing his braine disposed to the distemperature which shall presently seize vpon him, running headlong into the mischief which should afflict him and all France. He parts from *Mans* in Iuly, (in an exceeding hot day, as the history sayes,) as if all things had conspired to afflict this poore Prince: at nyne of the clocke in the morning, to receiue the coolenesse of the greatest heate at Noonetyde, weake in head and minde: distempered with choller, grieft, despight and languishing: his bodie wearied with watching and distast, not able to eate nor sleepe, hauing his head muffled with a great cap of Scarlet, and his body couered with a thicke Ierkin of Veluet: (too weighty for a sharpe winter,) marching on a sandie plaine, so scalt with the sunne beames, as the strongest did melt in sweate, and were out of breath.

D Being entered the forest of *Mans*, behold a man bare headed and bare legged, attired in a coate of white rugge, stepps sodenly forth betwixt two trees, taking hold of the reynes of his horse: he staves him, and sayes vnto him, *King, ride no farther, but returne backe, for thou art betrayed.*

A strange ac-
cident befalls
the King.
Charles, (whose spirits were otherwise dulled) was amazed at this voyce, and his blood greatly distempered. His seruants runne to this man, and with blowes make him leaue the reines of his horse, and so without any farther search the man vanished.

E After this accident there presently followes an other. *Charles* and his Noble men did ride in troups deuided, by reason of the dust, and he himselfe was all alone pensif, with the pages of his chamber, who were so neere vnto him, as they trod on his horse heeles. He that was neereft carried his helmet vpon his head, and the next his Lance, being garnished with crimfen silke. As the heate of the Noone day makes men drowse on horse backe, it chanced the Page which carried his Lance, (being very sleepey) let it fall vpon him which carried the helmet, making a great noyse, like the rushing of armes: The King starts with amazement at this noyse, and seeing the crimfon banderolle of the Lance, hauing his spirits weakened with the former distemperatures, transported with the imagination of this voyce, sleepey with labour and heate, he imagined himselfe to be, compassed in with many armed men which poured him to the death.

1393.

The second season, from the time of the Kings sicknesse.

From the yeare 1393. to the yeare. 1422. This time of his infirmity is distinguished into many acts, whereof this is the first Scene, of a long and mournful Tragedie.



Charles falls into a phrensie.

CHVS Charles transported with this phrensie, layes hold on his sword, drawes it, runnes violently after his pages, and cries amayne, *At these Traitors*. The pages conceyuing at the first, that he had beene displeased for the disorder of the Lance, fle from him. The King followes after, doubling his crye. At this noyse the Duke of *Orleanse* runnes towards him, to vnderstand the cause. The King layes at him, not knowing him: the Duke flies, and the King followes. The Duke of *Bourgoigne* rides to him. All

gather together with great outcry. Squiers & knights compasse in the king, till that being wearied, and his horse out of breath, his most trustie Chamberlaine takes hold of him gently behind, and stayes him, cheering him with flattering words, and speaking vnto him with that familiarity that befits a faithfull seruant to a good master. Then all drawe neere vnto him, they take his sword from him, they lay him on the ground, and disroabe him of his thicke velluet ierkin and his scarlet cap, to giue him breath.

His Brother and Vncles salute him: but he knowes them not, neyther makes he any shewe to moue: being pensieue, his eyes troubled, turning vp and downe, mute, sighing, panting, mouing both body and head with great amazement. All signes of phrensie appered in this poore Prince. The Physitians are sent for in hast: they come, but hee knowes them not. Brother, Vncles, Lords, Physitians all sigh: all lifte vp their eyes to heauen. Tears fall from the Duke of *Orleanse* eyes: he beats his brest and crossest his armes, he approacheth neere to his poore brother, and hee regules from him. All are amazed, all confounded.

O my Country, what trouble shall this poore head giue vnto thy body? But may I lawfully sigh with my Countrymen who sighed then, foretelling the miseries that should befall them by this phrensie, as if my selfe had beene (in this disorder) a witness of so great an affliction, both to this poore Prince and to his Estate.

The History doth very fitly set downe the diuers Censures that were giuen of this accident, both at *Rome* and *Auignon* (famous places being then the seats of Popes) and also in *England* and in *France*.

The poore subiects (as men who it concerned) spake soberly, & with great griefe, some blaming the Duke of *Brittain* and *Peter of Craon*, others the Constable of *Cliffon*, and Mignons of his chamber, who had induced the King into this action: but all in general lamented bitterly this great defaister.

England was amazed at this report, and sorry for it: especially the Duke of *Lancaster*, who had conferred with our *Charles* very privately in the treaty of peace which they had at *Amiens*. He wept, commending this good & wise Prince, being desirous of the good of all Christendome. *Rome* and *Auignon* (being then banded one against the other, by reason of the Schisme of *Antipopes*) reioyced at this calamity befallen vnto our poore King. *Frbain* (as his professed enemy) triumphed in his misery whereinto he sayed he was fallen by a iust iudgement of God, hauing supported *Clement* his competitor against him. *Clement* reioyced, for that he was not fully confirmed in his authority by him: the King hauing busied himselfe with his subiects quarrells: whereas his greatest charge was to restore the dignity of the holy Sea to her ancient beauty. This the Historie obserueth of the Censures of these Antipopes.

A general Censure of this accident.

Wolard tow. 4. Chap. 5.

A But the diuine Oracle saies, *O how happie is he that iudgeth wisely of the afflicted*, representing an admirable example in the person of *Iob*, to gouerne themselues discretely in their Censures. *Iob* hath the testimony of a very goodman, and yet he had great afflictions, hauing lost goods, children, howe and helth, tormented by his wife, and not only abandoned, but also persecuted by all his friends, in that which was more decre vnto him then his goods and life, his credit, wherof they seeke to depriue him, accusing him that he had liued wickedly like an hypocrite, hauing but the shew of a good man, and not the integrity of a good life whereof he made profession.

Such is the vaine iudgment of this world, which holdes aduersity for a vice and profectory for a vertue; measuring things according to their passions, and not with reason, but the truth doth teache vs an other lesson. *O Lord howe great are thy workes, thy thoughts are verie deepe, the ignorant man doth not know them, nor the foole doth not vnderstand them*. That we might know the chastisements of God to be alwayes iust, although the causes be vnknown vnto vs.

We cannot denie but there were errors in *Charles*; but yet we must confesse, in acknowledging things as they be, that he was one of the least vicious Kings of *France*, and if we shal examine the zeale he had to the gouernment of his Estate, he must hold an honorable ranke among the most vertuous Princes that haue at any time defected well of this monarchy.

Many neerer causes of his infirmity, may be truly and soberly obserued: the disposition of his body, his manner of life, the surcharge of affaires, the weaknes of his braine, the abounding of choller, greefe and waywardnes, the want of rest and foode, the importunite of his voiage, the terror of this voice, & the noise of armes, to waighe downe the ballance ouercharged with so heauie a burthen. But why from man do we not ascend to God?

Truly God doth hold & gouerne this rod: and as *Charles* was the head of this great Estate by his wife decree: so he not only punished the person of *Charles*, but the whole body of this ealme: that both great and small might learne by this pittifull spectacle, to humble them selues vnder the mightie hand of God, who hath created the spirit of man, to worke according to his good and wife will; and disposeth absolutely of men & their affaires, as he pleaseth: and that this saying may be the scale of a true and sober humilitie, *I haue held my peace O Lord, for thou hast doone it*, drawn from this Maxime, *God doth all well, what so euer he doth*. O Kings, his famous example belongs to you, in so famous a King. O Subiects, you must learne by the head of *Charles*, of what price his head is whome God hath giuen you for king: that you may praie vnto him with all your hearts, to make him fit for the gouernment of the whole bodie, without the which it cannot subsist. But I wil returne to our *Charles*. Pardon curteous reader this digression, for the search of the vse of so famous an Accident.

This new and strange accident made them presently to dismishe the troupes, hauing other worke in hand then to make warre in *Brittaine*. All the Court is wholly affected to the Kings health. He is presently caried backe to *Mans*: his sicknes encreaseth, he must be transported to a better aire. The Physitians aduise it shold be to *Creil* upon *Oise*, one of the royall houses, in the Countrie of *Beauuaisin*, betwixt *Beauuais* and *Senlis*, a pleasant and wholesome seat vpon the riuer. He is conducted thither with great care: but his frantike feuer continues still. They seeke to conceale it, least the fame thereof should be dishonorable: but truth speaks generally. *James Horsely*, an excellent Physicion of *Laon* is sent for, and performs his duty happily, as shal appeere by the event. Nothing wanted that mans wit could deuise to helpe and cure the infirmity of so great a King. Let vs leaue *Charles*, in the Physicions hands, and returne to the Crowne as sicke as the head, hauing as great need of a good and speedie remedie.

A Parlement is presently called: they assemble at *Paris*, with all speed. All *France*, mournes for the affliction of their King, whom they loued deere, for his myldnes, and the singular hope they conceyued of his reigne: whereby *Charles* purchased the name of *Wellbeloued*.

1393.

The second causes of the Kings phrensie.

The armie dissolved.

Care of the Kings person.

1394

An order for
the govern-
ment of the
Realme.

Contention
for the govern-
ment.

The disposi-
tion of Philip
Duke of Bour-
gogne.

Women rule
in the State.

The Estates assemble to resolve what was necessary for the government of the realm in this accident. They determine first, what might be fittest for the form of government, hoping verily of the Kings speedy recovery, being loath to seeke a remedy that might any way prejudice his authority. It was therefore let downe for a lawe, *That they should abstaine from the name of Regent, unfit in this sodaine accident, the King being alive & of years.* And they concluded, *That during the Kings infirmittie, and without any prejudice to his authority, the soueraine government of the Crowne of France should be given to the Princes of his blood.* But this point being decided, there was another of no lesse difficultie. *To what Prince?* The order of the fundamentall Lawe, called *Lewis of Orleans* the Kings Brother, as first Prince of the blood: but neither his age, nor the present necessity could allowe therof. The States yeelding vnto reason, decreed; *That being apparantly necessary to provide for the State, by reason of the Kings weaknesse, being verie sick, it were not convenient to lay so heauie a burthen vpon so weak shoulders, as the Kings brother, a young Prince: but that the Dukes of Berry, and Bourgogne, his vnckles, next to his brother should haue the government of the realme, untill the Kings recovery.* John Duke of Berry was elder then Philip: but hauing purchased an ill fame in *Languedoc*, to be couetous and violent, hee was nothing pleasing: so as the French were better affected to Philip the hardy Duke of Bourgogne, a cunning, cold, temperat, mild, patient and popular Prince, but ambitious, factious, reuengefull and malicious. Being therefore pleasing to the States, the chiefe charge was imposed on him: the title was common to both brethren, but the effect of the authoritie was proper to him aloane. The Estates adde to their decree (especially in his fauour,) that the Duchesse of Bourgogne should haue the first place next to Queene *Isabel* our sickes Kings wife, and by consequence, they giue her accesse to her chamber, and the government of the Children at all euents. This was *Marguerite* the heire of *Flanders*: a woman of a manly courage, raised for her great possessions, and wholly bred to ambition. This newe presidence displeased *Valentine* the Duchesse of Orleans, who yeelded nothing vnto her in greatnesse of courage. We stand now vpon good termes that must be gouerned by three women, a *German*, an *Italian*, and a *Flemings*, all which had absolute authority ouer their husbands: whose distaffes did cut like swordes, whereof they will giue vs presently a sufficient prooffe.

Philip



1394.

Philip Duke of Bourgogne

Advanced to the government of the
Realme by a decree of
the States.



Behold the Kings Vnckles now at the helme, to the great discontent of the Duke of Orleans, and of *Lames* of *Bourbon* his Vnckle by the mother side. The winde changeth, and the failes turne, the Court is transformed. There are two factions: but that of *Berry* and *Bourgogne* is the stronger. The Dukes of Orleans & *Bourbon* make the other: but there is no equality. The authority of the whole government, and of the treasor, is in their hands to whome the States had decreed it. Such force hath this sollemne consent of the French in matters of State.

Two factions
in Court.

Such as had bin of Charles his most secret Councell, were out of fauour: the Constable, *Begue de Villaines*, *Montagu*, *la Riviere* and *Mercier*, they are all in bad estate, for their ouerthrow is plotted, by what meanes soeuer. The Dukes authority must begin with them, yet there was no loue betwixt the two brethren (for who can beleue that ambition and couetousnesse are fit to winne friendships) but onely to ruine their common enemies, and to suppress their authority. Such as were in their rowle, had their turnes, but diuersly. The Duke of Bourgogne standing vpon his gard, restrayned his imperious wife, who at his first advancement to this great commande, would haue turned all topsie turuy. but he seekes all meanes to preuent his enemies, being resolved to begin with the Constable, as with the strongest: and this he concluded with his brother of Berry. *Montagu* cunningly smels out this practise, and withall the best hee could carry away, saues himselfe at *Auignon*, attending some better opportunity. but he shall returne too soone to loose his head on a scaffold. The Constable *Clisson*, at his first speech with the Duke of Bourgogne, is so cheekt and threatned by him, as swallowing this pill quietly, he steales out of *Paris*, & retires to his house at *Montlhery*, from whence with extreame danger he saues himselfe in *Brittain*, hauing the Duke for his capitall enemy. But hee had his son in Lawe there, the Duke of *Anjou*, the Earle of *Ponthiure*, and so many friends within the Country, as in the ende the equity of his cause shall draw the Duke of *Brittain* to reason, being his most dangerous enemy.

An alteration
in Court and
the fauours
disgraced.

The mignons
of King
Charles are all
intreated.

The Constable
Clisson
fleeth
thither.

After notice, that the Constable was fled. *Begue de Villaines* a gentleman of *Beauvais*, (who had married the Contesse of *Rebelde* in *Castille*) *la Riviere* and *Mercier* were coopt vp, but all escaped by sundry meanes, only *Montagu* in the end shall loose the mould of his doublet, although he seemed to haue better provided for his safety then all the rest. That we may hold for an vndoubted *Maxime* in all the resolutions which mans reason can set downe in greatest dangers, *That what God keeps, is well kept.* Yet not rashly to omit the lawful meanes of our preseruacion, neyther to rely ouer much vpon our owne wisdomes, no more then to a rotten planke in passing of a great riuer.

The Duke of Bourgogne had nothing lesse in his heart, nor more in his mouth then the sacred name of Iustice. Hauing the Court of Parliament of *Paris* at his deuotion, he begins to plant his artillery against the Constable, by this authority.

The Kings Aduocate (hauing framed a complaint against him) Comissions are sent into *Brittain* to summon him, who not finding him, they proceede against him by exceptionall formalities being obserued, they condemne him by a decree of the Court of Parliament (in the presence of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne) as guilty of high treason, hauing attempted against the Kings person by poison, and against the State by thefe and treason. That as guilty of these crimes, he was degraded of the office of Constable, condemned a hundred marks of siluer to the King, and banished the Realme.

The Constable
condemned
being
absent.

1394

A strange alteration, the which the History represents in these verses.
*Instant Fortune neuer stales,
 her motions turning are alwaies:
 The highest mounted on the wheele,
 is strangely cast behinde the heele.*

But truth corrects the vanity of this popular opinion. *God is Iudge, he raiseth one, and casts downe another. Advancement comes not from the east nor from the west; but God doth raise up and pull downe by his wise providence:* for God that hath made the world, should not he governe the world? the eye sees not the Sunne through a thick cloude, and yet it is in heaven, notwithstanding the weaknes of our sight. That which he ignorant call for tune in diuers euents of worldly things, is a secret operation of the wisdom of God, alwaies iust, euen when it is most vnknown vnto vs: the which is no more polluted with humane passions, then the Sunne beames with the most infected carion, whereon it works by his heat, O man, distinguish the rod from the hand that rules it: do thou thy dutie, and leaue the euents to God: feare God and thou shalt haue to need to feare fortune. An assured passport not only to a void the strange alterations of Court, but al other accidents of mans life, which hath nothing constant in it, but instantaneit selfe. But euery man treads on him that falls, saith the same history. Euery man speaks un-famously of the disgraced Constable: they crie out against him, as hauing bewitched the King. Thus the afflicted is alwaies held culpable, according to the censure of this wile world, which iudgeth onely by outward circumstances. But who would beleue, that *Cliffon* and his companions (who had so great an interest in the Kings health), would make him sick?

The issue wil shew the contrarie, verifing. That as Slander is the touchstone of verue, so there is nothing more couragious then a good cause, nor more victorious then the truth. *Cliffon* shirres not all this butte, he stands vpon his gird, pourchaseth friends, and attends the time, which in the ende brought him to a safe port, as we shall see hereafter. After his condemnation, the Dukes of *Berry* & *Bourgonne* hastened nothing so much, as to aduance one to this goodly charge, whereby they might tye some great person vnto them. They offer it to the Lord of *Cossy*, who reifeth it, wherevpon *Philippe of Flanders* Earle of *Artois* is aduanced, and for a confirmation of this new league, he giueth sonne to the Duke of *Berryes* daughter.

Thus passed the beginning of this newe authoritie, when as *Charles*, by rest a good aier, the coolenes of the winter, & good vsage, began duple to recouer his health, comming first to the knowledge of such as were ordinarly about him, & of his wife, children and Brother, who parted not from his bed whilst his vncles made this goodly wake at *Paris*.

Hauing recovered his health, & *James Harfely* dismissed with an honorable reward, all *France* was reuiued with incredible ioy, to see their King as it were raised out of the graue and giuen deuotely to his praiers. But he hath a greater relap into this miserable disease by a newe accident, and this was the occasion. *Charles* returned to *Paris* to his subjects great comfort, who sought to delight him with all kinds of sports, Euery man employed his wits thereto; So as there was a new inuention of a mask, of wild men, attired in fine linnen cloth, all couered with very fine flaxe, from the foote to the head, being glued to the clothe so artificially, as if it had growne to the skyn, & that they which did weare it had bene naked. They were sixe, and the King would make the seventh, to lead the daunce, for the auoiding of al danger of fire, which might easely take the flaxe. Commandement was giuen to put out al torches; but it chanced that the Duke of *Orleans*, vnacquainted with this maske, came into the Hall, followed by his pages, who carried torches (according to the vsuall manner): euen as these Sauage men (tyed one to an other like prisoners) present themselves vnto the Companie, the King (who marched first) goes presently to the Duchesse of *Berry*: she holds him, and refuset to let him go without knowledge what hee was.

And euen then the Duke of *Orleans*, with a quicker resolucenesse answerable to his age

1394

A age and naturall wantonnes, takes a Torch and comes neere to these Sauage men, to know them by the lifting vp of their masks, when as fire takes hold of this flaxe, so suddenly as al were on a flame, not able to free themselves being all tied to one line. The violence of the fire kindled with the rozen, caused a most horrible crie, but generally all men crie out, *Sauage the King*, who they knew to be one of the Sauage me. The Duchesse of *Berry* wraps him in her gowne, being long & large after the manner of those times, and so drawing him out of the Hall, they led him into the next chamber, without any hurt to his person. But the amazement was such, by the horrible cries of these poore men which burnt in the flames, (not able to be helped well in so sodaine an outcry) as the King could not be stayed in this amazement. They lay him on his bed, but his spirits could take no rest. Thus the night passeth away, this poore Prince being much distempered in minde, and all his seruants distressed with griefe. There fell out another vnhappy accident. In the morning it was bruted through the city, that the King was dead; so as the people did run in flockes to his vncles lodgings, exclaiming against them for the ill gard they had kept of his person, whom they desire to see eyther dead or aliue: so as the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourgonne* yielding to this violence, were forced (euen when as the King began to take some rest) to raise him out of his bed, and to leade him through the City to our Ladies Church, to pacifie the peoples fury. At this returne his spirits failed him: he falls into his former phrensie, and neuer after were they settled, notwithstanding all the helps men could apply.

C He languished twenty and two yeares in this pittifull estate, and in the tediousnesse of so long an infirmity the Realme was not without languishing. Sometimes he was in good temper, (as phrensies haue their respits, and do not alwaies distemper the faculties of the minde) but still he fell, and euen when as he thought to do best, he erred most, when as he sought to retaine the authority to himselfe, and that nothing should be done but by his command. Hence sprang the horrible confusions in this raigne, for that diuers passionate men ruled his weake braine diuersely, one vndoing what another had done, couering their passions with the Kings name and authority. And al the liberty to do ill, grew from this spring. But let vs retorne to the end of our painefull web.

The Duke of *Orleans* wonderfully perplexed to haue bin cause of this scandale, excuseth himselfe presently in the hall, and to the king his Brother: but all this did not satisfie. The Duke of *Bourgonne* reprocheth him, and exceeds the censure of an vncle: for he laies hold on this occasion, to make him odious to the people, as if it had bin done of purpose to kill the King.

This Maske of burning men (which chanced in the beginning of the yeare 1394) shall burne farther, and kindle a greater fire berwixt the vncle and the Nephewe, for the space of ten yeares, vntill the death of *Philip* Duke of *Bourgonne*, leaving this hatred hereditary to his posterity. There is no meanes which the *Bourguignon* doth not attempt to wrong his Nephewe of *Orleans*. Certaine Augustin Fryars vnder take to cure the King, by incisions in his head, when by he was in great danger of his life. These counterfets were brought forth publicly in their habits, and beheaded, but the scarres of these wounds will remaine in *Lewis* his face, who recommended them vnto the King.

The women are dealers in these actions. The Duchesse of *Bourgonne* perswades Queene *Isabel*, that *Lewis* his meaning was to kill the King her husband, & his children. These impressions are confirmed by the graue and sweet dissemblinges of the duke her husband, who by degrees settled a hatred in the Queenes minde against her brother in law.

Thus this faction is much fortified by the authority of Queene *Isabel*, and by her, with her husbands name, whom she makes to speake what she pleaseth, sometimes as her will directed him, but not alwaies. Yet this weake braine is the checker of all these courtly policie, by the meanes of women, who are continually about his bedde or his chaire, to distemper his braine with variety of newes springing from their wretched passions: and this poore Prince is sometimes won, sometimes lost, and alwaies tormented with these importune discourtes.

Valentine wife to the Duke of *Orleans*, an Italian and daughter to *John Galeaz* (one of the cunning

Necessary
 obseruations
 for all men.

Philippe of Flanders
 Made Count
 ble.

Charles recou-
 uers his health

The King
 falls into a re-
 lapse by a
 strange accident

The Parisiens
 mad to see the
 King.

The Duke of
 Bourgonne
 seeks to make
 the Duke of
 Orleans odious.
 Ielousie be-
 twixt the
 Dukes of Or-
 leans & Bour-
 gonne.

1394. cunningest and most subtil witts of her time, which subtilty some held she increased by A
coniuring) would not yeeld to the brauadoes of these two Princesses: against whom she
opposed her selfe, not only by her husbands degree, but also by a poliuke courage bred
in her selfe, visiting the sicke king with such ciuill entertainment, as her greatest enemies
could not finde any honest colour to deny her the dore. So as the King did not onely
willingly see her, but did call for her, and in his greatest fits did know her onely, among
all the rest, refusing to take any thing but from the hands of his good Sister of Orleans.

The more the Kings loue kindled a ieaousie in these two Princesses her enemies, the
more it rayfed vp the mind of *Valentine*, and by hir meanes, of her husband: who reme-
bring (too hatefully) the degree wherunto he was borne, and the wrong done him in
relecting him: yet hauing neither dexterity, nor meanes to win many seruants, he gaue B
the Duke of *Bourgogne* all aduantages, being graue, cold, pleasing and modest: so as by
his wise reſer he diſolued the heate of the Duke of Orleans immoderate vehemencie,
who tying himself with the ſhew of his greatneſſe, makes it known by effects, that all the
authority was in the Duke of *Bourgogne*. for whoſoeuer had neede of any publike helpe
he muſt paſſe through his hands. & what buſines ſoeuer chanced, either within or with-
out the realme, the true rendez-uous was at his lodging. Thus the Vncle made his Ne-
phew to walke horſes (as they ſay) although he chafed and ſtamped beyond all meaſure.

These diuisions troubled the whole court, making them to neglect the affaires of ſtate:
and what can we obſerue more famous in ſo diſordered an eſtate. Al buſineſſes are done
in the Kings name, yet without the King, vnleſſe the parties would haue him to counte-
nance ſome great paſſion.

I do purpoſely omit all that which paſſed in this raigne touching the ſchiſme of the
Church, and the houſe of *Anjou* in the realmes of *Naples* and *Arragon*, not to break off
the courſe of my intent, meaning to repreſent in due place all that concernes this ſortain
hiſtory.

Richard King of *England* ſends his Ambaſſadors to *Charles*, to congratulate his reco-
uery, offering him a generall peace, and demanding his daughter in marriage. The Kings
relapſe delayed the conſolution for a time, but ſoone after, by the care of the Duke of
Bourgogne, who had a great intereſt in this alliance, by treatie of his country of *Flanders*,
it was concluded, in the yeare 1395.

Charles had ſome intermiſſions, by meanes whereof he could ride: *Richard* repaytes
to *Calais*, and *Charles* to *Ardres*, whether *Richard* came to ratiſie the peace concluded
betwix their Ambaſſadors, and to receiue his new ſpouſe. The Kings encountered one
another with loue and kindneſſe, making ſhewes of great good will: but it was a ſhort
ioy for either of them.

For as it ſeemed that the quiet of theſe two realmes had bene ſetled by this generall
peace, ſcaled by this marriage, and ſeaſoned with ſo many reciprocall ſhewes of cordial
affection betwix theſe two great Kings, behold a great combuſtion in *England*, which
intangles both theſe Kings in this common calamity.

Richard being of himſelfe effeminate, careleſſe, voluptuous and idle, grew more deli-
cate by this profound reſt built vpon the alliance of his enemy, who alone might haue
quickned him. He is alwayes with his yong wife, imbracing her, dallying with her
and attiring her, with ſuch contempt of his authority, abaiſſing himſelfe too much to his
ſubiects, ſo as he grew contemptible vnto his enemies, who preſumed to attempt againſt
his perſon. The ordinary warres of *England* againſt *France*, had cauſed many neceſſa-
ry impositions without any grudging of the ſubiects: but when as neceſſity ceaſed by
this generall peace, the people require to bee relieved: *William More* makes an oration
vnto the king in the name of all the *Engliſh* in generall, *Richard* hauing no meanes in theſe
infinite exactions to ſupply the charges of his idle & voluptuous life, condemned his ſubi-
ects requeſt: and in the ende preſſed vpon the ſame matter by the Duke of *Gloceſter* &c.
the Earle of *Arondel*, in the name of them all, he puts them vniuſtly to death. The *Engliſh*
madde with rage for the death of their deputies, ſiege ſuch remedies as deſpaire giues
to neceſſitie. From this general diſcontent ſprong a ſtrange Tragedie againſt *Richard*,
for

Richard King
of *England*
marrieth with
Iſabell of
France.

A for the *Engliſh* ſeeing themſelues thus deſpiſed by their King, they caſt their eyes vpon
Henry of *Lancaster* his couſine: and hauing called a Parliament, they put *Richard* into
prison, and crowne *Henry* of *Lancaster* in his place; *Richard* being forced in open al-
ſembly to reſigne the Crowne, and to condemne himſelfe to perpetuall priſon, as ha-
uing abuſed his royall authoritie and his ſubiects. But this tragicke change concernes
the Hiſtorie of *England*. This may brieflie ſuffice for ours, in the conference of our
eſtate with theirs.

Charles did greatly grieue at this deiection of *Richard* his ſonne in lawe, from
whom he expected great loue and quiet for his ſubiects. But who ſeeth not the vani-
tie of this world, both in great and ſmall, to feare a ſhower euen when the Sunne is
hottest: Hee ſends for *Iſabell* his daughter of twelue yeares old, whom *Richard* had
not yet toucht, being content to behold her (like a puppet) vntill ſhe came to age, ſa-
tisfying his humor by ſome other wayes, howſoeuer it were, it proued to the diſlike
of his ſubiects, and ſcorne of neighbour nations.

Iſabell being returned to her father, ſhalbe married to *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, ſonne
to this *Lewis* who is now in quarter, and from her ſhall ſpring a goodly plant, which in
the end ſhall giue vs many Kings in their order, to preſerue this Monarchie.

But as if *France* had bene the ſtore-houſe, or rather the common Sanctuarie of all
Chriſtendome, to whom the afflicted Chriſtians might repaire in their greateſt extre-
mities. It happened in thoſe dayes, that *Sigifmond* King of *Hongarie* intreated *Charles*
to ſuccour him againſt the *Turke*, the common enemy to the Chriſtian name, who got
 footing in the Empire of the Eaſt. For, the ſchiſme in the Church, the conſuſion of the
Empire, and the dayly warres betwix *France* and *England*, had ſo mortified all Chriſti-
ans zeale, from all care to ſupport the affaires of the Eaſt, againſt the *Turkes* our ſwoine
enemies, as the way was made eaſie for the planting of themſelues there to our ruine.
But all the fault was not in the Weſterne Prouinces: the Chriſtians of the Eaſt were
in horrible conſuſions, and euen at *Conſtantinople*, whereas the *Paleologues* had in ſome
ſort maintained the name of the Empire of the Eaſt, ſince the bad gouernment of our
French.

All the Lords of *Greece*, vaſſalles to the Empire, ioyning with the *Deſpote* of *Bul-
D* *garia*, againſt the Emperour, did ſtrive to ruine one another. This ciuill warre drew the
Turke out of *Aſia* (where he was yet confined) into *Europe*, ouerthrew all the reſt of
the Empire, and in the end ſhalburie the whole body of this great eſtate, with the Chri-
ſtian name, in the ignominie of our diſordered paſſions, as in a common ſepulchre. It
ſufficeth to note the motiue of this war, which was to expell *Baiazet* (of the race of the
Otomanes, who yet hold the Empire of the Eaſt) being called in by *Iohn Paleolog* Empe-
ror: but ſeeing ſo mighty an enemy entred within his dominions, vnder a colour to ſuc-
cure him, he ſought to be freed from him by meanes of Chriſtian Princes his friends.
The neceſſity was *Sigifmond* King of *Hongarie*, who had reaſon himſelfe to feare this
ouerflowing deluge, the which in the end hath ouer-runne *Hongarie*, being at this day
E for the moſt part vnder the *Turkes* tyrannic. But the cunct was not anſwerable to his
deſeigne.

Charles being ſolicited for ſuccours, granted them, as freely as his infirmities would
ſuffer. But the Duke of *Bourgogne* made the prouiſion: the charge of the armie was
giuen to his ſonne *Iohn* Earle of *Neuers*, being two and twentie yeares olde, and mar-
ried to the daughter of *Albert* of *Bauiere*, Earle of *Hainault*, *Holland* and *Zeland*, by
whom he had then one ſonne, who ſhall ſucceed him.

The armie was goodly, beautified with the preſence of many great perſonages, as
Philip of *Eu* Conſtable of *France*, the Earles of *La Marke*, *Saint Pol*, and *Bur*, the Lords paſſe into
of *Coſſy*, *Tremouille*, *Yienne*, *Bouciquault*, *Roye*, *Monterel*, *S. Py*, & *Breſay*, to the number
F of a thouſand Knights and Squiers.

Being ioyned to *Sigifmonds* armie, which conſiſted of many *Hongariens*, *Bohemians*,
and *Germanes*, they deſired at any hand to haue the vangard, & to march in the face of
an yknowne enemy, of whoſe diſcipline they were ignorant: and to make prooſe
of

Richard King
of *England*
put from the
Crowne.

The King of
Hongarie
craves ſuccours
of *Charles*.

The *French*
paſſe into
Hongarie.

1395.

The French
decried in
Hungarie.

of their valour. Against the aduise of *Sigismond*, they cast themselves desperately into the midst of the Turkes auantcoursers, all the Christian armie being too farre behind to second them. But it chanced, that *Baiazet* (followed by a farre greater troupe then theirs) compassed them in easilie as with a Net, so as after they had fought valiantly, and made a great slaughter of Turkes, not able to withstand so great a force, they were all cut in peeces, or taken prisoners. *John of Bourgogne*, and all the aboue named Lords, were either slaine or taken, not one escaped the sword or slaueerie.

Baiazet moued with the great losse of his men, would haue slaine all the prisoners: but the greedie desire of ranfome was helpfull to some few of the Noblemen. The historie of *Cermanie* notes but fiew, all the rest were murdered after their taking, by the commandement, and in the presence of this *Barbarian*, who hauing resolved to kill *John of Bourgogne* as the head of the armie, was dissuaded by an olde Turke a *Nemro- mar-tien*, who sayd vnto him; *Preferue this young man, who shall kill more Christians then thine armie*. A Prince borne to the spoile and ruine of his countrie, whereof he shall be shortly a more cruell scourge then the Turkes. They spared him, but he spared not the bloud of his cousine germaine, to defile his incestuous hands, and to prophane the bosome of *France*, which had so greatly honoured him.

Engerrand of Couffy, a great man in his time, dyed in prison, and *Philip of Eu* Constable of *France*, (by whose death the Earle of *Sancerre* was aduanced to this great dignity,) but after him there shall be other Constables in this confused raigne.

This defeat chanced in the yeare 1396. before *Nicopolis* a Citie in *Misia*, neere to the which *Traian* vanquished the *Danes*. This victory of the Turkes had proceeded farther, by the terror it gaue to those countries: but God gaue those Christians some time of breathing before the last stroke, the which came but too soone for the scornes of God: yet after this ouerthrow, as *Baiazet* prepared to pursue his victorie against the Christians, *Tamberlan*, another scourge of mankind, ouerflowing *Asia* like a great deluge, ouerthrew him, and tooke him prisoner, and so God stayed the *Ottomans* force for that time. But the Christians malice (abusing the patience of God) prouoked his wrath, which being iustly kindled against them, he suffered the Turkes to take *Constantinople*, the capitall Citie of the Easterne Empire, as we shall see else where: but let vs returne to *France*.

Charles had some truce with his infirmities, who notwithstanding this indisposition of his body, was in reasonable good health of his body, so as he had children during this time. Before his sicknesse he had *Isabell* (of whom we haue made mention) and *Louis* the Dauphin Duke of *Guienne*. But *John* Duke of *Touraine*, & *Charles* Earle of *Ponthieu*, *Michelle*, *Marie* and *Marguerite*, two sonnes, and three daughters (a goodly issue to keepe the Crowne from being an Orpheline) were borne to him by *Isabell* of *Bauerie*, during the weakenesse of his spirit.

And much happinesse befell him. After the taking of *Baiazet*, and the returne of *John* of *Bourgogne* into *France*, hauing payed his ranfome: the Lord of *Bouciquault*, (being sent to *Genes*, to receiue it to the Kings obedience, to whom they had willingly giuen themselves) he made a voyage to *Constantinople* with a new armie, more happy then the first, seeing the Citie, and returning victorious into *Italie*.

Mil. belonging to *Valentine*, by the decease of *John Galeaz* her father, had bene surprised by *Francis Sforce*, but at the returne of the Marshall *Bouciquault*, it yeilded to the French obedience, and so did *Plaisance* and *Pavia*, cities in *Lombardie*. But these conquests continued not long with them, no more then the rest of *Italie*, by the farall influence which hath alwayes made it a Sepulcher for the French: so as this suddaine yeelding of those *Italian* Cities to the French obedience, was like vnto a fire of Strawe.

Verdun being ill intreated by the Duke of *Lorraine* (although it were an Imperiall Towne) cast it selfe into *Charles* his protection.

Charles, the sonne of *Charles of Nauarre*, rightly marked with the name of bad, made great instance for his Seigneuries of *Eureux*, *Cherbourg*, and other lands in *Normandie*,

Normandie, the which *Charles*, 5. had taken from his father, who resigned his interest by an agreement made with him, for two hundred thousand franks that were giuen him, and the Seignurie of *Nemours*, then made a Duchie vpon that occasion.

But in these happy euents the ialousie betwixt the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourgogne* continued and encreased hourly, through the violent practises of their *Prospiters*, of whom we haue made mention: who failed not to bring fuell to this fire, not only making coales to scorche one another, but also a burning flame to fire both their houses & the whole realme. The occasion and meanes was very strange. *Valentine* Duchesse of *Orleans* (whome King *Charles* did know and loue during the sharpest fits of his infirmities, even when as he knewe not his owne wife *Isabel*) being in the Kings chamber, (whether she had brought her little sonne to play with the Kings children) she cast a faire apple, after the which the children did runne: but *Valentines* sonne caught it, and hauing eaten it, fell presently sicke, and within few daies after died. There vpon they concluded directly, that this child died of poyson, prepared for the Kings sonne: which confirmed the old opinion, That the King had bene bewitched by her: so as all respect laide aside, they cried out against her, as against a rauening wolfe. There was no other talke in Court, *Paris*, and through all the Prouinces of *France*.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* seemed very busie, & sent al complaints to the Kings Council, who decreed, That, to avoid a greater scandale, *Valentine* should retire from Court: the which she did to the Castell of *Asniere*, vpon the waie from *Paris* to *Beauvais*: the Duke of *Orleans* disdayning it much, who must needs be toucht with this ignominie, and the peoples hatred encreasing mightily against him by this new accident.

Whilest this home-bred hatred continued in Court, betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew: the Constable *Cliffon* fortified himselfe in *Brittaine*, both with friends and means, hauing by his dexteritie gained the greatest Noblemen of the Countrie: by whose meanes he made a profitable peace for himselfe with *John* of *Montfort* Duke of *Brittaine*, to whom he had bene a capitall enemy. The manner of this vnlooked for reconciliation is worthy of memory, to giue after ages the subiect of a notable iudgment in so famous an example: The Duke prickt in conscience, and moued by necessity, hauing banded all his subiects against him, seeing apparently the notable wrong he had done to the Constable *Cliffon*, he resolved to be reconciled vnto him, and to winne his loue.

But foreseeing, that hauing so often deceyued him, he would no more trust him but vpon good assurance, he resolves to secure him by an extraordinarie means, sending him his eldest sonne as a pledge of his faith. The Constable seeing himselfe possessed of this younge Prince, without any other securitie then his fathers letters, stands amazed at so vnexpected a prooffe of the Dukes loue, and resolves to haue his reuenge by a curtesie not only strange, but lesse expected, for although he had all the reason in the world to distrust the duke, who had deteyned him prisoner vnder colour of a banquet, and had sought all meanes to ruine him: yet taking a newe aduise vpon this new occasion, he parts from his house, and bringing backe this yong man to his father, puts himselfe into his power. The Duke more amazed at this strange confidence of the Constable, so changed his mind, as after that time he became his most affectionate friend, hauing built a firme friendship vpon this foundation, the which continued betwixt them the rest of their daies, to the mutuall content of either, and the profitable quiet of their subiects, vntill, That Curtesie is a wise and happy Councillor of State: teaching great men, That patience triumphes in a good cause; and that we must hate as if we should loue, even in the greatest heat of passionate quarrells, being well said by the Ancients, That Hatred must be mortall, and loue immortall.

The hatred betwixt the vncle and the Nephew ended not so quietly. The Duke of *Orleans* hauing receiued this disgrace in the person of his wife *Valentine*, growing very impatient, redoubles his complaints with great vehemency, saying, that it was no longer time now to obiecte his age, against the degree where vnto both nature and the fundamentall law of State had openly called him, seeing it was now ten yeares since this borrowed authority of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, had giuen him respite to be of age to enjoy his right:

Hh

the

The hatred
betwixt the
houses of
Orleans and
Bourgogne
increasedValentine
Duchesse of
Orleans
should retire
from CourtThe Duke of
Brittaine
conceales him-
selfe to the
after an extra-
ordinarie man-
ner.The Duke of
Brittaine and
the Constable
were reconciledDeadly ha-
tred betwixt
the vncle and
the Nephew

1399. the which they could not take from him without prejudice to the Crowne. that it is a visible usurpation, being no longer able to disguise his grosse practises. The Duke of *Bourgogne* did frustrate these complaints by his coldesse and authority: but the Duke of *Orleans* grew more vehement, falling from words to deedes: and hauing had conference with the Duke of *Guedres*, he raised a good number of men at armes by his meanes, and lodgeth them about *Paris*, where he enters with the said Duke, hauing aduertised no man thereof, but onely the King, who fauoured his brother exceedingly, when he came to his right sense. The Duke of *Berry* made shew to be a neuter: but seeing the Duke of *Bourgogne* to usurpe all to himselfe, tyred with his ambitious dissimulation, he inclined more to the Duke of *Orleans* his nephew, although in shew hee laboured to reconcile them. The Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Anjou* Princes of the blood were of the like humor. The Kings counsell labours by all meanes to ende this quarrell betwix these Princes, disallowing the gouernement of any one in particular, and confirming a command of all the princes together, supporting it by alliances: for, *Charles* the eldest sonne of *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, married *Isabel* of *France*, the eldest daughter to our King *Charles* the 6. *Lewis* the Kings eldest sonne, Duke of *Guienne* and *Daulphin* of *Viennois*, was betrothed to *Katherine* of *Bourgogne*, daughter to *John* Earle of *Nenvers*, sonne to *Philip*. To *John* the Kings second sonne, Duke of *Touraine*, *Jacqueline* is promised, the onely daughter of *William* of *Bauiere*, Earle of *Hainault* and so his heire. To *Philip* of *Bourgogne*, son to the aboue named *John*, *Michelle* the Kings second daughter is promised: for these marriages were all but future promises, by reason of the yong age of the parties.

The Council
seekes to re-
concile the
princes by
alliances.

This was to ingage the faith to come, and now present to satisfie the discontented. Queene *Isabel* was double pleased, both in her children and her race, which by this meanes was transplanted into the royall blood of *France*, by her cousine, who also carried the name of *Bauiere*. But what? as ambition cannot be tamed, so in all these marriages, there was more alliance then friendship, and more dissembling then truth. God must needs reconcile them at the last by a stronger conclusion.



Philip Duke of Bourgogne dies, leaving his sonne John the heire

of his passions, against *Lewis* Duke of
Orleans, in the year 1404.

The beginning of the ciuill wars.



Thus *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, raised vp with a new hope to maintaine himselfe against his enimie *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, as well by the cement of this alliance, as by the increase of power which his sonne *John* brought him, (being his right arme, the true Image of his great and haughty courage, and a new firebrand of his ambition) dies at this time, when as hee dreamt least thereof: for he died at *Hal*, going to visit his Townes in *Flanders*, and to crosse the practises of the Duke of *Geldres*, who was a principall support to the Duke of *Orleans*. *Marguerit* his wife (a companion in his ambition) did not suruiue him a whole yeare, who fearing to finde her husband too farre indebted, renounced his moueable goods, laying downe her purse and girdle

A girdle upon the place appointed, according to the vsuall custome, and so required an act from a publike notary. Griefe for her husband did not hasten her death, seeing that she feared her liuing should faile after him. *John* of *Montfort* Duke of *Brittaine* (who had kept such a stir upon the Theater) died 4. yeares before him, yet more wife & happy in one thing, hauing mortified the hatred he bare to the Constable *Cliffon* before his death. So death doth sodainly stay mens desseines, which else sie most violently. How wretched are we to be thus blinde, in these goodly examples. But let vs returne to our discourse.

Philip of Bour-
gogne & his
wife die.
Duke of Brit-
taine dies.

Philip left three sonnes, *John*, *Anthonie* and *Philip*; but *John* Earle of *Nenvers*, his eldest sonne succeeded him in his great *Seignuries* of *Bourgogne* and *Flanders*; and the chiefe heire of his hatred and other vices. He was equall to him in ambition, malice, B dissembling, & policy: but herein he did surmount him, That his father *Philip* hauing for the space of ten or eleuen yeares, crossed the desseines of *Lewis* his Nephew, yet he carried himselfe with such a cunning temper, as holding the helme and making him to carry the bable, he made his vnlawfull gouernement supportable by his modesty, & reasonably by the order which had confirmed him in this authority. But *John* continues his practises with such violent fury, as within three yeares (hauing giuen the Duke of *Orleans* a thousand crosses, and plunged *France* in a ciuill war) he murders his cousin germane most cruelly, defiles his country and his blood, and continues his furious desseine with so great presumption, as countenancing this murder with a free confession, & seeking to maintaine it by reason, he omitted no kind of mischief, but brought C in all disordered confusions, as if *France* had bene the Rendezvous of al villanie & impiety. A text, the comentary whereof may be read at large in the following discourse. Behold the beginning of a ciuill war among the *French*, both long and furious, bredde by the ill counsell of the princes of the blood, abusing their authority. A historie the more worthy the noting, for that it serues vs to marke the fits and accidents of diseases wherewith wee haue bene afflicted, to applie the vse thereof to our owne experience.

After the death of *Philip*, all the gouernement of publike affaires was without all controuersie deliuered into the hands of the Duke of *Orleans*. The King loued his onely D Brother deere, and desired to grace him what he could. The Queene (to please her husband) made shew to reioyce thereat, hauing no more a Duchesse of *Bourgogne* to incense her: reason gaue him this preheminance, and the *French* obeyed him willingly, as the lawfull gardian of the *French* Monarchie. All things fauoured this yong prince, if he had not failed himselfe: but this choler hatched in his brest, hauing for so long a time swallowed vp so many indignities, the immoderate heat of command, so much desired, and the ambition and couetousnesse of his wife *Valentine*; all these plucked from him the fruit of these fauourable occasions to settle his greatnesse, and gaue his enemy meanes to ruine him. These errors were accompanied with indiscretion, which commonly shakes the miserable. The Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, his vncles, had fauoured him much, during the *Bourguignons* raigne. and their age had greatly countenanced his authority, if he could haue vsed them rightly. But this yong Prince was so pleased with the sweet of command, as he was loath to impart it to any: the which must needs discontent them, although (being wife) they dissembled it, yet this dislike encouraged the *Bourguignon* his enemy to attempt against him.

The Duke of
Orleans adu-
anced to the go-
uernement.

The Duke in-
discreet in his
gouernement.

The couetousnesse of *Valentine* prepared the way to these disorders. *Lewis* was desirous to purchase the Duchie of *Luxembourg*: his wife urged him therunto hourly: wishing him to deuise some meanes to make the King to paye for it. Vpon this aduice *Lewis* propounds in counsell, that for the Kings important affaires there must be a taxation made. There neuer wants some pretext to colour these exacti- F ons: but in effect it was for this purchase. *John* duke of *Bourgogne* opposeth for the good of the common weale. On the one side it was a goodly meanes to shew both his loue to the people, and his zeale to the kings seruice, and on the other, a reasonable subiect to make the Duke of *Orleans* odious. Yet this proposition passed in counsell

Hh 2

through

1405
The Duke of
Orleans grows
odious to the
Parisians, by
reason of an
imposition.

through the absolute authority of the Duke of Orleans. The *Bourguignon* imbraceeth A this occasion, & flatters the *Parisians*, to joyn their forces, & to oppose the against his enemy, who could not be more odious then in this cause. And euen then they greue into such dislike of him, as they could neuer love him. This was spread throughout the Realme, and the Duke of *Bourgonne* hauing protested that this charge was imposed vpon the subjects against his consent, laying a good foundation of firme correspondence with the *Parisians*, heretures into *Flanders*, to take possession of his mother *Marguerite* inheritance and credit with that rich people, but in effect it was to build vpon the hereditary hatred he had against his cousin and capitall enemy.

To omit nothing that might auale him against the Duke of Orleans, being at *Brussels* hee sends his Ambassadors to King *Charles*, beseeching him, with all affection to confirmate the marriage betwixt *Lewis* his eldest sonne, Duke of *Guienne* & *Daulphin* of *Viennne*, & *Katherine* of *Bourgonne* his daughter. *Charles* thought it fit to content his cousin *John* vpon this demand: but his brother *Lewis* crossed this marriage, as prejudicial to the house of *France*, being already weakened by the uniting of *Bourgonne* to *Flanders*, the which would be much more fortified by this alliance with the Kings sonne. *John* Ambassadors (after long delays) returne home without any effect, making their matter acquainted with the cold proceedings of the Court, the which required his presence. In the end, he resolves to go in person, to sollicite a matter of so great importance. But being ready to march, behold the King of *England* sends an armie into *Flanders*, to besiege *Seluse*, which make him yeele to necessity, & to demand succours C of the King, as his tennement against the common enemy of the State, staying himselfe in *Flanders*, to prevent the enterprises of the *English*. *Lewis* of Orleans, pretending a truce betwixt *France* and *England*, causeth succours to be denied him: as if they should deaue a warre vpon *France*, being already tired with so great and long troubles. *John* held himselfe much wronged by this denial, & to haue the better meanes to returne to *Paris*, he compounds with the *English*, being desirous to make it knowne, that hee would oppose himselfe against the Duke of Orleans designs, taking hold of the occasion which he himselfe offered him to his great prejudice.

The imposition was leuied by the Duke of Orleans his commande, and commissions were brought into *Flanders*. At *Paris* it was exacted with all rigour: but *John* D commands his subjects of *Flanders* not to pay it, and goes well accompanied to *Paris* to assist the people, who greatly d'scontented with this burthen, durst not yett vnder their griefe, expecting the countenance of a greater commander. The *Parisians* incited against *Lewis* of Orleans, solcite *John* of *Bourgonne* to come to *Paris*, being resolved to employ all their means in the defence of this cause, which they held to be very important for their reliefe. *John* desired nothing more: for as redoubtling his courage at these calls, he goes in haste to *Paris*, & sties at *Louure* in *Paris*, gaung the *Parisians* notice to come vnto him. The King remained at *Paris*, as he was accusomed, the queene & *Lewis* of Orleans (hauing discovered the Duke of *Bourgonne* intent, & fearing least (being the stronger, & hauing the *Parisians* at his deuotion) he should force the king to marry the *Daulphin* *Lewis*, made sure to his daughter: they thought it best to conuey this young prince into *Germany*, to some place of safety. And going together from *Paris* they left the *Daulphin* with *Lewis* of *Baure* his vncle by the mothers side) who should conduct him secretly in a litter to *Corbeil*, where a goodly troupe attended him. The *Bourguignons* followers giue him present intelligence of their departure. *John* follows to speedily as he can, takes the *Daulphin* *Lewis* at *Vlinisue*, conducted in a litter by *Lewis* of *Baure* his vncle, & brings him back gently to *Paris*, where they receiue the Duke of *Bourgonne* with great ioy, and are glad of the *Daulphins* returne, going to meete them in great pompe, as at a ioyfull triumph. *John* being come to *Paris*, hath conference with them of this faction, and findes them at his deuotion. The Prouost of Merchants, and the Vniuersity, assure him of their faithfull seruice: they intreat him to vndertake the reformation of the State, a charge which he doth willingly unbrace, as if fit maske for his ambitious humor.

The Parisians
solcite John
of Bourgonne
to come.

John of Bourgonne
leizeth on the
Daulphin person.

A He then presents a petition to the King, beseeching him to reforme the State, strangely corrupted by the ill gouernement of the treasure, whereby the subjects were oppressed with insupportable charges, and sacred iustice ill administered. the ordinary subject of the peoples complaints: but in effect it was to araigne the Duke of Orleans. The King forbore to make any answer vntill his brothers returne, being President of the counsell, and greatly interessed in this complaint: but these had bin words without effect, if force had not followed this admonition. The *Bourguignon*, had brought great troopes, vnder the conduct of *John* without pitty, Bishop of *Liege*, and the Duke of *Cleues*. The Duke of Orleans had also assembled an armie from diuers parts, by the Lord of *Uspendanne*, fortified with the forces of the Duke of *Lorraine* and the King of *Sicily*, being made ready for the voyage of *Naples*. Thus the Ile of *France* is full of souldiers of one liery, but of contrary humors, as the manner is in ciuill warres, *French* against *French*, and kinsman against kinsman, all making profession to maintaine the good of their country in ruining it.

John of *Bourgonne* in shew had the aduantage, being in the capitall City, and possessed of the peoples hearts: he had the King in his power, and (for a gage of this newe authority, which men honour like the sunne rising) the *Daulphin* of the house of *France*, whom he pretended to be his sonne in lawe. All these considerations made his heart swell, and his tongue to speake proudly. But *Lewis* Duke of Orleans founds forth the name of publike authority, which then remained in his hands, as in a sacred gird. The most passionate make a stay at the name thereof, to attend the euent of so great a quarrell. Such force hath the name of lawfull authority and order in a State, wherein it depends as on a firme foundation.

These armies thus lodged about *Paris*, the Generalls minds appeared in the deuises of their standards. In that of the Duke of Orleans was written. *Je l'enueie*, with a staffe full of knots painted in it, signifying that he would knock him on the fingers that should presume to touch his authority. In the Duke of *Bourgonne* was written in *Flemish*. *Ik houd*, that is to say, *I hold it*, with a toyers plane to make smooth the knotty staffe, & so to encounter the force that threatened him: yet these passions were suppressed by the only respect of authority, without the which all had tēded to a violent spoile. The Princes of the bloud (who were not engaged in these quarrels) labour to reconcile their cousins, seeing the Kings infirmity will not suffer him to vse his absolute authority.

Lewis of *Aniou*, King of *Naples* & *Sicile*, and *Lewis* of Orleans, were with the Queene at *Melan*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon* and the King of *Nauarre*, are at *Paris* with the King, and all the faction of *Bourgonne*. The King of *Sicile* comes to *Paris*, hee leueth the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon* vnderstand, how necessary it was to quench this fire in time. All these Princes are willing to mediate an accord, but the indiscretion of the Duke of Orleans had almost spoyled all.

At the first he grew amazed, but seeing no man to stirre, and hauing some feeling of his authority, he began to speake bigge, writing to *Paris*, and to the best Cities of the Realme, against such as had made this petition. And (contrarie to the aduise which the Princes his cousins gaue him, not to part from *Melan*) he resolves to come to *Paris*, and to oppose himselfe against the Duke of *Bourgonne*. The City and Vniuersity of *Paris* send an honorable deputation vnto him, excusing themselves, beseeching him to hearken to a good reformation: but he so checkt the deputies, as they returned ill satisfied to a people big, with a seditious humor. He shewed himselfe indifferet in two sorts: Excusing himselfe when no man accused him, which was properly to accuse himselfe, and in waking of a sleeping dog, incensing this mutinous people, who were then kept in awe by his onely authority, not daring to mutter against him but in secret.

The *Bourguignon* desired nothing more then to haue some apparent cause to drawe his people into mutinie, giuing it out openly that the Duke of Orleans came in armes to spoyle the city of *Paris*. Behold the *Parisians* are in armes, prepared both within and without, to withstand the Duke of Orleans comming: they beat downe pentiles within

1406.
Hee comes to the
King, to re-
forme the
State.

Ciuill warre
begins.

The deuises
of the standards

The Duke of
Orleans dis-
contents the
Parisians.

The Parisians
armed against
the Duke of
Orleans.

1406 within the Citie, to make the streetes more free for to cast stones. The people trowpe A with the Duke of *Bourgogne* men, and issue forth armed aboute *Montfaucon*, in view of the *Orleans*, lying in great numbers vpon the plaine.

A peace be-
twixt the
Duke of Or-
leans and
Bourgogne.

The Chancelor of *France*, accompanied with the Presidents and Councillors of the Court of Parliament, go to the Pincies, aduertising the Duke of *Orleans* of the danger of a great confusion, if he did not foresee it. Herevpon *Lewis* commands his troupes to retire, and stayes at the Castell of *Beauvillie* vpon *Marne*, to haue the better meane to heare from his Vncles, who (by the authoritie of reason and alliance, after many voyages) reconciled *Lewis* of *Orleans*, and *John* of *Bourgogne*, hauing seene and embraced one another like kinde Kinsmen, with all outward signes of perfect & cordiall loue. This was but a coloured peace, the which in the end was so heauie a B burthen to them both, as it weighed them downe: and by their owne wilfull follies, as if they willingly sought their owne ruines, verifying this assured maxime: That man hath no harme, but what he seekes himselfe; confirmed by the truth of these Oracles. *They haue no harme, but by their owne iniquitie*: and; *My people haue not obeyed my voyce*: and, *Israel woul' none of me*: ratified likewise by the experience of all men, all estates, and all age. The Duke of *Orleans* sought his owne death, in prouoking his enimie without reason: and the Duke of *Bourgogne* in murdering him, erected a scaffold to shed his owne blood.

This agreement made; *John* of *Bourgogne* informes the King and his Councell, how much it did import to take the Towne of *Calais* from the *English*, where the com- C moditie of landing, and the neerenesse of the Kings estates, gaue the common enimie great meane to molest the prouinces of *Flanders* and *Picardie*, requiring aide and succours from the King to besiege it; the which he grants. Wherevpon he with all his Cites, make great preparations to fortifie the *French* armie: the which enters into *Picardie*, attending a comendement to beleager *Calais*. The artillerie and munition was ready to go to field, through the great diligence of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, stirred vp with hope to pull this thorne out of his foote, and to free the traffike betwixt his subiects and *France*; when as suddenly the King, Letters Pattentes come to the heads of the armie, commanding gall men of warre, of what condition so euer, not to passe any farther, vpon paine of their Lues. This unexpected countermand, accused the Duke of D *Orleans* as the author thereof; and gaue occasion to all men that desired the good of *France* to detest him, as seruing his owne passions, to the preiudice of the common weale: but aboute all it gaue too important a cause of discontent to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who infinitely grieved with so inexcusable an affront, and such inhumane circumstances of a cruell indignitie (for whereto serues it to discouer in particular, the griefes of so apparant an iniurie) he resolues to haue his reuenge once for all. Thus farre the Duke of *Bourgogne* had reason to complaine of the Duke of *Orleans*, but he exceeds: from reason he flies to passion, the which is a dangerous counsellour; which presented vnto him a pernicious remedy, being then pleasing to his troubled minde, leaving him nothing but a late repentance, and his body taken in the trappe which he himselfe had made.

The Duke of
Bourgogne
resolues to
kill his cou-
sin of *Orleans*.

Thus *John* resolues to free himselfe of his Cousin the Duke of *Orleans*, who he supposed would be a perpetuall and irreconcilable enimie. The motiues of this cruell resolution, are visible by the forepassed actions. But they added ialousie herevnto, an intestine fire, which consumes him that lodgeth it in his bosome. The originall of the historie speakes nothing hereof: for this shamefull iniurie (which the wife conceale) was not spoken of by those that were chiefly interested. But the learned obserue, that the Duke of *Orleans* had vsed his cousin of *Bourgogne*s wife too familiarly, when as her husband was in the voyage of *Hongarie*. A young *Flemish* Princeesse & browne, of whom they had made a song, the which the Duke of *Orleans* caused to be put into musick, and to be sung before the ialous husband, at a banquet which he had made him, hauing the Princeesse picture in his Cabinet, and vaunting that it was the triumph of his loue. These are stabbes which pierce the hearts of generous men with an incurable wound. This

A This they set downe for one of the motiues of the *Bourguignons* hatred against his cou- 1407. sin of *Orleans*. This vanity cost *Lewis* of *Orleans* deere, being giuen exceedingly vnto women: and as it was one of the causes of his death by the iust iudgement of God, so is it considerable for being slaine by his enimie, amongst his other vices, he shall reproch him of luxury, to iustifie the murthre. But let vs obserue the sequele of this Tragedie.



Lewis Duke of Orleans is slaine by Iohn Duke

of *Bourgogne*, and in the ende Iohn makes a counterfeit peace with the children of *Lewis*, but it is the renewing of greater troubles.



John of *Bourgogne* hauing resolved to kill *Lewis* of *Orleans* his cousin *Germaine*, went to *Paris*, with so good a shew, as if he had no intent to breake the accord so solemnly made betwixt the. That which most troubled him, was to see his enemies authority confirmed by this reconciliation, hauing the absolute gouernment of the State, respected as the kings brother, and the first Prince of the blood. And (to giue him greater authoritie and power) the good King *Charles* had giuen him for a new years gift in the year 1407, the Duchie of *Guienne* for his portion, whereof the *Dauphin* then carried the title. This newe fauour and great aduancement, kindled the coale of iea- lousie in the *Bourguignons* braine, being already much transported, and holding it for certaine, that he should neuer by any ordinary course preuaile against so passionate & powerful an enimy, who as his meane did increase, so would his desire augment to raine him. He therefore thinke it conuenient to prevent him, and drawes vnto him me- ficio to audacious a murther, *Rooulet* of *Autonville* a *Norman*, an ancient seruant of his house, and discontented with the Kings brother, for that hee had taken from him the office of General of *Normandy*, and a Souldiour of *Guines* called *William Corteheuze*, with others of the same humour, to the number of eightene. This *William* had a brother called *Sas* of *Corteheuze*, a groome of the Kings chamber, who should be the instrument to draw this poore prince into the pittfall. The Queene laie then in childbed: the Duke of *Orleans* goes to visit her after supper, when as this *Sas* of *Corteheuze* goes to the Queenes chamber to tell him, that the King desired him to teapare presently vnto him for very important affaires. The Murtherers were lodged secretly in a house by the which the Duke shold passe. Being mounted vpon his melle, accompanied only with 2. Squires vpon one horse, and one that followed on foote, his pages carrying torches both before & behind him: as the horse (which carried the 2. Squiers) came before the house where this ambuscadoe lay, he began to snort & to run. The Murtherers issue forth instantly and charge the Duke: at the first they cutte off his hand which held thereines off his horse. He cries out, *I am the Duke of Orleans*, and they answer: E *It is you wee seeke for*. They double their blowes with such violence, as they beate him downe and cleaue his head, so as the braynes lay scattered vpon the pavement.

The Duke of
Orleans mur-
thered by the
Bourguignons.

The yong Squire that remained with him, runs desperatly among their weapōs, & is presently

1407. presently slaine vpon his poore maister. The pages had alreadye giuen the alarum at his lodging, and many came running to succor their Lord, whome they finde thus massacred. There was nothing to bee heard but cries and lamentations, whilest the murderers (hauing tyred a house and cast Calthrops in the streets) gette themselves into *Bourgonne* house. Thus the night passeth in miserable lamentations. *Valentine* doubles the terror of this horrible accident with fearful outcries. The Princes his Cousins runne thither to participate in this sorrow. All weepe and lament, all crye out in this mournful house. When the day appeares, they finde his hand on the one side, and his braines scattered on the other. The relicks of this head are gathered together with teares, and all is kept for an honorable funerall.

O head, howe many mischiefes attend thee? O murderers, thou shalt be murdered, B disloyall, thou shalt be disloyally slaine. I haue horror, yea I tremble to shed this blood againe by my report. The very enemies of *Lewis* were amazed at this audacious murder, foretelling the miseries that should follow. The Queene wonderfully passionate, causeth herselfe to be remooued to the Kings lodging, and doubles the guards. In the ende the King hath notice thereof, and apprehends it according to the weakenesse of his braine: but the Princes provided presently for his safetie and their owne: euey man fearing for himselfe in so strange an accident.

Such was the violent death of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, traiterously slaine at *Paris* by *John* Duke of *Bourgonne*, the 20. of Nouember in the yeare 1407. who thinking to kill his enemies, slewe himselfe, and left this blood prodigiously shed, as a mournfull Legacy to his posterity: and hoping in his ouerweening spirit, to vsurp *France* from the lawefull heires, he lost *Bourgonne* from his posterity: neyther could hee hinder his issue whome he had so treacherously murdered, from the happy enioying of the whole realme: for *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* left three Sonnes by *Valentine* the heire of *Milan*, *Charles*, *Philip* and *John*: from *Charles* the eldest (being Duke of *Orleans*), is issued directly King *Lewis*, 12. the father of the people, & of *John* Earle of *Angoulesme*, father to King *Francois*, 1. the father of the muses, who hath giuen fower Kings successiue to our monarchie. But of *John* of *Bourgonne* we can reckon but two successors, *Philip* and *Charles*. *Philip* was his sonne, who by the patience of God left *Charles* in his place: but *Charles* suffered for his grandfathers errors and his owne, for he died in blood: his pride was interred in an vknowne tombe, and *Bourgonne* was plucked from the felonious hands of this murdering race, and vnitid to the Crowne.

Nowe *John* of *Bourgonne* shall committe strange disorders during twelue yeares, from the date of this massacre, and it semes that blinde Fortune hath adorned his temples with bates and triumph, to guerdon these execrable crimes: but hee is not freed that drawes his halter after him. Hee shall soone pay both principall and interest to Gods iust iudgement, which slackes not, although it seeme slacke, but comes in due season, marching slowly: to take all excuse from the obstinate and impudent sinner, recompensing in the ende this apparent slacknesse of punishment, by the greame of eternall paine.

But let vs returne to this desolate house: *Valentine* widowe to *Lewis*, with her three sonnes, and *Isabel* of *France* the Kings eldest daughter, wife to *Charles*, the eldest sonne of *Lewis*, nowe Duke of *Orleans*, by the decease of his father, come all to our poore King *Charles*, (being sicke) to demande iustice. All cast themselves at the Kings feete, as much discomforted as themselves, for the cruell death of his onely brother, whome he had alwayes loued deerey both found and sicke. *Lewis* of *Aniou* King of *Sicily* and *Naples*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, with all the Princes of the blood, accompany them in this lamentable state, wherein *Charles* promised to giue them satisfaction.

The Kings Councell being assembled, they require an account of the Prouost, what hee had done in search of these murderers. He answers, that hauing done his duty he could not finde any thing. That there were no places vnsercht, but Princes & great mens houses, where if he might be suffred to enter, he wold do his best, to discover the

The sequele of this treacherous murder.

The issue of Lewis of Orleans.

Valentine demands iustice for the death of her husband.

A the murderers. The Princes were all in Councell, and the *Bourguignon* amongst them, all promise it freely: *John* of *Bourgonne* (guilty of the crime) holds his peace: and as they beheld one another, he riseth, and drawing the King of *Sicily* and the Duke of *Berry* apart, he confesseth, that through the deuills motion he had committed this murder. These Princes (being amazed) conceale it for that day. The next day coming to Councell, the Duke of *Berry* willed him to retyre himselfe. Thus amazed he returnes to his lodging, and presently without any staie hee flies with five more into *Flanders*, where the murderers likewise finde a sure retreat.

That conscience which at the first had terrified him, is now hardened: and that which had moued him to confesse himselfe the author of this murder, doth nowe animate B him with new motions, to become obstinate, and to maintayne by vniust force, that which he had committed by furious violence. Hauing sought the loue of all the Cities of *Flanders*, he finds them willing to support him, in right or wrong in his necessity: vpon this assistance he calls an assembly at *Gand*, to leuy those succors wherof he stood in neede.

At the newes hereof, the zeale of iustice growes cold in Court: they seeke an accord with him whome they should pursue: the King of *Sicily*, and the Duke of *Berry* go to him to *Amiens*, being prouder then if he had done a meritorious act, where making open profession of his pride, hee had placed ouer the doore of his lodging, a table wherein were painted two Lances a crosse, wherof the one had a welsteed head for the warre, C and the other a but head for the Tilt, as giuing the choise of warre and peace: publishing generally that he not onely had done the murder, but that he would and ought to do it. And to the end, he might be mad with reason, he findes Diuines in those daies that confirme him in this passion, & protest to maintaine it by the Scripture, as the sequele will pretently shew. The Princes that were sent vnto him, (not able to moue him to confesse his fault, and to humble himselfe) they command him in the Kings name not to come to *Paris*. He answers them boldly, that he would presently go, to informe the King what reason had moued him to punish the common enemy of *France*.

And hauing reuiued his practises at *Paris*, by meanes of his intelligences, he gathers together a great army, and accompanied with his two Brethren and the Dukes of *Lorraine* & *Cleues*, he comes to *S. Denis* & lodgeth his troupes about this great City, who willingly stretch forth their hands vnto him, as to their redemer, who should purchase them perpetuall rest. The Princes go vnto him, & intreat him in the Kings name, not to enter into *Paris*, but with his ordinary traine of 2000. men. *John* makes them answer: That for the surety of his person, he could do no lesse then to go well accompanied: & the next day he arriues at *Paris* withall his troupes, being receiued by the *Parisians* with cries of ioy, as a new Monarke. He fortifies himselfe in *Bourgonne* house, where hee is visited by the whole body of the City and the vniuersity, who seeke to support this execrable murder. The next day the game is played with a strange praeludium. *John* Petit, a doctor of diuinity, maintayned (with wonderful impudencie,) that the Duke of *Bourgonne* had caused the Duke of *Orleans* his Cousin to be worthily slaine, by reason of many notable crimes, wherof he doth accuse him. The Originall of the history doth set downe these detestable phrenesies, to shewe how much disorder preuailes in an estate without a head. The Councell of *Constans* shall condemne this Impostor, being accused by the Colledge of *Sorbonne*, who shall disauowe this mercenary man, after the death of the Duke of *Bourgonne*.

The issue was answerable to his speech. The King being sick in minde, and the Princes fainting, *John* of *Bourgonne* is absolved of the murder committed on the person of his Cousin germaine. The King (to couer this bad act) declares by his letters patentes. That in case he died hee would that *Lewis* his eldest sonne, Dauphin of *Viennois*, should haue the gouernment of the realme, & after him *John* & *Charles* his younger sons, one after another, without any Regent. But the *Bourguignon* was ignorant, that this decree gaue him authority that should punish him: being also aduised (for some speciall considerations) not

1407.

John of Bourgonne comes armed to Paris contrary to the Kings pleasure.

John of Bourgonne comes armed to Paris contrary to the Kings pleasure.

He fortifies himselfe with all his troupes.

And offers to holpe the murder by armes.

John of Bourgonne comes armed to Paris contrary to the Kings pleasure.

John of Bourgonne comes armed to Paris contrary to the Kings pleasure.

1409

not to deale any more with the affaires of France, but with his owne. So he retires in-
to Flanders, not daring to attempt any thing, being thus iustified and absolved.

This insolvency, accompaigned with some indignities against the Kings maiestie, dis-
pleased the whole Court: and not iustifiable by the *Bourguignon* faction, it caused *Valen-
tine* and her Children to renew their complaynts to the Kings Council, who stoutly
made a decree against *John Duke of Bourgogne*, for satisfaction of the murder com-
mitted by him on the person of the Duke of Orleans. But what auails it to report that
which tooke no effect, but only to proue, That when lawfull authority is suppressed, ius-
tice is of no force, and the stronger treads vnder foote the right of the weaker. As it proued
in this ridiculous & imaginary sentence, giuen in fauour of the Children of Orleans a-
gainst the muttherer of their father: for it was scarce recorded for the benefit of the in-
teressed, when as newes came of the victorie which *John of Bourgogne* had gotten a-
gainst them of *Liege*, in fauour of *John of Baviere* surnamed without-pittie, their Bishop.
This did quite change all their thoughts, countenances and words in Court; al Com-
missions for the leauing of soldiars, for the executiō of this decree, by force are reuoked.
There is no talke, but howe to warrant the King and Daulphin from the *Bourguignon*,
who without doubt would (according to his humor, bring his victorious army to Paris,
dissuall the decree vpon their heads that should mayntaine it. So as the Daulphin with
the Dukes of Berry, and *Bourbon* conduct the King to *Tours* for his better safety,
being vnwilling to leaue him in the *Parisens* power, who were affected partakers
of the *Bourguignon*.

The *Parisens* are wonderfully discontented at this departure: they arme, drawe
their cheynes, as in a time of war: and call in the *Bourguignon*: assuring him of their
hearts and meanes. He comes speedily with a great army, and staies at *S. Denis*, countra-
rie to the *Parisens* expectation, who thought, he would haue kept more stire, hauing
so great forces. But he wisely weighing the vanity of popular tumults, resolues to huf-
band this occasion, and to make his peace with the King and the house of Orleans, ha-
uing so great an aduantage ouer them, to ratifie the abolition which he had obtained,
against all euents. He then sends his Ambassadors to King Charles to *Tours*, *William*
Duke of *Baviere*, the Lords of *Saint George*, *Croy*, *Viesuille* & *Dolehaing*, to treat a peace
with him and the children of Orleans, making great shewes of humility and loue.

This new course moued the King, and Princes, the which they expected not from
the Duke of *Bourgogne*, being so late a Conqueror: so as they easily yeeld to an agree-
ment, vpon conditions: but stil to the prejudice of the poore widowe and afflicted or-
phans. In this confusion *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans (seeing her paines lost in the
pursuite of so iust a cause) dies for thought within fewe dayes after: leauing great
trouble and fewe friends to her Children, and great ioy to the *Bourguignon*, seeing his
cause wonne by the death of this courageous woman, who onely might oppose her
selfe.

The King comes to *Chartres*, to solemnize this peace: hee sends for Charles Duke of
Orleans and his bretheren, and for *John Duke of Bourgogne*, and al appeere at a prefixed
day. A scaffold is made, where the King sits in his seate of Iustice, enuironed with the
Princes of his blood, in great state. *John Duke of Bourgogne* (approching neere the
King) kneeles downe with *Dolehaing* his aduocate, who speaketh thus, *Liege Lord*, behold
the Duke of *Bourgogne*, your seruant and Cousin, is come vnto you, for that he under-
stands you are much offended with him, for the deed done and committed on the person of my
Lord the Duke of Orleans your brother, for the good of the realme and of your person, as hee re-
die to let you vnderstand when soeuer it shall please you, & therefore my Lord, he doth humbly
beseech you, that it would please you, to forget the wrath and indignation you haue conceived a-
gainst him, and receiue him into fauour.

After these wordes, the King commanded the Duke to retyre himselfe: which done,
the Queene, the Daulphin the Kings of *Sicile* and *Nauarre* & the Duke of *Berry* fall on
their knees before the King, & the Queene sayed, Dread Lord we beseech you to grant the
request of your Cousin the Duke of *Bourgogne*. The King answered, We will and

A frivolous
decree against
the *Bourguig-
non* for the
murder.

The King
forsakes Paris.

Valentine
Duchesse of
Orleans dies
for griefe.

A counterfeit
peace betwixt
John and the
Duke of O-
leans children.

A do grant it for your sakes. The Duke of *Bourgogne* being called againe, kneeles before
the King, who saies vnto him, *Faire Cousin* we grant your request, and pardon you all.

The Duke hauing thanked the King, tieth. Behind the Kings chaire stood Charles of
Orleans with his Brethren weeping bitterly. The Duke of *Bourgogne* goes vnto them
accompanied with his Aduocate, and hauing saluted them with a very humble coun-
tenance, the Aduocate spake thus vnto them *My Lords the Duke of Bourgogne here pre-
sents intreats you, to put out of your remembrance that hatred which you may haue against him, for
the outrage committed on the person of my Lord of Orleans your father, and that here after
you will remaine good Kinsmen and louing friends.* The Duke added: *And hereof I pray you.*
But they answered nothing. Then the King said vnto them, *My fayre Cousins, I will haue
it so.* And they answered, *Liege Lord seeing it pleaseth you to command vs, we yeeld thereto. for
we will not disobey your commandements in any thing.* The Duke accepted it, thanking the
king and his Cousins of Orleans. Then the Cardinall of *Barr* brought the holy testa-
ment, whereon both parties did sweare a peace, neuer to remember what was past, and
to hold a perpetuall League of friendship. And the King said, *We will that hereafter
you line like good Kinsmen and friends together, and we straightly charge you, not to wrong one
another, nor any other person that hath fauored you: neither shew any malice or hatred, vnto
them as you tender our displeasure, except such as committed the said murder, whom we banish
our realme for ever.* There are the very words faithfully out of the Originall of that age.
This happened the 9. of March. 1409.

C Then followed nothing but marriages: the Duke of *Bourgogne* married his two bre-
thren, *Philippe* Earle of *Neuers* with the heire of *Couffy*, and *Anthony* Duke of *Brabant*
with the heire of *Luxembourg*. He is greatly in credit both with the King and Queene:
his waye seemed greater then his masters. The bounty of his Kitchen drawes men
from all parts: but he had not made his peace with God, neither in his heart with
thiele poore orphelins, destitute both of friends and means: at whose coste this peace
was made, the which was but counterfait and continued not long.



John Duke of Bourgogne governing all in the Kings name and the Daulphines. The faction

of Orleans opposeth. The ciuill warres renewe, ended with
a peace and the newe authority of this Daul-
phin, who disposseseth the *Bour-
guignon* and restores them
of Orleans.

From the yeare 1409. to the yeare, 1413.



After this accord the Court takes a newe forme. Queene *Isibell*
thinks no more of her poore Nephewes of Orleans, thees is
wholy the Duke of *Bourgogne*. The Duke of *Berry* follows
the same traine. For prooffe of a cordial friendship, the Queene
doth openly fauour the marriage so long promised, of *Lewis*
the Daulphin her eldest sonne, with *Katherine* daughter to the
Duke of *Bourgogne*, which marriage was solemnised. Nowe
John of Bourgogne is father-in-law to the Daulphin: it is he which
gouerns both his heart and house. Morcouer Charles, King of *Nauarre*, *Lewis* duke of
Baviere, the dukes of *Lorraine*, *Brittaine*, *Bar*, *Alençon*, *Cleues*, *Vaudemont*, and
after

John gouernes
the court.
The Daulphin
marrieth the
the duke of
Bourgogne
daughter.

1409. (after their example) the greatest Noblemen in Court, are all on his side. There is nothing but feasting in his house, all joy, whilst the Orphans of *Orleans* weep. *Paris* honours him as their protector, and trusts none but him: and *John* doth affect nothing more carefully with the King and *Dauphin*, then the love of the people. He doth all he can to please them. The chiefe subject of his discourse, is to reforme the State, to seeme thereby more affectionate to the common weale. In a solemne feast, (where al the court was present) he gaue to his friends, in stead of a banquet, plomers of gold and silver, shewing by this figure, that his desire was to rule the State well: and to shewe the effect of his words he procured this notable occasion.

All men cried out of the Treasurers, as horseleeches of the common treasure, & the chiefe causes of bad husbandry, whereby the King and people were so much impoverished. We haue made mention before of one of the Kings chiefe mignons called *Montagu*, who had too soone fled the storme: beeing returned he growes in greater credit with the King then before, who gues him the office of Lord Steward, and marries his eldest sonneto the sister of the Lord of *Albert*, his Constable, although *Montagu* were but of a meane calling. The shew of his trayne exceeded Princes houses, and made him odious to all in generall, so as they accused him to haue robbed his Prince and the publike Treasure.

The *Bourguignon* begins with him, in the reformation of the State. The Princes of the bloud were easily drawne to allow of his proceeding: so as *Montagu* as taken, examined, condemned & speedily beheaded. Whether this were done by commissioners, or iudicially (as it was said to be iustified after his death) it is not certaine. This is a good lesson for meane men, that growe rich by the publike treasure, not to abuse their wealth by excessive pompe: to keepe their credit in Court, and to flie the fury of great men, vnder his protection that hath power of life and death, arming themselves with a good conscience and vnreproueable in their charges.

But the *Bourguignon* had a farther reach then *Montagu*: for vnder colour of the publike good, he reuenged himselfe of him who else might haue crost his desseines. His meaning was not to reforme the State, but to gouerne it absolutely. Thus he seeks to vsurpe all: and in the ruine of *Montagu*, he will haue all men knowe that he hath power to hurt and helpe. This first insolencie furthered his enemies, beeing in manner forsaken of all men, euen of their owne bloud. For *John Duke of Berry* (carried away with the vent of this newe fauour) had subiected himselfe to the *Bourguignon*. But finding himselfe contemned by him, who tooke all to himselfe, and reiected such as had serued him to rise, *John* resolues to ioyne with the house of *Orleans*, and to oppose themselves against the Duke of *Bourgonne*s greatnesse.

This is the beginning of the two factions of *Orleans* and *Bourgonne*, which troubled all *France* during this raigne. This league (whereof the house of *Orleans* bare the name as the first and most interested) was concluded at *Gyen* in the year 1410. the tenth of March, beeing defensue and offensive against the house of *Bourgonne*. The chiefe were *Charles Duke of Orleans*, and his bretheren, *John Duke of Berry*, *Lewis Duke of Bourbon*, *John Earle of Alencon*, *Francis Earle of Clermont*, *Bernard Lord of Armagnac*, and *Charles Lord of Albret*: Constable of *France*, with their friends and followers in great numbers.

The League of Armagnacs and

Of the *Bourguignon* faction, were *John Duke of Bourgonne* with his brethren, *Charles King of Navarre*, (sonneto that wicked, of whom we haue made mention) the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Frabant* and *Brittain*, the Marquis of *Pont*, the Earls of *Neuers*, *Vandemont*, *S. Pol*, *Ponthieure* and many others. This mournfull diuision continued vnto the year 1419. in the which *John* was slaine, but it ended not so. During these eight yeares wee shal see diuers changes, one in, and an other out, as they could enable themselves with the Kings authority, which is the strongest battery of ciuill warres. Now the Duke of *Bourgonne* is in quarter, and plants his ordinance against the *Orleanois*, as guilty of high treason. but shortly hee shalbe dispossessed, and they of *Orleans* shal take their tunc.

The

The Duke of *Orleans* complains, that they are not respected according to their degree: they be to be admitted to the priuileges due to Princes of the bloud, and that the Duke of *Bourgonne*, should not command absolutely, holding (as they saied) both the bodies and wiles of the King, Queene and *Dauphin* in captiuitie. They attemble in great troups, first at *Chartres*, and after (to manage their affaires with greater shewe) next vnto the capitall Citie of *Paris* they lodged at the Castell of *Wincester*, then called *Bicetre*, but now ruined. The Duke of *Bourgonne* accused the Duke of *Orleans* for practising to take the Crowne from the King and *Dauphin*, in forcing the King to what he pecaied against them, as against rebels and disturbers of the publicke quiet. This five continued but seuen or eight moneths, wherein there chanced no memorable accident, but only the death of *Lewis* the good Duke of *Bourbon*, who died for greefe in the beginning of this warre, being accused as the motiue of these troubles.

1410. The house of Orleans complains of their wrongs.

Queene *Isabel* labored to reconcile these Princes, but she preuayled not, being suspected by the *Orleans* faction, whom she had left without cause, to ioyne with the *Bourgonne*. After some Edicts of confiscation, not executed (like Canon shot spent in the aire) a peace was made by meanes of the Duke of *Berry*, vpon condition that he and the Duke of *Bourgonne* should ioyntly haue the *Dauphin* in gard, and the house of *Orleans* should be respected in their degree: and that *Peter of Effiards* (a sworne enemy to their partie and a most passionate seruant to the Duke of *Bourgonne*) should be no more Prouost of marchants. This was concluded at *Wincester*, whereof it bears the name, the twentieth day of *November* in the same yeare, hauing contended this sommer abt. at *Paris* only, to the hurt of the poore people, discontented chiefly with the *Giscons* that came out of *Armagnac*, who gaue their name to the troups of the *Orlean* faction, called for this occasion *Armagnacs*, wearing for their colours a white scarfe, the which they haue vsed in our last troubles.

The peace of Wincester.

This first peace continued not long, neither were al promises performed. The *Bourgonne* did eate the cake alone, and yet he complained first, as hauing to doe with children. He sends the Lords of *Croy* and *Douries*, to the Duke of *Berry*, to disioyne him from the Duke of *Orleans* his Nephew: who hauing intelligence of their negotiation and passage caused them to be surprised in *Sologne*, and brought prisoners to *Blois*. But *John* backed *Douries*, and deteyned *Croy*, as suspected to be guiltie of his fathers death, and by consequence punishible by the treatie of peace. The King commands him to set him at libertie: and he demands iustice of his fathers murderers. Here vpon they go al to armes. They caute the King to summon him by his Edicts: wherevnto *Charles Duke of Orleans* answers, by a challenge to the Duke of *Bourgonne*, as the murderer of his father, and the author of all the miseries which then rained in *France*.

Beginning of the second Warre.

Thus began this second warre, the twentieth of *July* the yeare following, 1411. the Princes passions giuing the poore people scarce seuen monethes respite to breath in so many calamities, which they suffered through their voluntary diuisions. The *Orlean* faction assembles at *Gargeau* vpon the riuer of *Loire*, to resoluue of the meanes to make warre against *John Duke of Bourgonne*, whome they challenge by a publike cartel, as the murderer of a Prince of the bloud, the Kings only brother: and as vsurper of the roiall authoritie, holding the persons and wills of the King and *Dauphin* Captiue. *John Duke of Bourgonne* had great aduantages, the Kings authority, and the *Dauphins*, who was heire apparent to the Crowne of *France*; the capitall Citie of the realme, the approbation of the best Cities, most of the Prouinces, and without comparifon greater meane of himselfe, both for men and mony.

This second warre continued a yeare, it began in *July*, 1411. and ended the yeare after, 1412. in the same moneth, far more variable and violent then the first; and memorable in this, that the vanquished was victor and the victor vanquished. The same authoritie which had supported the stronger, was in the ende fauorable to the weaker. Such as most pleased their masters humor, receiued death of him for their reward. Very necessary obseruations to iudge of these ciuill warres.

The *Orlean* faction went first to field. They were about seuen or eight thousand horse.

The

1411

The number of their foote is not specified. *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* makes the body of his army in *Gastinois*: the Duke of *Bourbon* in *Bourbonois*, and the Earle of *Alençon* in *Vermandois*. *Peronne*, *Chauny*, *Neele* and *Han*, yeeld vnto them. *Clermont*, (which belonged to the Duke of *Bourbon*), is fortified: they seeke to surprise *Reteil* and *Bapaumes*, but in vaine. This was the first fallly begun by them of *Orleans*. But the *Bourguignon* takes an other course, he prepares the Kings Edicts against them, he employes the peoples force within the Citties, and armes in field, and all auails him at the first. He had a great army, both of horse and foote, the which doth presently march into *Picardy*, where the *Orleans* had begun, and easily recouers what they had gotten. *Han* standes resolute: they beseege, take, spoile and sacke it.

The *Flemings* which were vassalls to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, being laden with spoile, craue leaue to returne home, neyther could the Dukes promises, nor threats retayne them, but they leaue his army and depart. This had almost ouerthrowne his affaires: he abandons *Mondidier*, the which was presently surprised by *Peter* of *Quefnes*, Lord of *Gannes*, of the *Orleans* faction, and putting his army into garrisons, doubting the event of this warre; he sends with all speede to *Henry* the 4. King of *England*, crauing succors in this necessity. *Henry* makes his profit of these ciuill dissensions in *France*: he presently sends twelue hundred men to the *Bourguignon*, to supply the *Flemings* want. vnder the commande of *Thomas* Earle of *Arundel*. The *Orleans* loose no time: and for their neerer approach to *Paris*, they surprise *Saint Denis*, and *Saint Cloud*, places of importance, and fortifie *Corbeil* for the passage of the riuer, of purpose to famish this great Cittie, C which liues by dayly prouisions brought from diuers parts.

But hee findes one to countermine his practises, vjing the same instrument he had employed to hurt him. The *Orleans* keeping the field about *Paris*, must neede be the cause of great calamities. And all this was acted in the viewe of the King and *Daulphin*.

John informes the King of his enemies insolencie, who (without appealing to his Maiestie) presumed to spoile the heart of *France*, as if they were strangers or enemies. *Charles* apprehends this error but too easily, desiring nothing but rest: but *Lewis* the *Daulphin* especially is incensed by these informations, and his choller entreaseth dayly against his Cousins of *Orleans*. The *Bourguignon* saied, that they played the Kings, and could not conceale their intention, which was to seize on the Crowne, seeing they presumed to take armes against the King.

There are rigorous Edicts made against the *Orleans* faction, as against rebelles and guilty of high treason. All their goods, honours and persons are confiscate which remaine in this army, if within fiftene dayes after publication of the Kings letters patents, they retire not themselves to their houses. And to begin with the greatest, *Charles* of *Albret* Constable of *France*, and *Arnolde* of *Corby* the Chancellor, are dispossessed of their dignities, and the Earle of *Saint Pol* preferred to the first place, and *Dol* haing the Duke of *Bourgogne* aduocate to the last.

This storme makes worke at *Paris*, they seeke out all of the *Orleans* partie, and E presently cast the into prison. *Peter* of *Essars* being restored to his place, remembers the article made against him at *Winchestre*, and armes the people against them. Wholoeuer is found out by the *Parisians*, being of the *Orleans* faction, hee is brought with hazard of his life to prison. All is lawfull in this popular rage, so it bee against the *Armagnacs*.

All these engins forced from diuers parts, do strangely shake the *Orleans* partie. Such as were restrayned within any Townes, durst not breath: and many in the army slippe away daily, fearing the rigour of these Edicts, which were executed withall severity.

Charles Duke of *Orleans* (hauing taken counsell of the Princes, and Noblemen, his F associates, what course to followe in this alteration, before a greater inconueniency) resolves to drawe the *Bourguignon* to battaile, although he were fortified with these new forces from *England*. So as hauing passed the riuer of *Oyse*, vpon a bridge of boats

The *Bourguignon* craues aide of the King of *England*.

The King & *Daulphin* incensed against the Duke of *Orleans*.

The *Parisians* mutine against the *Orleans* faction.

A (all the passages being seized on by the *Bourguignon* in the Kings name) he presents himselfe before the gates of *Clermont* in *Beauuosis*, where *John* his capitall enemy remayned.

The *Orleans* army yet faire, beautified with the presence of great personages: the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Alençon*, *Clermont*, *Albret*, *Vertus*, *Vienne*, *Bouciquant*, the Archbishop of *Sens*, (brother to that *Montagu*, which was beheaded) *Craon*, *Montbison*, *Hargell*, with many Barons, Knights and Squiers, all resolute to end this quarrell by battaile: and to that end (hauing defied the Duke of *Bourgogne*) they attend him, betwixt *Clermont* and *Cathenay*. But the *Bourguignon* leauing them there to spoile that goodly and fertill country of the Isle of *France*, whereby they increased the hatred and curse of the people, more incensed then euer against these *Armagnacs*, exclaiming of him as of a coward that durst not fight, he arrives at *Paris*, to the peoples great content, who attende him with all deuotion. Hee presently takes *Saint Cloud* and *Saint Denis* from the *Orleans* partie, to their great losse, notwithstanding any diligence of *Charles* their head, who proclaymed a victory before the combate. Thus *Paris* is freed without any restrainte, and all the *Orleans* partie brought verie lowe.

Neyther *Charles* nor his Associates, talke any more of fighting with the *Bourguignon*: they had worke enough to retyre themselves, and to defend their Townes, expecting a present seege. *John* of *Bourgogne* failes not to husband this good successe: and (to countenance his forces) hee doth intangle the King and *Daulphin* in the pursute of his enemies halfe vanquished. So his victorious army enters into *Brausse*, turning head towards the Country of *Orleans*, the inheritance of his chiefe enemy. *Esampes* yeelds to the King. The Duke of *Bourbon* is there taken prisoner, and sent presently into *Flanders*.

Whilest that all things succeeded thus happily for the Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Henry* the 4. King of *England* calles home the troupes he had sent to his succour, vnder the Earle of *Arundells* commande, intreating the Duke to hold him excused, if he did vse his owne at his neede. Hee had no meaning to fauour the stronger party, but to succor the weaker, as experience did soon teach. This sodaine alteration did somewhat stay the *Bourguignons* desseine to attempt *Orleans*: but making warre aduisedly, he attends his enemies proceeding, and taking an honest leaue to retyre, by reason of the winter, he comes to *Paris*, where (not to loose any time) he continues the Kings thundering Edicts, and executes many of his prisoners, to flesh the people. To flesh he addes Ecclesiasticall excommunications against the *Armagnacs*: whilest the *Orleans* take cold by making warre in *Charolois*, and sending for succors into *England*, seeking for releefe in the same place where their enemy had found a scourge to whippe them.

Certaine letters (carried by a monke from the Duke of *Orleans* to the King of *England*) were intercepted, and brought to *Paris*, being examined in full assembly of the vniuersitie, and from thence imparted to the people, with the *Bourguignons* commentaries. They made the *Orleans* faction so much the more odious, as if the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Perry* and *Bourbon* (combined together) had sought to take the Crowne from the King and *Daulphin*, and to dismember the realme in giuing part of it to the *English*, and to deuide the rest among themselves. Strange newes without any subiect, which vanish at their breeding: but yet they serue to purpose, according to the desseine of their Architect.

The King and *Daulphin* (being possessed by *John* of *Bourgogne*) haue no thought but to ruine the *Orleans* party, and puste vp with this first successe, hoping to finish the rest, they employ all their meanes to leuie a great army, the which (through the *Bourguignons* care) was held to be a hundred thousand men. A notable number, after so many miseries, and in so great a confusion.

The Cittie of *Bourges* was of great importance, for the vniing of the *Provinces* on that side *Loire*, where the Associate Princes had their greatest supplies of men.

1412.

The *English* troupes leaue the *Bourguignon*.

1412

The *Bourguignons* greatest malice was against the Duke of *Berry*, who not onely had forsaken him, but (for his degree and age) vnderstood much in his enemies affaires. They resolute therefore to beleage it, to make the way more easie for conquest of the rest. In the beginning of the Spring, the King and *Daulphin* go from *Paris* to their army, which assembled in *Castinois*: being entred into *Berry* the lesser Townes yeeld without question, *Dunle Roy*, *Fontenay*, and *Sancerre*. *Bourges* being summoned, makes answer. That neither the King nor *Daulphin* did make this warre, but the Duke of *Bourgonne*, who holding their persones, and willes captiue, would deprive the Princes of *France* of their right, hauing imbrued his murdering hands in the blood of the first Prince of the Crowne, seeking to vlturpe the State.

The King & *Daulphin* beleage *Bourges* by the *Bourguignons* meane.

There were very many good soldiars within the Cittie, which were supplied with all that might be wished for in along sege. They intreated the enemye (in skorne) that hee would approach neere the Cittie, and leaue their gates open in a brauery. Many fortunate sallies are made by them, crying in field, *God saue the King*. They take many prisoners. The waters abroad are poisoned, and many die before they discover the cause.

Berry made discoloure.

All things out with military raylings of *Armignats* and *Bourguignons*: but the greatest defeat is in spoyling of the Country. All the prouision being carried into the Cittie, what a spoile shold an army of a hundred thousand men with their followers make? and (to increase the miserie) all the houses of the champion Country were eyther sackt, or burnt. The *Englisb* (being victors in *France*) neuer committed greater spoiles then these *French* armies.

The *Daulphin* discontented with his father in Law: the Duke of *Bourgonne*.

As the Duke of *Berry* (the Lord of that Country) was much grieved to see these spoyles: so the *Daulphin* (the heire apparent of the Crowne) was discontented with his father in Lawes ambition, growing odious vnto him. His blood (which could not degenerate) moued him to compassion, and the blood vniustly shed, troubled his conscience. For, to what ende should they ruine a whole realme to maintain to execrable a murder? If zeale to reforme the State (saith hee) bee the *Bourguignons* intent, is this the way? His father (being sicke) could not apprehend these things, by reason of his infirmities: what reproch then were it for him (being his eldest soane) to suffer himselfe to be baffed by his father in Lawe, like vnto an infant? These apprehensions moued this young Prince, who nothing dissembling his conceptions, told his father openly, that he was not pleased with these confusions, & that they must finde out some meane to pacifie them. It chanced one day, as they aduertised the King that in a fallie made by them of the Towne, they had slaine some one of his seruants, the *Daulphin* cried out in the presence of the *Bourguignon*: Shall we neuer haue an ende of these miseries? I am resolved to make them cease. The *Bourguignon* hauing before discovered some coldnesse in this young Prince, found his mind now to be wholly changed. He therefore replied mildly: That it should be well done, so as they of *Orleans* would acknowledge their error. How (saith the *Daulphin*) shall they acknowledge their fault, if wee do not knowe them for our blood? And then they resolved to make a peace.

The Duke of *Berry* had layed the foundation by *Lignac*, great master of *Rhodes*, who sayled not to imbrace this occasion, seeing the *Daulphin* so well affected. The Earle of *Sauoy* had sent his Ambassadors, to exhort both parties. After a monethes sege they begin to treat of the meanes to pacifie these troubles. The *Bourguignon* makes haft to bee the first in all things, and parles with the Duke of *Berry*, betwixt two barres. One accuseth, the other excuseth: but in the end a peace is concluded by deputies.

The Princes, at an enteruue imbrace one another, with all shewes of cordial loue, such as their blood makes shewe of, after long bitternesse. The *Bourguignon* onely is troubled, doubting this peace to them would be a warre to him, for that hee had no peace in his owne Conscience.

The

A The King entres into *Bourges*, where the peace is signed, and for that reason it was called the Peace of *Bourges*, the 25. of Iuly, in the yeare. 1412. A Parliament is called at *Auxerre*, to constitute it by sollemne oath. The Princes are received into fauour with the King and *Daulphin*, all Edicts made against them, were disannulled and of no force. They and theirs restored to their degrees and dignities. All things to bee forgotten. The names of *Armignac* and *Bourguignon*. (as in famous marks of ciuill dissention) forbidden vpon paine of death: and the *Englisb* (come to the succor of the assaiat Princes) to bee satisfied out of the Kings treasure. Without the Cittie of *Auxerre*, neere to the Abbie of *Saint Mariana*, a stately scaffold was made, where the King sitting in his seat of Iustice, environed with his Princes, the officers of his Crowne, and the chiefe deputies of the Parliament, the peace was proclaimed with as great ioy, as the warre had bene tedious, and mournfull. To confirme this peace with *John* of *Bourgonne*, *Philip* Earle of *Vertus* married his daughter: but all this could not reconcile him to the house of *Orleans*.

The *Daulphin* reioyced much at this peace, and made all shewes of loue to his Cousins lately reconciled, being grieved to haue bin so long dissentio betweene them: desirous to repaire what was past, & aboue all to maintaine an inuolable peace within the Realme. The good sicke King present at all, yeelding his consent and authority, sometimes inclined to good, sometimes to ill. Queene *Isabel* held with the strongest. but all these good motions were crossed by the *Bourguignon*: so as all the confusions of this raigne are not yet ended.

C



D

John of Bourgonne seeing him selfe crost

by Lewis the *Daulphin*, and the house of *Orleans* restored to grace. stirres up newe troubles from the yeare 1412. vnto 17. when as the *Daulphin* died, but the troubles ceased not.

E



Rance began to hope for better, by the meanes of *Lewis* the eldest Sonne to King *Charles*: hauing a desire to make a peace against the *Bourguignons* will. But this was not all they expected of the *Daulphins* first resolution: yet the weakenesse of the sicke King, and the inconstancie of his young Lieutenant gaue the subtil braine of *John* of *Bourgonne* too great an aduantage to suffer the *French* to enioy the fruits of peace so much desired, who neuer yeelded to bare threats, but grew more resolute,

The *Bourguignon* pr. chieft in Court.

And notwithstanding this alteration of the *Daulphin* his sonne in lawe, yet he left not the Court, being alwayes neere the King, keeping the Councel in breath, who were for the most part all on his side: and although they worshiped the Sunne rising, yet seeing the spirit of this young Prince to be weake and inconstant, and the *Bourguignons* firme resolution, they stood vpon their gard, doing nothing that might openly offend eyther the one or the other, but vnder hand they sought to please the most popular and redoubted maister: who else might proue a most cruell and dangerous enemye.

1412

Thus were affaires handled in the Kings counsell. And as not only the Court, but the whole world, is an ebbing and flowing of diuers humors, the which doe change according to occasions: and the scaffold whereon dissembling, treachery and treason play their parts diuersly: so at that time the *Bourguignon* (a principall artisan of these goodly shewes), found an ample subiect wherein to imploye his sly trade. But although he seemed to haue gained all, whatsoever he desired that should come to passe, and to haue attained the full of his desires, yet all his enterprises came to nothing, and in the end he paid (with the price of his blood) the great debt of his horrible wickednesse.

The estate of
the Court vnder
Lewis the
Dauphin.

But this acte shall haue manie Scenes. In the first our History shall set downe the new gouernment of *Lewis the Dauphin*. This yong Prince was not capable of so great a charge, hauing an idle braine, being carelesse and voluptuous, giuen to his owne will, obstinate, taking no aduice from any but of himselfe, or from yong men of his owne humour: loth to yeeld to any that vnderstood more then himselfe, and especially to his vncles, whose graue haire he disdaind: neither could he loue his father in lawe, being resolu'd to gouerne the realme alone. The Queene seeing her Sonnes humour inclyned to loue the house of *Orleans*, made shew to fauour them: but in effect she was indifferent, being wholly giuen to flatter which her husband, and to gouerne him according to the time.

The *Bourguignon* dissembling his sonne in Lawes wayward humours, was alwayes neer the King, giuing him such goodly reasons as the good Prince could not gainsaie him. The subiect of his futes was pleasing to the Parisiens, whose good liking he entertained carefully, but alwayes with an intent to bee reuenged of his enemies, vnder this goodly name of the common wealth, as the soueraigne ende of all his desseins: but in effect he held still one of the cheefest places, not yeelding in any thing, to gouerne them which seemed to rule, and to keepe backe such, as might crosse his authoritie. By the peace of *Bourges* the Constable of *Albret* should bee restored to his dignitie, and *Arnoldot Corbie* to his Chancellourship. They delaie them from daye to day, but in the ende they are restored with much difficultie.

The meanest haue many delaies, more troublesome then a flat repulse, being more willing to leaue al, then to make these fruitlesse poursuites. *Arnoldot Corbie* being honorably restored to his place, resigned it into the Kings hands, to auoide the danger of so confused a time: more wilfully then *Henry of Marle* that succeeded him, being slaine at the massacre at *Paris*, with the Constable of *Armagnac*. But the *Bourguignons* flew a higher pitche, then to preiudice the house of *Orleans* in their goods and honors, or to crosse their affaires and their followers. He found no better expedient, then to do as he had doone with *Lewis* their father, for a dead *Lion* doth no harme. To this ende he assembles some of his most trustye followers at *Paris*, to finde meanes to murder the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Berry*, and *Bourbon*. But *Peter of Effars* (one of his most viciou persians,) discovered this practise, for the which hee soone after smarted.

The *Bourguignon*
resolued
on.

By the treatie of *Bourges*, the English (which came to the Duke of *Orleans* succour) must be satisfied. They presse for paiement, one part being discharged (to the Duke of *Orleans* great hindrance) he was forced to leaue his brother *John Earle of Angoulême* in hostage for the rest. Being carried into *England* he was in the end redeemed, after much trouble and many delaies.

In this article the *Bourguignon* made shew of his good husbandrie, soliciting the English vnder hand, on the one side for to presse *Charles* his principall debtor, and on the other side he cried out against the disorder of the Kings treasor, so all gouerned as there was not sufficient to furnish the ordinarie expences of his house: pretending all these great summes to be wasted, either by the Tresorers; in gifts, or in superfluous expences. This complaint was very plausible, but it was a pitfall to catch his enemies, & to

murder

1413.

A murine this discontented people, by reason of their great oppression, being easie to be moued at the name of the common weale. He soone obtayned from the King a generall conuocation of the chiefe Citties, to reforme the abuses of the Realme, and especially of the treasure, for the releefe of the poore people. To make this partie good, the City of *Paris* must make the first point: but the vniuersity which stood as a new-ter (dealing with nothing but their bookes) should make the proposition, and first instance.

The *Bourguignon*
resolued
on
Paris.

The cause was vehemently set downe by a *Doctor* (chosen for the purpose) and auouched by the Cittie and deputies of the *Provinces*. Such as were subiect to accumps, were much terrified, and the greatest number fled. Such as were taken, lost their heads at the *Halles* or *Greue*, to the peoples great content, who highlie commiend the Duke of *Bourgonne*, as the onely Prince which loued the good of the realme. The *Dauphin* growes iealous at the found of the prailes (as preiudicall to his honour): vowing neuer to suffer the *Bourguignon* to attempt any thing against his authoritie. Such as were interestted, fedde the yong Princes humor: Who (by the meanes of *Lewis of Bauiere* his Vncle by the mother side) perswade him to take the name of Regent for a marke of his greatnesse.

The *Dauphin*
takes vpon
him the
name of
Regent.

He takes this title, and giues notice to the Duke of *Bourgonne*, that it is nowe high time he were knowne in his degree. The *Bourgonne* (protecting that hee hath no other obiect but the good of the Realme) makes no shewe to deale in these affaires, leauing the government thereof to whome it appertayned: yet vnder hand he caused the *Parisians* to arme, and (least the better sort should be called into question) he imployes the basest, being led by one *Caboch* a butcher, followed by a multitude of rascals, who (being armed) come in troupe to the Regents lodging, and require of him by rowle the chiefe enemies of the *Bourguignons* house, who they sayed had gouerned the treasure, or had bene enriched by excessiue gifts. Amongst the which was *Peter of Effars*, who (without any long proces) lost his head, receyuing a iust reward for his great wickednesse, by his hands, who had then caused him to commit them.

A strange
sedition in
Paris.

But this was not one dayes furie: the next day the people assemble in great multitudes, and taking white cappes for their badge, they come to *Saint Pol*, where the King lodged, and demand audience, hauing seized on all the passages to his lodging, after a terrible manner. A Carmelite Frier was speaker for the people, accompanied with the Deputies of this multitude as his rustians. Being entred into the Kings chamber, after many tedious speeches, he demands reformation of the State, protesting they would not be fed with words: they vrge the King to punish such, whose names they had conteyned in a list, being guiltie of capitall crimes.

The *Parisians*
insolent
behauer.

The Duke of *Bourgonne* makes a good shewe, and answers: That the King would consider thereof. This Frier replies impudently: that they would not depart before they had such as they demanded. Their rage was such, as the King and Princes tooke white cappes, the marke of the seditious. They demand the chiefe seruants of the King, Queene and *Dauphin*: not onely men, but also women which had bene in any credit: and aboue all, *Lewis of Bauiere* the Queenes brother. There was not any one but stood amazed at these audacious impudencies.

The Queene comes weeping, shee intreats the King, the Monke and the deputies of the people. They answer: it is their charge, and they cannot alter it. The people crie from the base Court with a violent noyse, that if they deliuer not these prysoners, they will force the lodging. So as after all these intreaties, *Lewis* the Queenes brother with the rest (specified in the rowle,) both men and women, yeeld vnto the mercie of these madde and furious men, and are by them led into diuers prysons.

The *Bourguignon*
the secret
practises of
all these
insolencies.

This night passed not without many murders: many were strangled, and many cast into the riuer, without any other formes of iustice but the *Bourguignons* secret commandement: who (with his cold and graue countenance) made shewe to haue

14 14

no interest in the action. The City was neuer in so lamentable an estate, by this shame A full contempt of Law, order, & of the King, Princes & Magistrates. There is no talke but of blood, killing, hanging and drowning of poore prisoners.

The vniuersity dislikes of these disorders.

The horror of this confusion toucht the hearts of the most passionate. The vniuersity (which had bin the mouth of these captious complaints) repaires to *Henry* of *Marle* the first president, & to *John Iuuenall* of *Yrins* the Kings aduocate, protesting that they were not guilty of these infamous disorders. And hauing taken aduice, they resolve to go to the King, as well to purge themselves of the suspition of these abhominable confusions, as to intreat him to giue care to a good peace. They giue him meane to winne the heads of this popular faction, and set vp an Ensigne with the Kings armes, & crie in all parts of the Citie. *Peace, peace good people: an inuention which preuailed much* p in this action.

The people pacified.

Ill counsell is most hurtfull to him that giues it: the *Bourguignons* practises light on his owne head. The people seeing themselves disauowed by the vniuersity (who then had great credit for their esteeme of wisdom and knowledge) hauing the King and his parliament opposite, being abandoned by their Tribunes, they hide themselves in *Bourgonne*, and he himselfe feeling the storme to approach, retires to *Compiene*, attending the euent.

The King incensed against the *Bourguignon* and the people for sake him.

The *Orlean* faction repaires to *Paris* with speede, and were receiued ioyfully by the people, as the Anchor of their hope. All the world exclaimes of the *Bourguignon* as the onely motiue of the troubles of *France*, and vnworthy to hold so honorable a rancke among the Princes of the bloud. The Queene feedes this dislike, for the interest of her brother imprisoned, and the King thunders forth his edicts against the *Bourguignon*, the which are seuerely executed vpon such as are apprehended. Scaffolds, riues and streetes witnesse the reuenge of the murders committed by the *Bourguignons* vpon the *Orleanois*. All Officers preferred by the *Bourguignon* are displaced, and all such as had supported him are ill intreated. *Valeran* Earle of *S. Pol*, is put from the dignity of Constable, *Guichard Daulphin* of *Auvergne*, from that of great Maister, & *Charles* of *Rambures* from being maister of the crossebowes, the which is at this day as the colonell of the infantry. Three hundred men and women of the *Bourguignon* faction are banished by a decree of the Court of Parliament. *John* Duke of *Brittain* leaues the *Bourguignon* & D comes to court against him.

The *Bourguignon* faction disgraced and banished.

To conclude, all bandie against the *Bourguignon*, yet he is nothing amazed, but continues constant against all stormes. He craues ayde of his cities in *Flanders* in this necessity: being thus perplexed, there fell out a fauourable occasion to raise him vp againe. The Queene being much discontented with him, incenseth the *Daulphin*. This young Prince had some of his household seruants from the *Bourguignon*: she vsing the authority of a mother, takes them from him, and puts them in prison: the reason was, for that she feared these men were of the *Bourguignons* faction. The *Daulphin* takes this as an affront, and writes to his father-in-law to assist him. The *Bourguignon* imbracing this unexpected occasion, calls a newe assemblie of his subiects, and shewes them these letters. And making his profit thereof, he giues them to vnderstand how needefull it was to leauy an armie, to free the King and *Daulphin*, whom the *Orlean* faction held in captivity: and vpon this cause he writes to all the Citties of the Realme, intreating them to assist him in so good a worke, and worthy of good subiects to their Prince.

The Queene discontented the *Daulphin*, so as he writes to the *Bourguignon*.

He abuseth the *Daulphin* letters.

Hereupon he leaues an armie, and goes to field, making a publike declaration, That he takes armes to set the King and *Daulphin* at liberty, and is followed by many *French*, so as his armie increaseth daily. Hauing passed the riuer of *Somme* he enters into *Compiene*, & doth summon *Senlis*, to send him the keyes of their gates, as marching for the Kings seruice: but a countermand comes from the *Daulphin*, which doth frustrate his desire.

The *Daulphin* disauowes the *Bourguignon*.

The *Daulphin* (wonne by the *Orleanois*) protesteth that he had neuer written these letters, and disauowes the *Bourguignon*: He writes letters vnto him of a contrayte tenour, requesting him to forbear to torment the people vpon so vnjust a cause: protesting

A protesting that he was not onely in full liberty, but doth also inioy his authority, by vertue whereof hee commands him to dismisie his troupes, and to leaue *France* in quiet.

The *Bourguignon* goes on his course, meaning to enter *Paris*, and to stirre the people to a newe edition, and so hee marcheth with his troupes neere to the city. and stayes at *S. Denis*, but his proiect had no successe. The *Daulphin* assures the City walles and the peoples hearts against him, who seekes by all meanes to speake to the King or people, approaching himselfe neere the city, sending his Heralds with letters, planting his colours neere the gate, and in the ende conuaies a staffe with letters to him, but all this would not preuaile.

He is not admitted into Paris.

B The King doubles the battery of his Edicts against him, as guilty of high Treason, and a disturber of the publike peace: commanding all men that were in his armie to leaue him, vpon paine of confiscation. Hereat the greatest part of his troupes fle away, yea his *Flemings* abandon him, who had alwayes protested vnto him in all his assemblies, neuer to carry armes against the King nor *Daulphin*. In the ende the King and *Daulphin*, accompanied with the Princes of his bloud, march with a goodly armie, they besiege *Compiene* (where the *Bourguignon* had left a garrison) and takes it by composition, from thence they march to *Soissons* a Towne of greater strength: hauing taken it by force, and *Enguerand* of *Bourbonville* his right hand in it, he leaues the town in peace, and cuts off *Bourbonvilles* head at *Paris*, with many of his companions, to the C peoples great content, glad of this new bloud: and in the ende he passeth to *Arras*, the which he beseegeth with his victorious armie.

Proclaimed guilty of high treason.

The king marcheth with an armie against the *Bourguignon*.

The *Bourguignon* amazed at these vnexpected euent, demands peace of *Charles*, & obtains it with much intreatie, by the meanes of the Countesse of *Hainault* his sister, and the Duke of *Brabant* his brother. It is called the peace of *Arras*, being made at that siege. This was grieuous to the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Berry*, who said, that both the King and *Daulphin* had promised them, not to laye downe armes, before they had vtterly ruined the house of *Bourgonne*. But God, wiser then they, would vniue all the *French*, to oppose themselves with a common consent, against the *English* their common enemy: and will soone shewe, that it is a meere vanity for mortall men, to nourish immortal hatred against their enemies, to satisfie their insatiable reuenge. D We haue said, that *Henry* the 5. King of *England* watcht all oportunities to feede the confusions of this miserable raigne: and to that end he did sometimes succour the *Bourguignon*, sometimes the *Orleanois*, still supporting the weaker. And knowing well the Duke of *Bourgonnes* humor, seeing the *Daulphin* incensed against him, he leaues a goodly army, to make a benefit of these diuisions. The euent fauoured his desire, but not his proiect: for meaning to assist the *Bourguignon*, hee findes that he had made his peace with our *Charles*.

He sues for peace.

Hauing landed at *Harflew*, a sea Towne seated vpon the Riuer of *Seine*, he sends his Herald to demand his daughter *Katherine*. This was a matter farre fetcht, and a strange course: but this daughter must be the ground of many miseries for this Realme, and likewise an occasion to free this Realme absolutely from the *English* by a strange meane, and (as wee may say) admirable, as the course of our History will shewe.

From the King of England, comes an armie and demand Katherine for the Kings daughter.

Henry takes *Harflew* by composition. Before he takes possession of this conquest, he goes bare footed to the Church, to giue God thanks. He had not his whole armie with him, one part attended him at *Calais*, hauing an intent to ioyne with them, & so to fortifie his troupes. With this resolution he lodgeth at *Fauille*, & passing through *Caux* to the county of *Eu*, he comes to *Fimeu*, to passe the riuer at *Bunquetacque*, (an infamous place by our losse) where the passage being surprised, he takes his way towards *F. Arianes*, & from thence to *Raillu* in *Fimeu*, seeking to passe the bidge at *Remie*: but not able to force it, he recouers *Hange* vpon *Somme*, and so passeth the riuer at *Poyenne* & *Brathencourt*, places ill garded by them of *S. Quintin*, and then he lodgeth at *Mouchy* in *Gabets* towards the riuer of *Mirumont*.

He marcheth into this way.

He

1415

The numbers
of the English
and French
armies.

He had in his army six thousand horse and twenty thousand foote. That of King Charles was far greater of it selfe, besides the *Bourguignons* troupes (which were drawne together for another intent then to fight with the *English*). They were in al aboute twentie thousand horse and threescor thousand foot: and therefore *Henry* did shunne the battaile and sought how to saue himselfe through the fennes. Our accustomed rashesnes, and wilfull forgetfullnes of two experiences past against the same nation, and in the like occurrents, made vs to note with blacke and mournful letters that ouerthrow and calamitie. *Henry* demanded passage to returne into *England*, yeelding vp *Hartley* and other places conquered in this voiage: but we sought our owne decay. The Constable *Albret* comanded the foreward that day, and with him were the Dukes of *Orleans* & *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Eu* and of *Richemont*, the Lord of *Bouciqualt* Marshal of *France*, the Lord of *Dampierre*, Admiral, The Battaile was led by the Duke of *Bar* and the Earles of *Alençon*, *Vaudemont*, *Neuers*, *Blamont*, *Salines*, *Grandpre* and *Rouff*. The Rearward by the Earles of *Marle*, *Dampmartin* and *Fouquembergue*.

The King of
England forced
to fight.

Henry (being denied passage by the Constable) resolues to fight, putting his trust in God and in his owne valour, determining to vanquish or to die. He made choise of a place of hard access, and the better to fortifie his archers, euery one had a sharpe stake planted before him. The French ordered as before, attended their enemies, either looking who should begin the game. Impatiencie forceth the weaker like desperatemenc: the *English* Archers being in fight with such a furie, as the French forward cannot endure the violent fall of this furious storme, the Constable *Albret* was slaine fighting in the foremost ranke. The Duke *Anthony* of *Brabant*, brother to *John* Duke of *Bourgonne*, (seeing this disorder) leaues his troupe to redresse it: but he was also slaine by the *English* bowe men, with his brother *Philip* Earle of *Neuers*. The battaile was likewise forced after a great fight. The rearward fled, and saued them selues in the neereft places of retreat.

And gets the
victory.

So as the losse was not so great as the shame and ouerthrow. They numbretten thousand men slaine: but their rashnes was inexcusable. The head smarted for it, and the *Bourguignons* brethren had there an honorable tombe. *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* & *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Eu*, *Richemont* & *Vendosme* (the strongest pillars of the *Orlean* faction) with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, were taken and led into *England*. This defeat chanced the 20. of October in the yeare, 1415. called the euill Battaile of

The Battaile
of Agincourt.

Agincourt. And as one mischief comes neuer alone: the bodies at this defeat were scarce buried before *Lewis* the Daulphin dies. This *Lewis* (eldest Sonne to our *Charles*, Sonne

Lewis the
Daulphin dies

in Law, and a terror to the *Bourguignon*) was little lamented of the people, and lesse of his father in Law, who hated him to the death. A Prince of little valour and much tole, more buied with himselfe then with the affaires he managed, the which he made troublesome by his insufficiencie & presumptiō to know much: vnwilling to learne from others what he vnderstood not, for the good of the State and his owne duty.

His disposition

The Duke of
Berry dies.

John Duke of *Touraine* his brother, succeeded him in the first degree of the Prince of the bloud, and the Earle of *Armagnac* was made Constable, in the place of *Charles* of *Albret*, who shall minister good occasion to speake both of his life and death. *John* Duke of *Berry* brother to our *Charles* the 5. augmented these losses. A wife Prince and louing Learning, comendable in al things, but for his couetousnes, the which made his vertues of lesse fame. A blemish very il becoming a generous and heroicke spirit. These great losses should haue made the *Bourguignon* humble, but he became more insolent, making new practises to raise him selfe, hauing no competitor. Imbracing this occasion, he gatheres together what troupes he can, with an intent to go to *Paris*. The Queene and Constable of *Armagnac* (vnwilling he shoud come armed) comand him in the Kings name, not to aproch. The *Parisiens* were not then so well conceited of the *Bourguignon*, being restrained by the court & vniuersitie, but especially by the Kings authority being present, who spake whatsoeuer his wife & the Constable would haue him, being then alone in authority in the Kings Councell.

Th:

A The *Bourguignons* troupes kept the field, committing all kinde of insolencies and spoyles against whom the King made Edicts as against common thecues, giuing the people liberty to kill them. But this did nothing mollify the heart of this reuengefull Prince, borne for his Countries misery, hauing no other intent but to afflict it with new calamities. To this ende (as in the Kings sicknesse the Daulphin had the name and authority of the State) he sought to winne the fauour of *John*, succeeding in the right of his brother deceased, This occasion was offered, but the issue was contrary to his desire.

1416.
The *Bourguignon*
renewes
the warre.

B The misery of our *France* was such, as the common duty of humanity, moued forraine nations to pittie, foreseeing our ruine, if the warre betwixt *France* and *England* continued. In this common desire, the Emperour *Sigismund* (by the consent of the *Germans*) came into *France*. His traine and the good worke he vndertooke, deserued an imperi- all Maiestie: but the ende will shew his intent to be other then he protested. Being arrived in *France* (to the great content of all the French) he findes our *Charles* at his deuotion, who receiued him with all the pompe he could giue to so great a Monarch: making shewe of the great desire hee had to make a peace betwixt the French and the *English*, for the generall good of both estates. But this accord was but halfe made.

The Emperour
Sigismund
comes into
France.

C The Emperour (hauing remained some time with *Charles*) goes into *England*, where he findes *Henry* of an other humour, puft vp with the happy successe of his affaires & the weakenesse of ours: and in trueth the measure of our miseries was not yet full. So *Sigismund* (hauing perswaded *Henry* in vaine) returnes into *France*. *Charles* (to honour him) sends his sonne *John* Duke of *Touraine* and Daulphin of *Viennois* into *Picardie*, to meete him, hauing married the daughter of the Earle of *Hainault*, as great a friend to the *Bourguignon*, as ill affected to the French.

The Emperour seeing his labour lost, in seeking this reconciliation, takes his shortest course into *Germany*: leauing a reasonable subiect to the cleare-sighted, to iudge that he had another intent then to settle a peace in *France*, by countenancing of the *Bourguignon*, the instrument of her miseries: for after this yong pince had spoken with the Emperour, he is wholly changed in fauour of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, and resolues to bandy with him against the Duke of *Orleans*. This foundation beeing laid by the Emperour, it was fortified by the Earle of *Hainault*, father-in-law to *John* the Daulphin. Nowe he imbraceth the greatest and most dangerous enemy of all true Frenchmen with a wonderfull affection.

The Daulphin
John fauours
the *Bourguignon*.

But the subtilt is taken in his own snare, & the end doth often bewray the intent. As all things tended to a manifest change by meanes of this yong Prince, inchaunted by his charmes, hauing a spirit like vnto waxe apt to receiue any impressions, from so subtilt an artisan as the *Bourguignon*, behold death cuts off all these hopes, cast in the mould of this newe authority, buried in *John*s tombe, who died during these practises, at *Compiègne*, when as the fire began to kindle in fauour of the *Bourguignon*, and to the apparent reuiuing of troubles in *France*.

The Daulphin
John dies.

E To *John* succeeded *Charles* Earle of *Ponthieu*, the yongest sonne to our *Charles* the 6. He remained also the first Prince of the bloud, with the prerogatiues of the fundamentall lawe. A Prince that shall minister much matter to talke of his life in the course of our history, guided by the singular prouidence of God, to raise vp this monarchy, almost ruined. The least, but the happiest of all his brethren: for this is that *Charles* the 7. who (hauing corrected that furious giant of *Bourgonne*) in the end shal expel the *English*, and leaue a faire way to his posterity, to restore this estate to neere the ruine. But this shal not bee without many painefull difficulties, the which the order of our history commands vs to represent in their due places

John

1415

John of Bourgogne, the murtherer of Lewis of Orleans, (hauing added new troubles to the former) ioynes with Isabell Queene of France.

The Queene
takes vpon
her the Re-
gence.

Who hauing declared her selfe Regent of the Realme, makes warre against her Sonne Charles the Daulphin, seiserth vpon Paris, and there commits a cruell massacre, where the Constable of Armagnac, and Henry of Marle Chaucellor of France are slaine.

But this John of Bourgogne is in the end
swaine by the Daulphin.

From the yeare, 1415. to 1419.

A strange con-
fusion, the
mother a-
gainst the
sonne.



Newe kind of misery now supplies the stage, to despight Nature by the frantike drunkenness of our confused passions. An vnaturall mother forgets her onely Sonne: she bandies with his capitall enemy, against her owne bloud, seeking to transport the hereditary Crowne to strangers: a Crowne inalienable by the lawe of State: to the ende this Medea might fight both against nature and the Lawes of the Realme. A horrible phrentie, a fit of ciuill warre, that is to saie, of the assured ruine of the State. They call it ciuill (being the ruine of Cittizens) but very vnciuill indeede, for if we shall iudge thereof by the barbarous and brutish cruelties, what is therein the whole world more vnciuill? But alas! behold the image of vnkinde confusions, whereof the fury of our warres hath made vs eye witnesses: for haue we beheld lesse: hauing seene the Crowne set to sale, and our Kings blood shed vpon our Scaffold. But the History requires audience, to report things in their order, as they haue chanced according to the causes and motives.

Charles an e-
nemy to the
house of
Bourgogne.

Charles Earle of Poitiers had married the daughter of Lewis of Anjou, King of Sicily, a capitall enemy to the Bourgignon. So this young Prince bred vp from his youth in hatred against the house of Bourgogne, must be the instrument to ruine him and his whole race. He loued his pleasure much, and sometimes he gaue himselfe vncare with too great a scope: yet he could employ himselfe well to serious affaires, and force his spirit in necessity; firme in his resolutions, and immouable in his designs, wherein he happily ended his daies, restoring the Realme strangely shaken by the errors and losses of his predecessors.

In this beginning of his new authority, he was faithfully (though not profitably) assisted by the Constable of Armagnac, one of the chiefe pillars of the Orlean party, & almost alone, since the imprisonment of the Duke of Orleans & the death of the Duke of Berry, the King continuing in his infirmity, sometimes better, sometimes worse, but alwayes weake both of body and minde.

The Bourgig-
nons practises.

The Bourgignon had his troupes together, to the great spoyle of the countrey, who complained still without any redresse. This Prince being resolute in his course seeks all occasions of new garboiles, his hatred encreaseth daily against the contrary faction, seeing them advanced in credit, being out of hope to haue any interest in this new Daulphin, who was wholly possessed by Armagnac, an old foxe and an unconciliable enemy.

He hath practises in Amiens, Abbeville, Peronne and all other good townes of Picardy: who by reason of neigbourhood are easily drawne to his party, making goodly protestations to maintaine them in peace and liberty vnder the Kings obedience. He writes likewise to all the good townes of the Realme, complaining of the death of John Duke of Touraine a Prince whom he assured to be wholly given to the good of the State: and for this cause had bin poysoned by the enemies of the publike quiet.

But

A But his trauent was, to make such odious as were in credit about the King, person, although he named them not in his letters. but in noting them, he made a subtil and dangerous warre against them, encouraged by his forces and periuasion: who entering the Citties freely, and causing his letters to be publike'y read, he moued their hearts by the feeling of former confusions, the blame whereof the Bourgignon laied vpon his enemies.

B The King, (that is to say) his Councell, being incountred both by writings & force, should like wile oppose armes and writings against the Bourgignon: but he sends the Lord of Caux to treat with the Bourgignon: which negotiation was fruitlesse, both for that the person sent vnto him was odious, as also by reason of his charge which was not pleasing vnto him. He had an intent to put Caux to death, but the respect of his master withheld him, making answer to all his instructions, specified at large in the original of this historie. But what auails it to repeat many vaine words without any effect? In briefe, these are but accusations and excuses, plaints, and counterplaints. All protest to be the Kings seruants, and all ruine the King, in troubling his realme. What plane. Commentarie can we desire of these factions, then what we haue heard and seene in our time? The Bourgignon made a more dangerous warre then with Papers; he had secret practises within the Citties, to winne the inhabitants. He also drew the English to armes, and armed himselfe, ioyning their forces together, but with diuers intentions, yet their generall desseigne was to afflict France: fishing in a troubled water, making their profit of our confusions, and building their affaires vpon the ruine of the realme.

The Bourgig-
nons armes, &
drawe in the
English

C The Daulphin Charles playes an other part, he had scarce knowne the Count, when as he was forced to go into Anjou, to the funeralles of Lewis Duke of Anjou King of Sicily his father in lawe, and to assure the Duchie, being in some danger, by reason of the neigbourhood of the Duke of Brittain, a doubtful friend in the incertitude of those confused times. Being arriued, beheld a charge of difficultie for the first suites of his new authoritie. The people were mutined at Rouen, they had slaine the Count, the Aduocate and the Kings Proctor, and besieged the Castell: and to multiply the afflictions, the Bourgignon is in field, and besiegeth St. Florentin. The Kings armie is not dismissed, but dispersed into diuers parts, according to the necessity of his affaires. The Daulphin hauing need of the greatest part for Rouen, read the letter to the besieged. but the succours being weake and slacke, St. Florentin yielded to the Duke of Bourgogne. This hard beginning might haue bene prejudiciall to his affaires at Rouen: but they succeed better; for the chiefe of the citie mette with the Daulphin, and excuse themselves of this tumult, imputing it to the people over-charged: they beseech him to pardon this fault, and to receiue their voluntarie obedience. Thus he is honourable receiued into the Citie, already pacified, and settled all things with mildaesse.

A mutinie at
Rouen.

E But there are other newes of harder digestion; for the Bourgignon marcheth to Paris with a great power, and the English takes port in Normandie with a thousand faile. There were reasons on either side to ballance these great difficulties, and to trouble the Daulphin, for whether shall he go first? if he march to Paris, the English will come without resistance. If he make head against the English, then Paris is lost, being wisely inclined to the Bourgignons practises: who sees not but the losse of the capitall citie of the realme would be his ruine, and the overthrow of all his desseignes? But Charles did not foresee a greater difficultie at hand by his mother, more warlike and dangerous then all the rest: yet must he auoide all these three stormes, not without great danger. That the providence of God, (the preseruer of this Monarchie) might then it selfe more admirable, restoring this estate, being in the vtterly lost. For Charles who in so sharpe an encounter reaped so worthy a victory, owes the homage vnto God, who gaue him meanes both to fight well, and to vanquish happily. The Daulphin standing doubtfull betwixt these two great extreames, resolves to go to Paris to defend the Citie against the Bourgignons practises, and to assure the Kings person, whom

The Daulphin
incountred by
three great
enemies.

The Bourgig-
nons.
The English.

His mother

Kk

he

14 17 he knew would speake whatsoeuer he pleased, being in his power. *Henry of Mark* A Chancellor of *France*, remained at *Paris* with the King, being wholly at the *Daulphins* deuotion. The people stirre not, being kept in awe by the Parliament and Vniuersitie, who werethen well vnitied. But experience will soone discouer the inconstancie of humane attempts, when they seeme most assured: and the vanitie of a multitude, being the actors of great mens proiects.

The Bour-
guignon makes
a declaration.

The *Bourguignon* at one instant, doth publish his protestation, and displaies his colours, causing his troups to marche. He makes a declaration, containing the causes for the which he takes armes, That is; *To reforme the state, extreemly desolate*, by the ill gouernment of such as (abusing the Kings infirmity) managed the affaires of the realme at their pleasure, and without pittie of the poore people, oppressed them with extraordinarie charges, B against all right and reason. He protested to haue no other intent, but to restore the realme to her former libertie. But he shall change his coppie, imposing new exactions, to the preiudice of the people: and shall grow offended with such as shall oppose themselves: so as it seemes, all this was but a maske to abuse the people, vnder the goodly shew of ease and libertie. But as at the first all seemes goodly, so these glorious beginnings wonne him great credit with the *French* nation. Thus his armie begins to marche through *Picardie* towards *Paris*. All Citties open their gates, where he doth presently proclaime an exemption of all Subsidies and other charges, except of Salt, as the gentlest imposition, seeing that all men without distinction payed their part. But above all, he was very carefull, that his armie should lue orderly and modestly, without any oppression to the poore people, being his ordinarie discourte, as one greatly grieved for their afflictions, and being very desirous of their quiet and content.

These examples proclaimed his vertues, and wonne him the peoples hearts. Other Citties in *Picardie* follow this example: *Beauuais* yeelds willingly vnto him, and shoute out for ioy at his entrie: he goes presently to *Senlis*, kept by *Robert Densné* for the *Armagnacs*. The Cittizens (desirous to imitate the rest) seize vpon their gouernour, open their gates willingly, call in the *Bourguignon*, and receiue him with all ioy. From thence he marcheth speedily to *Beaumont*, the which hauing indured some Canon shotte, (being subiect to the house of *Bourbon*,) yeelds vpon an easie composition. Ponthoife and Melun obey without any dispute. So by degrees he comes before *Paris*, and to shew his armie to the *Parisians*, he lodgeth at *Mont-rouge*, but to approach nearer, he incampes lower, in a place called *The withered Tree*, vnto this day; by reason there stood a great dried Tree. A presage what should after befall his greene and flourishing desseignes. Being there, he writes his letters to the King and Cittie of *Paris*, full of cunning admonitions, beseeching the one, and exhorting the other, to hearken seriously to a good reformation of the State, the true and soueraigne end of his armes.

In the meane time hee looseth not an houre. *John of Luxembourg* (during this his necessarie abroad at *Paris*) goes with a part of the armie, to trie the voluntarie Citties, and every day made new conquests. *Chartres*, *Estampes*, *Gaillardon*, *Montlehery*, *Auneau* and *Rocheport* obey, and after some dayes of rest (to annoy *Paris*) he besiegeth *Corbeil*, a place of importance for the victualing thereof. But whilst he pressed *Corbeil* with exceeding hast, behold he sodenly abandons it against the opinion of all men.

The *Daulphin* and the Constable of *Armagnac* supposed, that seeing that he had lost his labour at *Paris*, hee would seeke to possesse himselfe of places of easier conquest, according to his course begun. But the effect will shew, that his rising was to an other intent, which bred a horrible combustion throughout the whole realme. for *Isibell* Queene of *France*, (discontented with her sonne *Charles*) intreates the Duke of *Bourgonie* to free her from captiuitie. She was then at *Tours*, with some guard, by the Kings commandement, for the which she blamed her sonne, and the Constable, who then had the gouernment of the Court. They kept not so strict a garde of

The Bour-
guignon goes
to Queene
Isibell at
Tours.

A of the Queene, but she had libertie to walke both within and without the City, euen to the Abbie of *Marmouster*, where she had her speciall deuotion. This was a meanes to giue intelligence vnto the *Bourguignon*, and to slip into his hands, as we shall shewe. Reason requires, the history should set downe the motive of so vnnatural a discontent: but she is silent, and reports onely a very light occasion, That the King coming from the King of the *Queens*, who held her state at *Pois-de-Vincennes*, and returning to *Paris*, hee met *Lewis* Bourguignon Knight, going to *Bois-de-Vincennes*, who coming nere to the King, bowed himselfe on horse-backe, and so passed on lightly, without any other reuerence. The King sends presently his Prouost of *Paris* after him, commanding him to apprehend him, and to keepe him safely. The Prouost executing his charge, tooke the said Knight and brought him to Chastelet where by the Kings command, he was cruelly tortured, and downed in the riuer of *Seine*: and some fewe dayes after, by the commandement of the King, the *Daulphin*, and such as then gouerned at *Paris*, the Queene (accompanied with her Sister in Lawe the Duchesse of *Buierre*) was sent to *Blois*, and so to *Tours*, to remaine there in meane estate. *William Lorel*, *John Picard* and *Lawrence Dupuis*, were appointed for hergard, without whose consent shee durst not attempt any thing, no not to write a letter. These bee the wordes of the Original.

The King
discouers of the
Queene.

The Queene
sent with a
gard to Tours.

This her imprisonment, was aggrauated by a newe rigour. All the treasure which she had in Churches, or priuate houses within *Paris*, was seized on by the Constable of *Armagnac*, a free executioner of these proceedings. This shewes a notable dislike betwixt the husband and the wife, and the mother and sonne: but the cause is not specified. If it be lawfull to serch into this secret, shall we say, that Queene *Isabel* mother to our *Daulphin*, louing the one better then the other (as the variety of the mothers affection to her children is too common) had strained all her credit to countenance *John*, after the death of *Lewis*, being thus ingaged with the *Bourguignon*, whome she did hate deadly, by reason of the imprisonment of her brother *Lewis* of *Buierre*: but as she had first loued, and after hated him: might she not in like sort receiue him againe into fauour, as the diuersitie of her passions did moue her by newe occasions, to loue or hate the same man?

The Emperours *Sigismonds* proceeding, made it very suspicious, becing the greatest instrument of the allyance betwixt *John* and the *Bourguignon*. And, to what ende did the *Bourguignon* go to him into *Sauoie* after all this? It is likewise to be considered, that the sodaine death of *John* increased this womans furie against her sonne *Charles*, holding it for certaine, that by the Constables counsell hee had caused him to bee poysoned. Ambition and choller are furious beasts, not to be restrained by respect, especially in a woman, in whome hatred and reuenge make deepe impressions. Jealousie might likewise be a violent counsellor vnto *Charles*. As if *Charles* (animated by the Constable of *Armagnac*, fearing least his mother had some great practise with the *Bourguignon* and his associats) had incensed the King against her, hauing moued him with some other pretext. But in effect it was wholly to restraine this womans power, depriuing her both of libertie and treasure. But the euent will shewe, that she was not alwaies busied at her distaffe, or in her deuotion. The search of the motives is necessarie in a History, especially in famous actions, but the doubtfull coniectures are free to euery mans iudgement. This is all the certaintie of this action.

The *Bourguignon* becing called by *Isabel*, leaues the siege of *Corbeil*, lodgeth his footemen in the Townes of *Beauisse*, that were most fauorable vnto him: and with his horse (which were about ten thousand) hee goes into *Touraine*; when as behold The Bour-
guignon
comes with
the Queene,
(the Queene, becing one morning at her deuotion in the Abbie of *Marmouster*, according to her custome,) hee arriues with his horsemen at an hower appointed. He meetes the Queene, receiues her and enters the Cittie with her, without any difficultie, hauing first cunningly seized vpon the gats. Being entred, he proclaimes an exemption of charges in the Queenes name, and (being accompanied by the people) hee presents himselfe before the Castel, which opens vnto the Queene, being exceeding glad,

1418. to see her selfe at liberty and to command freely. She referres her self wholly vnto the *Bourguignons* will; who likewise seekes to vie her name to make his desheine more plausible. Having therefore assured *Tours*, they march to *Chartres*, a more conuenient Towne for their affaires, lying so neere vnto *Paris*. Being there, & hauing assembled all the clergie, Nobility, three estates and such Citties as they could of their faction, the cause of *Philip* of *Morueliers* to make knowne vnto them, That by reason of the ill gouernement of the Realme, through the great weaknesse of the king her husband, and according to the degree whereunto God had raised her, being Queene of France, she desired infinitely to reforme it. And the rather for that Charles her sonne (corrupted by the ill counsell of the enemies of the state) shewed her not the dutie of a child, to her great griefe. So as to provide good and wholesome remedies for the preservation of the state, and for the seruice of the king her husband, by the good aduice of her cousin the Duke of *Bourgoigne* a Prince of the bloud she declares her selfe Regent of France. The which was pleasing vnto them all, with this title: *Isabell* by the grace of God, Queene of France, hauing by reason of the king my Lords infirmity the gouernement and administration of the Realme, by an irrevocable graunt, made vnto us by our said Lord and his counsell. And for confirmation of this new authority she caused a seale to bee made, whereon was grauen her image, standing right vp, with her armes hanging downe to the earth, as one without comfort and requiring helpe: on the one side were the armes of France, and on the other that of France, and *Bauiere* quartered, with these words. *This is the seale of Causes, Soueraineties and Appellations for the King.*

The Queene declares her selfe Regent of France.

There were two Soueraigne Courts of Iustice erected, one at *Amiens*, and the other at *Troye* in *Champaigne*, with expresse charge not to go to *Paris*. The office of Constable was giuen to the Duke of *Lorraine*, by the deprivation of the Earle of *Armagnac*, and the Chancellourship of France to *Eustache* of *Bastre*, by the giuing ouer of *Henry* of *Marle*.

New Courts erected & new officers made.

As these things began to kindle a new fire of miseries, there were certaine Bishops which laboured to reconcile the Queene and *Daulphin*. The *Bourguignon* accepts of the motion: but the Constable of *Armagnac* breakes off the treaty. An article which shall make him more odious with the people. The *Bourguignon* hauing retired his armye and put his men into garrison, goes into *Sauoy*, where at that time the Emperour *Sigismund* was, (who erected the Earldome of *Sauoy* into a Duchye) and there did confere with him at *Monmellain*. This was not without some great desheine.

In his absence *Philip* of *Bourgoigne* his sonne held a Parliament, to resolute vpon the meanes to make warre with more aduantage. Thus the *Bourguignon* wrought for his part. The *Daulphin* seeing the fields freed and without any enemy; thinks good that the Constable of *Armagnac* should besiege *Senlis*, and the better to countenance his armes, the King himselfe goes with the armye. The Towne being pressed, they take a day to yeeld, if by the 17. of Aprill they be not releued. *John* of *Luxembourg* (whome the *Bourguignon* had left in *Picardy*, for the surety of those places) gathered together what troupes hee can and comes at the day prefixed: at which time the townsmen made a great sally vpon the Kings Campe, fying their tents and pauillions. The Constable (moued with this affront) cuts of the heads of some of their hostages, and they kill six and forty of his men that were prisoners. In the meane time *John* of *Luxembourg* approacheth towards *Creill*, meaning to fight with the Constable, vrging him by sundry skirmishes, hauing sent *Charles* *Dailly* towards *Dampmartin* with a good troupe to stoppe the passage.

The siege of Senlis.

The Constable retires with dishonour.

The Constable (fearing the event of a battaile, being loth to hazard the King) would not ioyne, but desirous to finde some honest colour to auoide the fight, hee sends a trumpet to know who commanded these troupes. And vnderstanding it was *John* of *Luxembourg*, hee answered in a brauery. Seeing it is neither the Duke of *Bourgoigne*, nor his sonne, they are not for vs, let vs go to *Paris*. So he retires without

A without fighting whether the cheete of his affaires drew him, not fore seeing the mischeete which attended him, by reason of this retreat being to preiudiciall to his honor: for the *Parisians* who hated him, and yet feared him for the reputation of his valour, beganne now to contemne him, nothing in this retreat a kinde of couardise, as hauing refused to encounter *John* of *Luxembourg*, who had so brauely offered him the battaile. The brute of this shamefull departure was published by the *Bourguignon* faction to their masters aduantage. They embrace this occasiō being loth the peoples heat should growe cold by any better successe, obseruing likewise that the King, *Daulphin*, Constable, Chancellor, and all the cheete of that partie were at *Paris*, to be all surprised together. The Duke of *Bourgoigne* was vpon his returne from *Sauois*, but he departed not with out good instructions from the Empire.

Division of the multitude at Paris.

But leauing the *Bourguignons* army in field, let vs note the estate of that great City of *Paris* *Perrinet* Cleric a smith; *John* *Thiebert* a brother *Perrin* *Bourdichon* a Cooper (such were they whome the *Bourguignon* had made his Colenells at *Paris* hauing practised all their friends with great secrecie and engaged many; they aduertise the *Seignor* of *Lisle Adam* (who was gouernour of *Ponthoise* for the *Bourguignon* of their enterprife; the which was to deliuer him a gate, and a good troupe of the Inhabitants within the hart of the Cittie, so as they might haue soldiars to second there attempt. *Lisle Adam* accepteth thereof, and the euent was answerable to the desheine: for these vnder-takers assigne him *Saint Germain*s gate: *Perrinet* hath the Keyes. *Lisle Adam* presents himselfe at midnight, being the houre appointed, with eight hundred armed men. He finds the gate open, and *Berrinet* attending him. Then he putts his men in battaile, least he should be taken in disorder, *Perrinet* shuts the gate and casts the Keyes into the ditch: and then without any noise he marcheth with this troupe to the lesser Chastelet, where he had left a Squadron of fower hundred men vnder the great vault, to lie more couerlie.

The Burguignons partisans

Lisle Adam hauing wined his troupe with the Cittizēns, (so as the one might assist the other) he sends forth diuers troupes to giue the alarm in diuers quarters of the Cittie, with charge to moue the people to armes. Euery troupe marcheth speedely to his quarter, as he is commanded, crying out with a terrible voice in the dead of the night *Rise good people, peace, peace, God saue the King and the good Duke of Bourgoigne*. At this noise all rise, some to hide themselves, others to arme: so as in short time a great multitude (being armed) wander vp and downe the streets ready to fight. Their Capitaines appoint them what houses of the *Armagnacs* they should force. The first troupe must seaze vpon the King but before all was ready, the alarm was generall. Such as had most interest are soonest vp. *Tanneuy* of Chastelet, *Prouest* of *Paris* a very trustie seruuant to the *Daulphin* wrapps him in a sheet and carries him into the Battaille. A good *Leuiane* which shall one day raise the dow, and the hand of him that kneds it. Some others also retired themselves thither, which shall serue in this Scene. *John* *Louet*, *Robert* *Masson*, the *Vicont* of *Narbonne* & *Bouci-quaut*. The Constable *Armagnac* in a disguised weed saues himselfe in a neighbours house.

Sedition at Paris.

The King taken.

The Daulphin takes himselfe.

But all this troupe flies to the Kings lodging at *Saint Pol*. These tribunes cause this poore sicke Prince to rise with out any respect: they force him to promise what they please, and to ride through the City, crying: *God saue the King, and peace*, thinking by his presence to increase their troupe, and to countenance their confusion.

This done euery troupe seekes his quarter: and manie are taken. The chancellor of *Marle* is surprised in his lodging and *Raimonet* *De la Guerre*, whome were good supporters of the *Armagnac* faction, many presidents, Councillors and masters of the Accowmpts were taken, with out any respect of persons. The Cardinals of *Bar* and *Saint Marc*, the Archebishop of *Rheims*, the Bishops of *Senlis*, *Bayeux* & *Constance* were carried away and imprisoned, all the prisons are filled with honorable persons. But what is become of the *Daulphin* and Constable? they serch, they hunt in all places:

The Chancellor taken.

1418 yet finding nothing, they commande, by sound of trumpet, that every man should presently upon paine of death, discover the *Armagnacs*. The *Daulphin* was safe, but the Constable (discovered by his host) is taken, carried away by one of these Tribunes and imprisoned, hee was in danger as he past through the streets, riding behind him that had him in gard.

The Constable taken. Thus was the night spent untill day, yet without any murder, and it seemes this was by commandement. This happened in the yeare 1418. the 25. of May, a pleasant day, the forerunner of a mournfull winter. The *Daulphin* having escaped this danger miraculously, by the good aduice of *Tannequy of Chastell*, he resolues to do his best in retrying himselfe else where, and not to hazard his person with this furious and murderous people. By the faithfull meanes of this good seruant, he goes forth secretly in the night, and slips into *Melun*, leaping from place to place like a bird that flies from bough to bough. From *Melun* he goes to *Nemours*, whether hee sends for his most trustie seruants, of whose helpes he had neuer greater neede. The *Marshall of Rieux* comes vnto him with many of the Nobility: they consult of the meanes to recover *Paris*, before it be supplied with soldiars.

The *Daulphin* seeketh to recover Paris. So they gather together fifteene hundred horse with all speed. The *Marshall of Rieux* hath the charge to leade them: while the *Daulphin* preleues the fortune of *France* in safetie. A dangerous enterprize, which had no successe, but the honor to haue attempted a thing altogether impossible, the which was executed with much lesse losse then the danger was great. The *Bistelle* held *Saint Anthonies* gate sure, for the *Daulphin*. The *Marshall of Rieux* enters it with his troupes, and marcheth boldly to the Kings lodging, but hee finds it empty, the King beinge retyred to the *Louure*. The alarum is giuen throughout the whole Cittie: they must thinke of their retreat. Stones, tyles, arrowes and all things else flie from the houses and windowes: the chaines are drawne, and the streets full of armed men: all crie, kill, kill the *Armagnacs*. The *Marshall of Rieux* leads his men happily in this retreat, and fearing *Saint Anthonies* gate, he drawes them forth so closely, as he escapes this great and imminent danger with little losse.

Many townes mutine. This alarum had put the people into armes, who hauing chased their enemies out of the heart of their Cittie, were quiet for that time, expecting some further commaund from the *Bourguignon*, and an ende of this terrible tumult, whilest they take breath: others are drawne into the like mutine by their example. All the Townes of *Picardie*, fauoring the *Bourguignon* greatly, make bonfiers. *Compienne*, *Creil*, *Saint Maxence*, *Monchy le Preux*, *Pont a Choisi*, *Noion*, *Laon*, *Soissons*, *Chauny*, *Peronne* and *Cisors* (expelling their garrisons) declare themselves of his partie. Some dayes are spent thus quietly, since the first taking of prisoners.

But behold a newe tumult like vnto a violent winde, which chanced the twelfth of Iune. In the morning all the people arme by the commaunde of the Leaders. This furious multitude go forth off their houses: (like a swarme of bees creeping from their combs) armed with all sorts of weapons. In short time there are fortie thousand men assembled in the streetes and market places. *Iohn of Luxembourg*, *James of Harcourt*, the *Vidame of Amiens*, *Lisle-Adam*, *Fosseaux*, *Chastellus*, *Cohen*, *Lambourg* the newe *Prouost of Paris*, (with many others most trustie seruants to the *Bourguignon*) are on horse-back in troupes, to second this multitude on foote, readie to fight as in a day of battaile: when as about foure of the clock (like as when the heauens darkened with thick clouds, and the ayre ouercast, the thunder rumbling in the ayre, sodenly when the lightning appeeres, the crake breakes forth and tears a Towers toppe,) this furious multitude, flocking from all parts of the Cittie with a sylent stillnesse, buie forth into diuers parts. They open the prisons and kill such as they meete without any pittie.

They murder Iaylors, their wiues and children, men and maides, but especially the poore prysoners are their obiect. In this tumult, all crie all howle, all are amazed. The confused cries of the murderers and murdered rebound vp to heauen. The Constable

A Constable of *Armagnac*, and *Henry of Marle* (being brought forth with shouts and reproches) are beaten downe and layed by for the triumph. The Bishops of *Constance*, *Bayeux*, *Evreux*, *Senlis*, *Saintes*, and the Abbot of *Saint Cornille* go the same way. The Earle of *Gandré*, *Raymond de la Guerre*, *Hector of Chartres*, *Enguerand of Marcon*, *ss. Charles Poupard*: the officers of the Court of Parliament, Chambers of Accompt, Requests, & Treasure: to conclude, all that are of any account are massacred. The blood streames through the Cittie, the streetes, and walles ouerflowe. The noted *Armagnacs* are thus murdered: but the furie of this madde multitude extends farther, euen against such as had bene with them, and of their owne faction: for many affectionate *Bourguignons* were beaten downe: every man seekes his enemy to kill him vnder this pretext. The rascals fall vpon the rich, and killing them as *Armagnacs*, they spoyle their houses, as a lawfull prey of their conquest. The eye of this furious multitude spares neyther sexe, age nor quality. The Duke of *Bourgonnes* followers are lookers on of this spectacle, and watch that none escape.

The historie makes mention of sixteene hundred cruelly murdered on this miserable day, noted to the dishonour of these detestable murderers, and to the griefe of *France*, to see her owne bowelles thus defiled with her blood, and her memorie blemished with this crueltie. This furie continued from fower of the clocke on the twelfth day, untill ten the next day, nothing ceassing for the nights rest. These madde men (hauing refreshed them selues) seeke out the rest to finish their most cruell worke.

The prisoners of the great *Castelet* made resistance against their furie: they are be-seged, forced and massacred: the greatest part are cast from the toppe of the Tower, and fall vpon their pikes, halberds and other weapons. The bodies of the Constable & Chancellor, lying naked vpon the stones, are carried to the marble table in the Pallace hall. To noate the Constable by his accustomed scarfe, they fice a bend of his kinne and doe it about his bodie. This spectacle is drawne about the Cittie three dayes together, and then carried out in a dung-cart, to a place where they cast all their carrion and fish called the dunghil, without any buriall.

The *Bourguignon* was at *Dion* during this tumult at *Paris*, who was presently aduertised thereof. This Historie sayes, that he semed very glad of the taking of the Cittie, but very sorie for the murder of the prisoners: but God who kept a true register, shall one day put him in minde thereof. And in truth, he that shall duely consider all the circumstances of this confusion, cannot imagin, but it was done by his commaunde.

He gathers all the forces hee can together, to gard the Queene to *Paris*, as it were in triumph. The *Parisians* meete him with great pompe: they offer him their most affectionate seruice, and present the Duke of *Bourgonne* and the Earle of *Saint Pol* his Brother with purple velvet gownes, pouldred with *Saint Andrews* crosses, the which at their requests they presently put on, and so (drawing neere the Queenes coach) they enter the Cittie of *Paris*, the people attending at their entrie, and crying: *God save the King and the good Duke of Bourgonne*, the Coach being covered with flowers which they cast vpon it. And this was the Queenes and the Duke of *Bourgonnes* entrie after the massacre.

But this *Parisienoy* was soone turned into heauinesse, for within three monethes after this butchery, the plague entred the Cittie, and slewe about foure score thousand persons in three monethes. The Historie obserues, that *Ferrinet* and his companions, (after they had eaten what they had gathered in together by spoile) perished miserably, little enioying their thefts. Most of the Noble men and gentlemen which had assisted these murderers died of the plague, except *Lisle-Adam*, who was refused to receiue his punishment from King *Henry of England*, although vpon an other occasion as you shall see here after. And was not this God who reuenged this crueltie? But let vs returne to our discourse, for seeing the punishment was so sodaine, we might not well remit the rehearsal to any other place.

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Charles looks but coldly vpon his wife, whom he loved not, neither in health, or a sicknesse. Hee welcomes the Duke of *Bourgonne* with a cheerefull countenance, who had wonne his heart, by framing himselfe to his weakenesse with mild speeches, shewes of honour and apparant humility. Impressions of common sense, whereof phrensie for the most part doth not deprive mad men.

The *Bourguignon* alters all at *Paris*.

The Kings counsell assembled presently: many things were propounded the first day, they began with Officers; the Constables place was confirmed to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Chancellors hip to *Eustache of Laistre*. *Lisle*, *Adam* and *Chastelus* are made Marshalls of *France*, for their well deferring at the massaker at *Paris*. Our *Bourguignon* creates *Charles of Lens* Admirall of *France*, being Captaine of *Paris*, and *Phillip of Moruilliers* the Queenes Aduocate, first President of the Court of Parliament.

The English take all *Normandie*.

During this confusion, *Henry King of England* makes other worke. He was in *Normandy*, taking Townes and Castles without any resistance. *Touques* (a Castell held impregnable) was forced by him, during the passions of our mad-men, as the first fruites of his conquests, *Louiers*, *Pont larche*, *Caen*, *Cherbourg*, *Falaise*, *Argenton*, *Alexon*, *Constance*, *S. Lo*, and other places followed, to make the way open to *Rouen* without any great difficulty.

Rouen besieged & taken.

Rouen is besieged in a manner the very day of the massaker at *Paris*. *Henry* doth assault it with all the force and policie he can, as the Dungeon and chiefe strength of all *Normandy*. The citizens give a testimony of good and faithfull subjects, by their valour and constancie. They demand succours from the King, with a protestation of the euent. The Court makes shew to stirre and to provide for their defence: but what remedy can the dead give vnto the sick? In the ende after all their resistance seeking to maintaine themselves vnder the obedience of *France*, *Rouen* yeelds to *Henry King of England* vpon hard conditions. To paye him three hundred sixty thousand Crownes of gold, and three Citizens at his choise to doe his pleasure. And so he suffered them to enjoy their priuileges. Of the three which he had chosen to punish, he pardoned two, and caused *Alaine lanchart*, Captaine of the commons to bee beheaded, worthy to be eternized in our history, dying for the seruice of his King and countrye, in a time so famous for so desperate a confusion. The sequels were great, for not onely all the Townes of *Normandy* yeeld vnto him, but also the Isle of *France* was so amazed, as all obey him euen to the gates of *Paris*, where the fure of our miserable dissensions prepared a Throne for the sworne enemye of our Realme.

All yeelds vnto King *Henry*.

I am weary to report our shamefull losses, as retaining our old soares. *Henry* might haue grauen in his triumph. *Isame*, *Isane* and *ouersame*, onely *Mont S. Michel* in *Normandy* was maintained vnder the obedience of our crowne, through the valour of some Gentlemen *Normans*, whose names the last ny owes to posterity. *John of Montfort* Duke of *Britanie* (seeing this happie successe,) makes composition with the English, throweing him selfe vnder his protection, but he shall soone leave him, when a more happie season shall make him turne to the *Daulphin*. In this shipwrecke the Queene and the *Bourguignon* had meane to glut their ambition and furie at *Paris*, beholinge the ruine of *France*, hoping that in all extremities they should make their peace with the King of England at their Countries cost, hauing a daughter for a peace and confirmation of this accord.

The *Bourguignon* treats with the English but in vaine.

They send Ambassadors to *Henry King of England* being a Conquerour, and for a baite they carry the portrait of *Katherine of France*, the Kings daughter, a Princesse of excellent beauty, who must likewise bee the Leuit of our miserie. But *Henry* finding this figure to be faire, desires to see the essentiall substance, so as the Queene and the *Bourguignon* (gouerning the spirit of this poore sick King) conducts him a person with his daughter, to their enemy neere to *Meulan*, to aduise of a meane for a generall peace; but they departed without any conclusion, by reason of the great demands

A demands which *Henry* made, putt vp with this victorious successe, seeking to sell his friendship at too high a rate. Yet the image of *Katherine* had made an impression in his heart, being much discontented that they had refused her with these conditions.

The *Bourguignon* likewise found lesse kindnesse then he expected, and returned malecontent, for that *Henry* putt vp with these fortunate encounters, and carried away with hope of future victorie, spake more proudly then the *Bourguignon* could well digest, which was the cause of his destemperature. He growes discontented and seeks to reconcile himselfe to the *Daulphin*. *Henry* said in his choler, That he would haue both daughter and Realme, whosoever said nay, and that there was no sufficient security for what they promised, seeing the *Daulphin* did not consent therunto. A pill which the *Bourguignon* could not easily swallow. So he chewed vpon this speech of the English, which drew him to his mine, for euen then he beganne to study by what meanes he might reconcile himselfe vnto the *Daulphin*, hoping to finde a better composition with a yong Prince his kinsman, and weary of the warres, then with the English growne insolent by his victories. *Charles* was not quiet in minde, fearing least in these treaties, they should conclude something to his preiudice. So as they both inclined to an accord, but vpon diuers causes, to oppose against their common enemye with a common force. But before we shewe the effect of this common desire, we must see both the estate of our *Daulphin* (since hee retired himselfe from *Paris*) and of the *Bourguignon*, since hee became Tribune of the people.

Although this terrible storme might haue shaken the young yeares of the *Daulphin*, *Charles*, vnacquainted with the affaires of the world, and his disposition (inclining to pleasure) seemed vnfit to indure much paine and toyle: yet the effects at need shewed his constant resolution against all difficulties. They attribute this constancie and resolution to the faithfull counsell of his seruants: yet was it much for him to follow it. *Tanneguy of Chastell*, *John Louuet* president of *Prouence*; the Vicont of *Narbonne*, and *Robert Masson*, were those which serued him most for Councell in the beginning; but God soone after did raise him vp strong hands to mannage armes courageously and valiantly, *La Hire*, *Pothon* of *S. Treille* (whom commonly they call *intrailles*), *D* the Bastard of *Orleans*, with other braue and fortunate Captaines which shal be famous in the course of our History.

The *Daulphin* estate.

But the Realme was fitly diuided into these factions. The Kings authoritye and the Capitall City were for the Queene and the *Bourguignon*. *Picardy*, *Bourgonne* and many Townes in *Bry*, *Champagne* and *Beauisse* obey them absolutely after these massacres. Only *Sens* in *Bourgonne* held out, the which they could not pull from the *Daulphin*.

The *Bourguignon* estate.

The Prince of *Orange* (of the *Bourguignon* faction) makes warre for him in *Daulphine* and *Languedoc*, to crosse the affaires of our *Charles*, who notwithstanding had the greatest part of the country at his deuotion, with the friendship of *Auignon*, and of the Earledom of *Venaisioin* or of *Venese*. The English possessed all *Normandy*, and a great part of *Guicenne*, but *Rochell*, *Poitiers*, *S. John d'Angey*, *Angoulesme*, *Fontenay* and some other Townes acknowledged the *Daulphin*. All *Aniou* was his, *Anuergne*, *Berry*, *Bourbonois*, *Forreest*, and *Lionois* obeyed him. So as they are deceiued which thinke that he onely held the city of *Bouges* in those dayes: vnder colour that his enemies called him King of *Bouges*, because he made his chiefe residence there, when as his mother called her selfe Regent. He likewise tooke vpon him the name of Regent. A name which fortified his title with great authority, and did countenance his affaires in those difficulties and confusions.

The Queene and the *Bourguignon* seeks vnto the *Daulphin*.

The Queene and the *Bourguignon* laboured by all meanes to winne him: they sent him his wife honourable attended, with all her iewells, promising him his place with respect and obedience, but theyr meaning was to bee ridde of him, not able to know how to conforme him to their humours. In keeping himselfe faire from them, hee preferred his head for the Crowne; the which attended him,

412 him: he preuented the ambitious desseines of his enimie, and made himselfe to bee a more respected throughout the Realme.

At these horrible massacres, his Captaines roused vp their spirits. *Bocquiaux* seized of *Compiene*, *Pierre-Fons* vpon *Soissons* for him, who (molesting *Pitardy* and the Lie of *France* with their dayly roads) held *Paris* in ieaiousie. He himselfe had part of the honour in the execution of these conquests, not leauing all to his seruants: for hee leaped out of *Anion* into *Touraine*, besieged and took the City of *Tours*. The Duke of *Brittaine* seeing the happy successe of the *Daulphins* affaires, leaues the *English*, and ioynes with the *Daulphin*, as the strongest part.

The Duke of Brittain leaues the English, and ioynes with the Daulphin

Behold the estate of our *Daulphin*, who growes constant and resolute amidst these tempests. And what was the estate of our *Bourguignon*? In the beginning his partisans were al fire and flame, for the zeale of his seruice: but finding not what they expected at his hands, nor any successe in his affaires, but rather the discommodities of *Paris*, and other places vnder his obedience to increase; this heat abated dayly, finding by experience that the cause of these waies was light, beeing but humors and priuate quarrells, very preiudiciall to the State, the which the *English* did fappe, vndermine and rume, seizing dayly vpon whole Prouinces, without any difficulty.

Thus *Henries* victories were plaine demonstrations to the most passionate, to discover the *Bourguignons* dissembling: for, who sees not but his end was to gouerne, to the ruine of *France*. In the end euery one comming to his right witts, findes that of a *Frenchman* he is become an *Englishman*. The folly or fury of a faction could not mortifie the feeling of lawfull obedience, vnder which they were borne. To what end (saies the common sort of these cleere-sighted) shall we vndoe our selues, for the passions of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, opposing himselfe against the lawfull heire of the Crowne? Thus the *Bourguignon* sees the affections of his partakers to growe dayly colde. A worme which tormented him hourly, hauing grounded his chiefe hopes vpon their constancies, who promised to stande firmly to him at all euents. Doubtlesse, whatsoeuer the Giants of States haue imagined, setting one hill vpon another, the *Pirenees* vpon the *Alpes*, with all the *Appanin*, to scale the throne of the *French* Monarchy, promising vnto themselves euents according to the mouldes of their imaginations: yet cannot the *French* yeeld to any strangers command, no more then to change nature and become a stranger.

The people grow in dislike with the Bourguignons.

But, to increase the *Bourguignons* heartes griefe, his chiefe instrument not onely failes him, but is ready to turne violently against him. For what hath he not attempted to winne the loue of this multitude at *Paris*, and of the greatest Citties of the Realme, making them beleue, that he burnt with zeale of their good, and the publicke weale, the onely ende of all his desseines. feeding them with these goodly and popular promises of exemption of charges and impositions? But they begin all to mutine, seeing he spake onething, and did thinke another, and oppressed them more then those whom he had condemned as the causes of publike oppressions: for whatsoeuer he imagined, yet had he neede of money. For howe could hee else make warre? how could he entertaine his great traine? his partisans, and his reputation among Strangers? And where should he raise it, but vpon such as obeyed him: to seeke it at such as could resist, were to mistake, and to make his reckoning alone in vaine.

Moreover, this people (whome he had so much countenanced, making themselves maisters by his power, to become by their meanes maister of his enemies) would be generally obeyed, and why? not of the *Bourguignon*, seeing hee had opposed himselfe, and prescribed a lawe to a sonne of *France*? If the *Bourguignon* doth worse then he hath done, shall not the people reduce him vnto reason? He hath promised exemptions of subsidies, and they are more grievous then before. We haue preuailed (say they) against a Constable, against a Chancelour of *France*, yea ouer the King & Queene, making them to yeeld her brother, and most

A most trusty seruants, and shall wee not suppress some few galliants, seruants to the Duke of *Bourgonne*? This was the *Parisians* ordinary discourse: and their Tribunes (who were not so well entertained as before) begin mutinie. They resolueto seize vpon some of the *Bourguignons* favorites, and to punish them, who had perswaded him to renew the impositions, contrary to his promise.

These men (the concealing of whose names, notes the basenesse of their qualities,) hauing intelligence of this search, fled into the *Basille*, and the people followe after as if they would overthrow it. A great multitude begins to vndertake it, & had preuailed, if the *Bourguignon* had not instantly come much discontented, who seeing himselfe inuironed with so great a troupe of armed men, fearing the losse of his head, hee was forced to deliuer his seruants to the people, who put them all to death, to teach the *Bourguignon* that they had no lesse authority and power ouer him, then ouer the King and the *Daulphin* his sonne.

The Parisians mutine against the Bourguignon faction.

They kill the Bourguignons seruants.

This occasion thrusts the people into greater fury, (who being thus armed) choose a head, called *Cappeluche Bourrell*, to finish their executions vpon some such as might receiue these impositions and publike charges. They march through the cittie, and enter into many houses to robbe and spoile, vnder colour of apprehending of such as had assisted at these innouations. The rich men feared for their own particulars, but the *Bourguignon* more the all, knowing himself to be the Author of this disorder, hauing thrust the people into armes, for what successe should this disordred liberty haue but to fall vpon the Authors thereof?

Hauing therefore won some of the chiefe Commanders, they choose out a troupe of the most wilfull mutinous, to be fired off them, vnder colour of sending them to the warre against the *Daulphinois*, which had surprised the Castle of *Montlehery*, and began to invade euen to the gates of *Paris*. Yet they retheyned *Cappeluche Bourrell*, vnder colour of some speciall seruice. But the *Bourguignon* beeing growne the stronger, with the chiefe of the Cittie, he causeth *Bourrell* to bee taken, and hanged with some number of his associates. This multitude being at *Montlehery*, discontented with the *Bourguignon*, leaues the siege, and returnes to be reuenged, but the gates were shut, and the wailes well garded, so as all passed without any more adoe. But the *Bourguignon* was much perplexed, beeing troubled in minde to haue put a sword into a mad-mans hand: beeing afraid of an vsure gard, and a foretelling that his Empire should not continue long.

So, the repulse hee receiued from the *English*, the coldnesse of the Nobilitye of his party, and the peoples change, were the motiues which made him wishe for the *Daulphins* friendship, who now preuented him, although hee had often refused it. That which moued *Charles* thereunto, was necessity, and the hope of a greater desseine, finding no better meanes to stoppe the current of the *English* victory and the *Bourguignons* treachery, then to ioyne with him, attending some better occasion.

The successe fauoured this counsell of his followers. He sends *Tanneguy* of *Chastel* to the Duke of *Bourgonne*, to make the first proposition, and after him the Lady of *Gien* (in whome the *Bourguignon* had great confidence) to appoint a day and place for a parle, and to seeke the meanes of a good peace. They meete at *Pouilly* the strong, nere vnto *Melun*, in the open field with their gardes. The *Bourguignon* talked to the *Daulphin* on his knee, and held his stirrup, although *Charles* refused this submission. Proofoes to shewe with what necessity hee sought his friendship: as a man that is beaten with all windes and out of breath. So they conclude an inuiolate peace, and to bandye themselves against the common enemy of *France*, promises are made on eyther side, with all demonstrations and protestations of a firme and inuiolable friendship. The articles of their accord and contract are set downe at large in the Originall of our Historie.

A peace betwixt Charles the Daulphin and John of Bourgonne.

This peace betwixt *Charles* the *Daulphin*, and *John* Duke of *Bourgonne*, was made nere to *Pouilly* the strong, vpon *Ponchiell*, a league from *Melun*, in the yeare 1419.

All

1419

All France reioyced, as after a long and sharpe winter, when the sun appeareth in a pleasant spring. The King and all the Parliaments ratified this accord, which euery man held for the gage of firme friendship betwixt these Princes, and their loue for a firme pillar of the Realmes quiet. But the prouidence of the protector of this French monarchie had otherwise decreed.

These reconciliations could not serue for sufficient cautions against his iustice worthily incensed against the *Bourguignon*, being guilty of horrible crimes, and the willfull abuse of his patience. The counle which Charles held to be rid of his enemy, is not commendable: but in one and the selfe same worke, we must wisely distinguish of that which is of God, & that which is of man, to approue the good which is alwayes iustified in Gods ordinance, and to blame the ill alwayes to be blamed in man: that we may stoppe our mouths and open our eyes, and not to reply against the iust iudgements of God, but vewe the strange and extraordinary punishment of the *Bourguignons* strange and extraordinary crimes, who during the weakenes of our poore King, hath so much troubled the Realme.

We haue said, (and the course of the history will shewe it very plainly) that the Dauphin Charles suffered himselfe to be gouerned by his seruants. By their aduice hee had made this accord with the *Bourguignon*, wherein they had eyther of them feuerall respects: although eythers intent was to make his profit with the others losses, in circumuening of his companion. But he that made his accompt to deceiue (hauing not yet changed his minde, although the present necessity made him to change his countenance) was deceiued: and which is more, he which built his greatest desires vpon murder, is murdered, being the onely expedient the Dauphins seruants could deuise to free him from these troubles, in dispatching the *Bourguignon* once for all.

The resolution was very great, but to perswade this prince thereto, was of greater difficulty. A yong man, iust, wile, moderate & of a very milde disposition, so as they had much adoe to perswade him to so bold and violent a remedy. Why my Lord (say they) can you beleue that the Duke of Bourgogne is any thing amended? although he stou now to necessity, can he bend his heart to reason? Haue you forgotten what he did to your father? He did not kill him and maintained it as well done? braued the King in Paris, armed himselfe against him, and forced him to iustifie this execrable murder? He masked himselfe with a shewe of good meaning to make his accord with your poore Cousins of Orleans, but was it not with an intent to ruine them with the more facility seeking to diuide them from your deceased father? The Duke of Berry, incensing the King and your eldest brother against them, making Edicts against them, as guilty of high treason and pursuing them with cruell force? When as your brother (discouering his wickednesse) had forsaken him, and that he (yeelding to necessity, as he did now) concluded a peace, did he not arme himselfe by a newe deuise, to ruine your bloud, opposing both Paris and the States of the realme, under the name of the common weale, to put to death the best seruants of the King your father, incensing the people against them, becoring the famous executioners of his execrable rage? And when as he found these popular furies not succeed well, hath he not stid to force? yea seeing his great enemy your cousin of Orleans prisoner, and your wife of Berry dead, hath he mortified his cruel desires in these common calamities? He hath rather stirred up the Emperour to trouble the State, laboured to draw your deceased brother into his humor, to kindle newe fires and to consume you in them. You my Lord are he who only trouble him, who only may frustrate his desires, and therefore hee stoues to take away your head, and sit your Crowne vpon his, what hath he not attempted against you? His last actions are worse then the first. There he sought to abuse your brother with your Cousins: here he opposeth your mother against you. There hee did openly fight against the law of state, here he doth openly oppugne the law of nature. There (by his policie) he did nourish enuie betwixt kinsmen, here by his audacious violence he teares in sunder the wombe where in you did lie, to ruine the State. For to what ende doth hee begine the Regency to your mother, (the King your father liuing) and you being borne Regent during his life, and King after his death? To what ende should hee stie to a furious multitude, to decide your controuersie? He hath

The Dauphin proceeding against the Bourguignon not commendable.

Reasons to induce the Dauphin to kill the Bourguignon.

A armed fortie thousand men, in the capitall cittie of your realme; and accompanied them with his men at armes. To what end serued all that, but to make a tragical execution of his cruel paysons: why did he cause that massacre to be made when you were in the cittie and sought for you so carefully, but to vse you as they did your Constable and Chancellor, and as many of your good seruants as fell into their hands? And after all these exploits, the *Bourguignon* must call the English King into France, to giue him your sister in marriage: nay rather to take your Crowne from you by peace-meales, for seeing he cannot haue it all, he seeks to diuide it. This is the Apple for the which he sowes so much dissention. The Lawe releets him, and he appeales to faith, to shadow himselfe with her cloake, and to deceiue you with more open shew. He therefore kisseth your hand, he kneeles, he holdes your St. rop, to hide his treacherie with a shew of humilitie. Will you beleue (my Lord) that he is in bad termes with the King of England. They are both at one common obiect. They haue sworn both to take away your life: but the *Bourguignon* may effect that which the English cannot. And that which they cannot weakly open so: ce. they pretend to effect by policie, couering it with this goodly shew of peace. What effects hath he giuen you of this reconciliation? What Towne hath he rendred? nay what man hath he dismissed? Continuing still in armes, he discouers his intent. He meanes to ruine you with his forces being lodged in your bowels. His desseignes being well knowne vnto you my Lord, will you suffer him to preuent you? We ought to watch for you and seeke the meanes to crosse him. It is lawfull to repell craft by policie. Faith is a holy thing, but who can with reason say, if a theefe denies his name to circumuent vs, but that it is lawfull to surprise him with his owne armes? To draw an enemy into a mischief which he had prepared for a good man, is no treacherie, but wisdom, especially when there is question to preserve the state. Are you (my Lord) a priuate person? All this great body (whereof God hath made you the head) stretcheith forth the armes, and craues your aide against this theefe, which hath sworn the ruine. He attends but the houre to dispatch you, and to seize thereon. The safest course is to preuent him: your enemies head shall preserve yours, and all your good and faithfull subjects. My Lord, we protest there is no priuate interest of ours. All is yours, and the publike weales. The faith we haue vowed vnto you, commands vs to deliuer our free aduise. We haue lined, doe liue, and will liue; your faithfull seruants, euen vnto the death. The heart makes the mouth to speake, but our hands shall execute your commandments.

The Dauphin (incouraged by these perswasions of his seruants,) resolves. Wee haue said, that he parted from Tours, to parle with the *Bourguignon*; but after that accord, he made a voyage into Berry to assure those places, and to leuie men: in shew to ioyne with him, and to oppose against the English with their common forces: but in effect, it was for the murder of his greatest enemy. He had then twentiethousand fighting men with him. With this troupe he comes into Soulogne, approaching neere vnto those places where his men might be best employed. *Monstrean-saut-Tonne*, (a Towne in Brie, where the ruer of Yonne loseth her name, ioyning with Seine) held for him. From thence he sends *Tannegey of Chastell* (a very sufficient man of his houshold, and his trustie seruant) to *Troyes in Champagne*, to the Duke of Bourgogne, desiring him to come vnto him to *Monstrean*, to reioine vpon the effecting of their accord, and to imploy their common forces against their common enemy, hauing brought them to that end, protesting that he should be much grieved to see them burthen some vnto the people without vse. Moreouer he had some very priuate affaires to impart vnto him, as vnto his best and dearest friend.

Tannegey had no other answer from the *Bourguignon*, but that it were better for the Dauphin to come to *Troyes* to the King and Queene, his Father and Mother, to conclude things in their presence, and by their authoritie, the which should be very necessary, to reduce the affaires to some good course. Some dayes are spent in refusing and reintreating. The *Bourguignons* conscience caused him to feare, and the proceeding was suspicious, but that the apparent dislike betwixt the Mother and the

The Dauphin resolves to kill the Bourguignon.

1419. Sonne, needed the mediation of such a friend as the *Bourguignon*. This was a goodly pretext, to draw the Duke of *Bourgogne* to be a mediator of peace, betwixt the Queene and the *Daulphin*; and the charge of their armies, (being idle,) was not small, the which vrged this interuiewe.

The Lady of *Gias* (of whom we haue spoken) was employed againe to sollicite this treaty. So as the *Bourguignon* comes to *Bray* vpon *Seine*, whether the *Daulphin* sent the Bishop of *Valence* vnto him, he was brother to *Charles* of *Poitiers*, Bishop of *Langres*, in whom he had great confidence. This Bishop had in the ende power to perswade him to go to *Monstreun*, where the *Daulphin* attended him.

The *Bourguignon* goes accompanied with five hundred horse, two hundred Archers, and many noble men, among the which was *Charles* the eldest Sonne of the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom the Duke of *Bourgogne* had corrupted, to weaken the *Daulphin*'s party, being a Prince of the blood. The *Daulphin* had prepared the Castle for the *Bourguignon*, but he vnfurnished it of all munition for warre and victuall; and causeth the bridge to be fortified with three turnepikes, to stoppe their free entrance into the Towne, whether the *Bourguignon* must come by dutie vnto the *Daulphin*.

This succeeded according to his desire, but it carried the shewe of an enemy. The *Bourguignon* sends three gentlemen of his household to the *Daulphin*, *Thoulouze*, *Ernoy* and *Soubretier*, to aduertise him of his coming. They giue him notice of the two barricadoes made vpon the Bridge, and with him not to aduenture. Having referred it to his Counsell, all being on horsebacke, he resolues in the ende to passe on: he lights at the Castle where his lodging was assigned, and fetts his gages at the entry of the gate towards the Towne. Hereupon *Tannequy* of *Chastell* comes vnto him, who after a due reuerence saluted him from the *Daulphin*, saying, that he attended him at the bridge foote, at the towne gate.

Then *John* of *Bourgogne*, hauing chosen out ten of his most trusty followers, (*Charles* of *Bourbon*, the Lords of *Nouaille*, *Fribourg*, *S. George*, *Montagu*, *Vergy*, *Auer*, *Pontauillier*, *Lens*, *Gias*, and his Secretarie *Seguinat*) hee approcheth to the first barre, where he incoounters with some from our *Charles*, who intreat him to enter vpon their maisters word, and assure him by oath. Before he enters, (as if his heart had foretold his harme) he stayes sodainely, and askes aduice of his company, who incouraging him to passe on, he enters the second barre, the which was presently locked, and then he caused some to go before him and some behind, he remaining in the midst. *Tannequy* of *Chastell* comes to receiue him, and the Duke laying his hand vpon his shoulder very familiarly. This is he (saies the Duke) in whom I trust. I will conclude this bloody Catastrophe with the very words of the Originall. And so he approached vnto the *Daulphin*, who stood all armed with his sword by his side, leaning on a barre. Before whom he kneeled with one knee on the ground, to do him honour and reuerence, saluting him most humbly. Whereat the *Daulphin* answered nothing, making him no shewe of love, but charged him with breach of his promise, for that he had not caused the war to cease, nor draw his men out off garriison, as he had promised. Then *Robert* de *Loire* tooke him by the right arm, and said, Rise, you are but too honourable. The Duke hauing one knee on the ground, and his sword about him, which hong not to his minde, somewhat too farre backe, kneeling downe he laid his hand on his sword to pull it forward for his ease. *Robert* said vnto him, doe you lay your hand vpon your sword before my Lord the *Daulphin*. At which word *Tannequy* of *Chastell* drew nere vnto him on the other side, who making a signe said, It is time, striking the Duke with a little axe so violently on the face, as he cut off his chinne, and so he fell on his knees. The Duke feeling himselfe thus wounded, laid his hand on his sword to draw it, thinking to rise and defend himselfe: but hee was presently charged by *Tannequy*, and others, and beaten dead to the ground. And sodainely one named *Oliuer* *Laye*, with the helpe of *Peter* *Fortier*, thrusts a sword into his belly vnder his coate of Maile. Whilest this was doing, the Lord of *Nouailles* drew his sword halfe out, thinking to defend the Duke: but the *Vicomte* of *Narbonne* held a dagger, thinking to strike him.

The *Bourguignon* comes to the *Daulphin*.

The *Daulphin* causeth *John* of *Bourgogne* to be slaine.

A *hau*, *Nouailles* leaping forceably to the *Vicomte*, wrested the dagger from him, being so sore hurt in the hinder part of the head as he fel downe dead. Whilest this was doing, the *Daulphin* (leaning on the barre) beholding this strange sight, rettyred backe as one amazed, and was presently conducted to his lodging by *John* *Louuet*, and other his counsellors. All the rest were taken except *Montagu*, who leaped ouer the turnepike, and gaue the Alarme. There were none there vpon the place, but *John* Duke of *Bourgogne* and *Nouailles*: *S. George* and *d'Auer* were hurt. The Dukes men charged home vnto the turnepike, but they were easily repulsed. His troups rettyring to *Bray*, are pursued by the *Daulphin*'s, with losse, and in the ende the castle is abandoned by him that had it in gaid. The Dukes body (stript off al but his Doublet and Bootes,) is drawne into a Mill, and the next daye buried. This happened the tenth of September, in the year 1419. Behold the ende of *John* Duke of *Bourgogne*. Seeing then this murder troubled the *Daulphin*, who had caused it to be committed, what stonie heart would not be amazed thereat? Truly the breach of faith is vnexcusable, how soeuer it be disguised: for as faith is the ground of humane society, so doth it extend euen vnto enemies, with whom it must be inuiolably kept.

This blowe shall be deere to *Charles*. Through this hole, the enemy shall enter so farre into the Realme, as he shall put him in danger, and in the ende he shall be forced to confesse his fault, not able to excuse himselfe without accusing of his counsellors. But from vniust man, let vs ascende to the wisdom of that great Iudge of the world, who is alwaies iust. The Oracle cries, He that strikes with the sword, shall perishe with the sword, and, The disloyall to the disloyall. They loued misery, and misery found them out. And, wise antiquity saies, God punisheth great wickednes with great paines, euen in this life. And, Hardly can tyrants descend into the graue with a dry death, that is, without blood or murder. O iustice of God, alwaies iust, alwaies wise and alwaies good. Thy iudgements are righteous O Lord. I condemne the error of men: yet I held my peace, because thou didst it. Draw the curten. *John* of *Bourgogne* hath played his part vpon this Theater. He had slaine the Duke of *Orleans* traitorously: and now he wallowes in his owne goare, being treacherously slaine by the *Daulphin* *Charles*. Now let vs see the care his son *Philip* Earle of *Charolois* had to be reuenged of *Charles* for this cruell murder: but all is not yet ended.

Bloud punished with bloud.



The Catastrophe of this miserable raigne.

Philip sonne to *John* Duke of *Bourgogne*, stirres up great troubles against *Charles* the *Daulphin*, in reuenge of his fathers death,



Y whose meanes *Isabell*, an vnkinde mother, makes warre against *Charles* her sonne, and peace with *Henry* the fift King of *England*, then a capitall enemy to the state. She giues him her daughter *Katherine* in marriage, and procures King *Charles* the 6. her husband, to declare *Henry* his lawfull heire, and to dis-inherit his only sonne *Charles* the 7. from the realme of *France*.

1420.

During these occurrents Henry the 5. and Charles the 6. die leauing the Crowne of France in question betwixt Charles the 7. and Henry the 6. proclaimed King of France, at the funeralles of Charles the 6.

From the yeare. 1419. to the
yeare. 1422.



The exploits
of the Dauphin
and of Philip
of Bourgoigne
after this
murder.

After this tragicall and strange murder of *John of Bourgoigne*, *Philip* his sonne, Duke of *Bourgoigne*, by his decease, seekes to be reuenged vpon *Charles the Dauphin*, and *Charles* to defend himselfe. *Philip* was then in *Flanders*. The *Parisens* (passionate partisans of the *Bourguignon*) who had seene the Duke of *Orleans* murdered without mouing, and they themselues had massacred the chiefe Officers of the Crowne, and had shed the blood of many good men for his pleasure and passion, hauing repayed the blood so treacherously slaine by him in the same coyne, they nowe growe into a greater mutinie then if the King himselfe had bene slaine. They send their deputies to *Philip*, and promise not onely to bee faithfull, but to assist him with all their meanes, to reuenge the murder committed on the person of his father. And at the same instant, *Montagu*, being escaped from the Turn-picke, writes to all the Cities vnder the *Bourguignons* obedience, of this accident, the which he could report as an eye witnesse. *Charles* on the other side, writes to all the good Cities of the realme, yelding a reason of this murder, and imputing the fault to the *Bourguignons* bad dealing, who would haue slaine him at a parle, exhorting the people not to mourne for the iust execution of a man borne for the ruine of *France*, who had willingly thrust himselfe into this mischiefe: offering all his meanes to settle the realme in peace according to the authoritie whereunto God had called him. But in talking, hee seekes counsailes *Stephen of Vignoles*, called *la Hire*, and *Poton of Xaintrilles*, winne *Crespy* in *Laonois*, and *Caradoz of Quesne* with *Charles of Flauye* take *Roye*, places very important to trouble the Cities of *Picardie*, where the *Bourguignon* was chiefly obeyed. The strong Castell of *Muin* opposite to *Crespye* and *Roye* is surprised by the industry of his seruants, & keepes all *Vermendois* and *Laonois* in alarume. This beginning caused *Philip* to seeke al speedie meanes to crosse *Charles* his proceedings, being resolute to continue what he had begunne: yet the *Parisens* feared, pressing *Philip* againe not to abandon the seruants of his house, the which made him more prompt in the execution. *Philip* being assured of his *Flemings*, obtaines a suspension of armes from *Henry the 5. King of England*, and a day and place appointed to treat a general peace betwixt the two realmes. Then marching with his army through *Picardie*, hee recouers *Crespy*, *Roye* and *Muin*, to the great content of his partisans: and so he arriues at *Troyes* in *Champagne*, the appointed place for this treatie.

Isabel Queene of *France* (a cruell *Medea*, and an vnaturall mother,) continued her tragike choller against her Son, who hauing defaced the common feeling of nature, did soone forget the honor she had receiued to be married into the house of *France*. Being thus wedded to the *Bourguignons* passions, she tormented her poore husbands spirits, being exceeding weake, perswading him, that his best course was to disinherit this wicked son, to declare his daughter heire, and (in marrying her to the greatest King vpon the earth,) to giue her likewise the realme after his decease, & to her issue, as descended from the blood of *France*. *Philip* comming to the King, found newe works: for presently *Henry the 5. King of England* concludes a peace with *King Charles the 6.* weddes *Katherine* his daughter, and doth obtayne by letters pattents, That establishing a firme and free peace in both the Realmes of *France* and *England*, in regard of

Queene Isabel
hates the
Dauphin his
sonne deadly.

1420.

A marriage of *Catherine of France*, he is declared Regent of the realme during the life of *King Charles*, to whom the title of King remaines, and to *Isabel* his wife the title of Queene, during their liues. But presently after the Kings decease, the Crowne & realme of *France* with all their rights, and dignities should remaine vnto him, whom *King Charles the 6.* calles by his letters patentes, his most deere and welbeloued sonne, and to his heires in chiefe. They cause this poore like King to sweare vpon the holy Bible, & to promise this for him and his, withall exemptions and necessary clauses in so great and important a businesse. This goodly act (the suite of the furious passions of ciuill warre) was made at *Troye*, the 27. of may in the yeare 1420.

This done, the *French* and *English* forces ioyning, and marching vnder the same colours, acknowledge one Comander, and for their first exploit they win *Monstreau faut-Tonne*, where they take vp and bury *John of Bourgoigne* againe, and so marching on as against Rebels, they take *Melun*, *Meaux* and *Morist*, and beseege *Compiene*. But least matters should growe cold, *Henry of England* (whome they call Regent) returnes to *Troye*, and with a goodly traine, conducts the King, Queene, and his newe wife *Catherine* to *Paris*, being better followed and serued then the King himselfe. The *Parisens* toly did wonderfully imbrace the comming of this newe royaltie, promising vnto themselves a newe heauen, but this humor lasted not long, hauing tried the power of foraine Princes, and the commande of their Kings by very contrary effects.

The Regent held a Councell presently in great state, in the Pallace of *Saint Pol*, being the Kings lodging. Two thrones were erected for the two Kings, and a seate vnderneath for *Philip of Bourgoigne*. The Kings councell (being fewe in number) is supplied by the Court of Parliament, and the vniuersity. *Philip* demandes iustice of the murder committed on the person of *John of Bourgoigne* his father. His Aduocate *Edm* made this instance. The Kings Aduocate, and the vniuersitie assisted him in the publike. *King Charles* promiserh iustice against his Sonne the *Dauphin*, and to deal goodly for King *Henry* his newe Sonne.

This was the first act of the newe Regencie, against the onely Sonne of his house. And, moreouer they decreed, that hereafter all the treasure should be gouerned by the Regents authoritie and commande. *Henry* resolues presently to call a Parliament for the necessity of his returne into *England*, whether he ment to conduct his new Spouse. A Parliament was held, according to this decree, but all were amazed at this sodaine alteration, euen the very report of my Historie hath some fealing thereof, for what canst thou see herein gentle reader, but frozen ice, in the remembrance of these confusions, renewed by the fealing of our owne. Thus the Regent caused *Charles* Duke of *Touraine*, and *Dauphin of Viennois* to be called to the marble table. All solemnities observed, and he not appearing, by a decree of the Councell, and of the Court of Parliament, he was banished the realme, and iudged vnworthy to succede in any of the Seignuries, as well present as to come. The *Dauphin* appeals from this sentence, To God and his sword, who in the ende doing him iustice, shall blesse his sword, and make it victorious ouer his enemies.

The *Parisens* (discontented with the violent courses of the newe Regent,) began to abate their joy within fewe dayes after, before *Henries* returne into *England*. *Philip of Bourgoigne* Earle of *Saint Pol*, Cousin germaine to the Duke of *Bourgoigne*, was gouernor of *Paris*, by the appointment of *King Charles*. *Henry* displaceth him, and appoints *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his brother. He sets *English* gards in all the strong places of the Citie, and displaceth the *French* and *Bourguignons*, and yet durst they not mutter. The Lord citizen *Adam* made *Mareschal* of *France*, (for that he had assisted at the taking and massacre of *Paris*) was as much out of fauour with this new King, as he was pleasing to the *Parisens*. The Regent sends men to apprehend him, whom (as they led to the *Priselle*) the people made an offer to rescue, but they were sharply repulst by the *English*, and well beaten: a iust reward, hauing wished for a strange King: but they shall soone after haue other employments, to teach them to knowe newe bread from olde, which they had so much disdayned. Thus *Henry the 5.* made the *Parisens* to knowe

The lawfull
heire selected
and Henry
the 5. d. clared
heire of
France.

Henries pro-
ceeding in his
new royaltie
of France.

The Bour-
guignon
craves iustice
against the
Dauphin.

The Dauphin
banished the
realme by a
decree, and he
appeals.

The Parisiens
discontented
with the new
King.

1420.

in time that he had authority to force obedience, in punishing fooles and rebels A growne lycentious in confusion.

The English
defeated, and
the Duke of
Clarence
slaine.

On the other side the *Daulphin* faints not at the first brunt of this new royaltie, but growing resolute against all stomes, he looeth no opportunity to aduance his at- taires. We haue shewed how that *Aniou* obeyed him. The new Regent commands the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother to make warre in those partes. So he enters the Country with his army, as it were to take possession of his owne. He presents him selfe before *Angiers* the cheefe Cittie of that Prouince, presuming that all would presently obeye him. but the issue did not answer his hopes, for he found all the *French* resolute to defend themselves against a stranger, & to obey their naturall King. Here vpon the *French* ioyne together, they arme and go to field. The *English* being out of hope to take *Angiers*, turne head against the *French* army lodged at *Little Bauge*, which attended resolutely the force of a mighty and victorious enemy. On the other side the imaginarie hope of victorie thrust on the Duke of *Clarence* against our men, whom he held to be halfe dead, but he finds them reuiued, ready to sell their liues at a deare rate. The battaile was very bloody, the one fighting for Empire and honor, and the other for their liues and altars. The event was vnfürfortunate for the *English*. The Duke of *Clarence* was slaine, and the *English* army lost, 15000 men vpon the place, for the first fruits of their new Regencie, and a gage of their pretended royaltie. This famous incounter hapened in the year, 1420. the ninth of Aprill. As in the fit of a dangerous disease the first motions of nature are very important, so is it in State. A light beginning after a great daunger, drawes a great consequence either to good or euill. This first action had a great traine. *Charles* his partie began to rise, as if the good hap of the lawefull heire reuiuing, had taken a newe forme in setting his authoritie. *John* of *Montfort* Duke of *Brittain* fauored this first successe of *Aniou*. After that the *English* had seized vpon *Normandie*, he put himselfe vnder his protection: but now he turnes rayle and allyes himselfe with our *Charles* against him, in a defensiu and offensiu league. What remaynes of the historie of *Brittaine*, I will reſerue for another place: let vs new returne to our discourse.

At the same instant *James* of *Harcourt* leaues the *Bourguignons* partie. He makes war in the Countie of *Vimeu* and takes diuers places, *Pont Remy*, *Saint Riquier*, *la Fati*, *Mareuill*, *Diancourt*, *Araignes* and other small places. The *Bourguignon* goes to field: the smallest Townes yeeld vnto him. He beseegeth *Saint Riquier* being well defended by the Lord of *Offemont*, but newes comes that the *Daulphin* his armie approacheth. The *Bourguignon* resolues, to meete them: he sendes forth part of his forces: they are dispersed vpon a false alarm that the Duke of *Bourgonne* was dead. As they were in this disorder, behold he shewes himselfe to his soldiars full of resolution, & so fitly, as hauing tal- lyed his men and encouraged them, he not only reuelles his enemy, but defends them, takes *Saint Riquier* and frees *Picardie* from feare. Such is the variety of our incounters: the Conquerour here is conquered.

The great ex-
ploits of Hen-
ry.

The *Bourguignon* being in field, our newe Regent comes from his realme of *England* E with newe forces: he hauing resolved to imploy all their meanes ioyntly to ruine the *Daulphin*, before he should fortifie himselfe with any new successe: they disperse their forces into diuers parts of the realme, hauing more men and money then the *Daulphin*. The Prince of *Orange* held the *Daulphin* in awe. The Lord of *Roche-baron* made war in *Forest* and *Auvergne*, and the bodie of the armie with the Regent and Duke marched against the *Daulphin*, who was retyred to *Bourges* a strong Cittie, and of a fit situation, lying in the midst of such Prouinces as obeyed him.

This army marching with a victorious shewe, beseegeth *Dreux*, and takes it by composition. *Chartres* yeelds willingly: from thence hee marcheth with an intent to drawe the *Daulphin* to fight but the Regent (seeing him retyre to a place of hard access) resolues to free all the Townes about *Paris*, but especially *Senlis* and *Soissons*, townes of importance. Hee hoped to vanquish him by degrees, and in the ende to giue him the mate.

1421.

But all enterprises succeede not: Man purpoſeth, but God disposeth: who ment to trie, A but not to ruine *France*. All succeds not wishfully to the *English*, being King of *France* in conceit. The Prince of *Orange* is beaten in *Linguedoc*, and *Tanneguy* of *Chiffell* Seward of *Fenestre*, hauing happily recotiered *Port Saint Esprit*, a towne of importance, vpon the passage of *Rosier* all the rest yeelds to the *Daulphin* his command. So as he could hardly keepe his Towne of *Oranges*. *Anjou* fauored the *Daulphin*. *Roche-baron* was taken at *Seruerette* by *Imbert* of *Gros* Seneſhall of *Lion*, and so *Auvergne* and *Forest* were subiect to the *Daulphin*: who seeing himselfe without any enemy, and forces ready for his defence, he beseegeth *La Charité* and takes it. From thence he goes to *Cosne*, where he findes great resistance, yet he doth presse it with such violence, as they are forced to part. They promise a certaine day to be succoured by the new Regent, or to yeeld to the *Daulphin*. The Regent assures them of releefe, exceeding glad of this occasion, to draw our *Daulphin* to the combate, wherein he hoped to vanquish him.

But he had not made his accompt with death, who holds his assignements more certaine, then all monarches: for reſolving vpon this voyage, although he had many other affaires in hand, he fell sicke and of a strange disease, which the vulgar sort terme *Saint Flac*, and *Paritians* *Phthisie*, which is a Gowte with a Craupe: *Enguerand* affirms, that the cheefe disease whereof he dyed, was *Saint Anthonies* fire: but it is more credibly reported, that he dyed of a Plurisie, a disease in those dayes so rare and vnkowne, that Physicians beinge not therewith acquainted, nor with the cause, hence it proceeded, could not prefer be nor apply any remedy therefore.

Henry hauing his minde fixed vpon this voyage, and his supposed victory, partes from *Senlis*, hauing taken leaue of the King, Queene and wife, (whom he shall see no more,) he caused himselfe to be carried to *Melan* in a litter. but feeling himselfe prest by his infirmite, he returned to *Bois-de-Vincennes*, where hauing taken his bed, he sent his army into *Bourgonne* vnder the commande of the Duke of *Bedford* his brother and the Earle of *Warwicke*, commanding them to pursue the *Daulphin*. At the baire of this great armie, the *Daulphin* *Charles* leaues *Cosne* and retires to *Bourges*: and to that time was freed.

Henry was not to freed from his sickness, the which increasing daily, made him to thinke of his ende, disposing as he pleased touching his sonne *Henry* the 6. of that name, whom he had by *Katherine* the daughter of *France*, and the Duke of *Exeter* his Vnle to be Regent of *England*, commanding them expressly to live in concord with *Philip* Duke of *Bourgonne*, and neuer to make any peace with *Charles* of *Valois* (for so he called him) unless they might haue *Normandie* in soueraignty, neither to releafe the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, vntill his sonne were of a competent age.

And thus *Henry* the 5. dies, beinge neare about forty yeares old, in the vigor of his age and spirit, borne and aspiring to great matters, hauing already giuen proofe of dies, what he might haue done if he had liued longer. But God would punish *France* by an *English* man, yet would he not suffer *France* to haue any other king then a *French* man. This v unexpected death, in the great counſe of *Henry* the fifts victories, hapened the last day of August, in the year, 1422. followed soone after by one lesse memorable. For *Charles* the 6. our good King, (but subiect to the miserablest raigne that *France* had euer seene to that day) fell sicke & dyed the 22. of October in the same year, 50. daies after the decease of *Henry* of *England*. A sickness & death remarkable in so great a King, for after that he had languished in so long & infamous an infirmity, he died in a manner alone. They name but the Chauncellour, the fift Chamberlaine, his Almoner with some groomes of his chamber which were present at his end. After his death he was visited by such as had caused him to die liuing, and by his miserable life had made all the realme to languish. At the funeralls of this poore Prince, all the herald had proclaimed *The King is dead*, an other cried, *God save the King*, *God send a long & happy life to Henry* the 6. by the grace of *G O D* King of *France* and *England* our soueraigne Lord. To the end that passion might triumph ouer the infirmity

1422. of our King, even in his graue. This *Henry* shalbe crowned King at *Paris* soone after. But where is that *Isabel*, or rather *Iezabel*, who had so much tormented her poore husband? I seeke her in all the corners of this history, yet cannot finde her. She which caused so great diuisions, dies without any memory, but to haue liued too long for *France* and her children. Oh the vanity of this world, which doth interre the most busie in the forgetfullnesse of the graue, when as they thinke themselves raised to the toppe of their desseines.

Thus *Charles* the 6. reigned, thus he liued, and thus he died, miserable in his raigne, miserable in his life, but most happie in his death, as well to free himselfe from paine, and by his occasion, his whole realme from confusion, as also by death to change his tumultuous and miserable life, into a quiet rest and eternall happinesse for what else can we say of him, whose misery gaue him the title of welbeloued, hauing nothing reprochfull in his life but his afflictions?

This is all I can speake touching the iudgement of this raigne, after the repetition of so many miseries: so as measuring others by mine owne apprehension, I thinke to ease them in not reuiving so tedious a subiect, noting that this raigne was alwaies miserable, both in the minority and maiority of our King. His manners, his race, his raigne and his age do appeere by that which wee haue written. He liued 54. yeares and reigned 42. He had many tonnes and daughters. *Katherine* is famous, hauing by the mournfull gage of many miseries. Of three Sonnes which came all to the age of men, *Charles* onely remayned successor of his Crowne, but not of his fortunes, for hee shall settle the realme, redeming it out of Strangers hands, as shall appeere in the following discours.

Charles



CHARLES the seuenth, the 54. King of France.



After the long and painefull Carriere of the fore-passed raignes, ^{1422.} were it not time now to breath? Since the vnfortunate battaile of *Cressy*, we haue felt nothing but thornes, tempests, forces and shewes of ruines. And if wee shall abate that little happinesse which *Charles* the 5. brought vnto our Ancestors, there are not lesse then seuentie yeares of confusion. But all is not yet ended: we must passe thirty yeares more before the conclusion. And, as if we felt the crosses of our fore-runners, we must shut our eyes, recouer new forces, grow resolute against all stormes, and ende courageously with them. The remainder of this painefull course, in the troublefome discourse, which we shall finde in the beginning of this raigne, to see in the ende a happy Catastrophe in the restoring of this Estate, and the vnion of the Church, diuided by a long and dangerous schisme, which disquieted Christendome, during the troubles of this raigne.

Notable particularities of this raigne.

Here our *Frenchmen* may reade with admiration and profit, that, as it is not now alone, that *France* hath bene afflicted, so God doth not now beginne to warch ouer it, deliuering it by miraculous meanes, when as it seemed neere to ruine. Here *Charles* the 7. the least and last of his Brethren, shall deface the ignominie of *France*, and triumph over the victories of a stranger, who had in a manner dispossessed him of his Realme. of a truth God ment to punish vs by meanes of the *English*, but not to ruine vs. The *French* cannot be commanded but by a *Frenchman*. The *Ocean* is a strong bar to diuide these two Estates, content with their owne rights. This raigne abounding in miraculous accidents, is the more considerable being the perfect *Idea* of the raigne of *Henry* the 4. vnder whom we liue.

But

1422.

The order of
this discourse

But to represent so variable a subiect with profit, it is necessary to distinguish it in order. There are three parts famous both for the subiect and successe. The first shewes the confused and troublesome beginning of this raigne, vntill our *Charles* was solemnly installed King, and thereby acknowledged of all the *French*, for vntill that day the greatest part called him Earle of *Ponthieu*, or King of *Bourges*, in mockerie; and such as were more modest termed him *Dauphin of Viennois*.

The second parts him in possession of his royall authoritie, shewing by what meanes he reduced the Citties subdued by the *English* to his obedience, beginning with the Cittie of *Paris*, and so proceeding to the rest of the Realme, expelling the *English* from all, but onely *Calais*. The third shewes the ende of this raigne, discouering the Kings domesticall discontents, which hastened him to his graue, after the happy euents of all his difficulties.

So this raigne continued thirty nine yeares, variable in good and euill. The beginning difficult, the middest happy, and the ende mournfull. This is the Theater of mans life, where ioye, sorrow, happinesse, and misfortune, play their parts diuersly both with great and small. *Charles* the 7. was one and twentie yeares old when hee began to raigne, and reigned 39. yeares: for after the decesse of his father *Charles* the 6. hee rooke vpon him the name of King of *France*. (notwithstanding the pretension of the *English*) the 22. of October in the yeare, 1422. & he died the thirteenth of Iuly. 1461.

Charles his
raigne.

He was married at a leuen yeares of age, to *Marie* the daughter of *Lewis* of Duke *Anjou* and King of *Sicile*. By this marriage hee had three Sonnes and five Daughters. His sonnes names were, *Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*. *Lewis* the eldest shall succeed him to the Crowne. *Philip* died very yong: *Charles* liued somewhat longer, but without any great successe, hauing only the titles of the Dukedomes of *Berry*, *Normandie* and *Guene*. His daughters were *Radeconde*, *Yoland*, *Catherine*, *Iane* and *Magdaleine*. The first died, (being betrothed to *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*.) *Yoland* was married to *Amedee* Duke of *Sauoie*: *Catherine* to that great *Charles* Duke of *Bourgogne*, who shall behis owne ruine: *Iane* to *Iohn* Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Magdalein* to *Gaston* Earle of *Feix*: and this was his race.

His children
His manners
and disposi-
tion.

His manners will appeere by his life: he was of a tractable and gentle disposition, capable of counsell, but louing his ease too much, and suffering himselfe to be often carried away by his seruants. And yet as God would vse him for the establishing of the *French* Monarchie, so did he bring him vp in the schole of affliction, to fortifie him against all difficulties, assisting him with great & worthe persons, both for warre and counsell, by whose meanes he did raise vp this estate, yet with great and confused combats, and by a long and painfull patience. But let vs proceede to that which hath chanced vnder his raigne, most worthy of obseruation.

The miserable estate of this raigne, vnto

the Coronation of *Charles* the 7. during
seauen yeares.

From the ende of the yeare. 1422. vnto. 29. in the
moneth of Iune, when as hee was solemnly
installed King in the Cittie
of *Paris*.



UCH was the estate of *Charles*, when his fathers death called him to the Crowne. Wee haue seene after that the miseries of *France* had caused his mother *Isabell* to forget her owne bloud, making him to be reiectd from the Crowne, and *Henry* the 5. King of *England* substituted in his place, yet he fainted not in these extremities, but did valiantly withstand the pretended desseignes, by whose death God soone laid the foundation of this realmes

A realmes restoring. Yet after the death of King *Henry* the 5. *Charles* was incountred with infinite difficulties. He had small meanes, fewer friends, and many mighty enemies. He scarce enioyed the least part of his estate, followed by intreatie, and obeyed by halues, euen of such as made profession to be most faithfull. The Citties had diuers motions, as priuate interest drew mens mindes to that partie which they held most profitable. There were but too many which followed the fortune of the *English*, being a Conquerour, the corruption of man inclining commonly to the stronger. But amidst these vncertaine humours of people, he had enemies which incountred him with advantages apparently victorious: for *Henry* the 6. although he were very young, yet did he exceed him in all things: he had a realme hereditarie and absolute: the best part of the *French* Monarchie: the assistance of the Duke of *Bedford* his Vncle, with many worthy men, and great meanes. To these enemies were ioyned some great men, which fished in a troubled streame, euery one imagining to haue a part of this garment, building their desseignes vpon the Sepulcher of *Charles*, and the alteration of the State. Among the chiefeest were *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Amedee* Duke of *Sauoie*, *Peter* Duke of *Brittaine*, with his Brother the Earle of *Richemont*. Diuers instruments vnder that great engin of *England*, but all these motions were to ruine *France*, and to build their greatnesse vpon her ruines.

Diuersitie of
humours in
the Citties.The enemies
of Charles.The King of
England.The Duke of
Bourgogne.

The *Burguignon* (who had a great hand in the State) was most interessd and most opposit to *Charles*, being apparently the author of his fathers murther. Yet *Philip* (a iudicious Prince) so hated him, whom necessitie commanded him to hate in this accident, as if he should loue him in time, not wedding himselfe absolutely to the *English*: yet did he so worke for him in shew, as making himselfe in effect the stronger, he might counterpeise him if necessitie required, and strike the last stroake for him to whom the *French* should incline. Reason likewise taught him, that the people would respect the lawfull heire of the Crowne, louing their Prince naturally, and in the end would reiect the Stranger, as an vnlawfull Tenant, who made himselfe daily insupportable by his imperious carriage. *Amedee* Duke of *Sauoie* being on the Stage, and farre from blowes, kept the stakes, and entertained *Charles*, as if he should be an assured mediator in these quarrels, to end them with more aduantage then any Christian Prince: and so he nourished this diuision, by a strict intelligence which he had with the *Bourgugnon*. As for the humour of the two Brethren of *Brittaine*, the course of the Historie will soone shew it. Thus *Charles* charged by many enemies, had few faithfull and confident friends, and in that golden age, so small meanes to entertaine his friends, as he could hardly supply the ordinary charges of his traine, selling and ingaging peece after peece, of his inheritance. So as he had nothing more assured then the equite of his cause, and his resolution in this great necessitie. He had yet some good friends remaining in *Scotland*, whom he bought dearely, aduancing them to the greatest dignities of the realme: for he made *Charles* Steward Earle of *Bouquiam* his Constable, and *Iames* Earle *Du-glas* Marshall of *France*: and to honour the Scottissh-mens

The Duke of
Sauoye.The Duke of
Brittaine.Charles aduan-
ceth Scottissh-
men.He institutes
a gard of the
for his person.

He had likewise some friends in *Spain* and *Italie*, who succoured him in due time, according to their meanes. We haue shewed what Prouinces followed the partie of our *Charles*, amongst the which *Languedoc* was a principall. The importance of this countie did much aduance his affaires. This reason moued both the *Bourgugnon* and the *Sauoier* against this Prouince. The instruments fit for this enterprise, were *Iohn* of *Chalons* Prince of *Orange*, and the Lord *Rochebaron*, a Nobleman of *Velay*, one of the 22. diocesses of *Languedoc*. The first by the commodity of his neighbourhood did win *Nismes*, *Pont saint Esprit*, *Aiguesmortes*, and all the rest of base *Languedoc*, vnto *Beziers*, except the Castell of *Pezenas*, the tower of *Villeneuve* by *Auignon*, & the castell of *Egaliers*, now wholly ruined, neere vnto *Vaux*. This losse was somewhat repaired by the fidelitie of the inhabitants: *Aiguesmortes* set vp their ensigne of libertie, by the direction of the Baron of *Fauuerbe*, and killed the garnison of *Bourgugnon*, which the Prince of *Orange* had placed there.

Warre in
Languedoc.

To

1422.
A strange cru-
elty whereby
they are cal-
led Bourguig-
non falls to
this day.

To this day they shew a great tub of Stone, wherein they did salt the *Bourguignons*. The example of this strong and important City, awaked the rest, and euen vpon the approach of the Earle of *Foix*, (who came with a goodly armye) all the Townes yeld vnto him, except *Nismes* and *Pont S. Esprit*, Townes of great importance in that countrey, the one being the head of that *Seneshauce*, the other a passage vpon the *Reyne* towards *Daulphiné*.

But as the libertie of time made the seruant presume about the Master; so it changed, that the Earle of *Foix* (hauing tasted the sweet of command, and transported with the common humour of men, seeking to make their profit of the common confusions of *France*) detained the reuenues of *Languedoc*, by his absolute authority, imparting none to *Charles*, being exceeding poore in this confused time. This necessity was accompanied with a cruell warre, stirred vp in *Velay*, by the Lord of *Roche-baron*, a partisan to the Dukes of *Sauoy*, and *Bourgonne*, who furnished him both with men and money, for this rebellion: for it was rather a horrible theuery then a warre. These two occasions, drew *Charles* into *Languedoc*, to confirme his authority, and his voyage succeeded according to his intent: for he chased the Prince of *Orange* out of *Nismes* and *Pont S. Esprit*; he pacified the troubles of *Velay*, and put the Earle of *Foix* from his gouernement, giuing the place to *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Earle of *Clermont*, a Prince of the blood, to the great content of all the people.

Charles
mournes for
the death of
his father.

Hauing thus happily provided for his affaires, he takes the way of *Velay*, to returne into *France*: being arrived at *Espaly*, (a Castle belonging to the Bishop of *Puy*) he is advertised of his fathers death, after *Henry* the 5. his Competitor. He falls presently to teares and mourning, yet he buries not his affaires in care. His Councell aduise him to change his blacke robes into Scarlet, to set vp the banner of *France* in his name, and to proclaim himselfe King, for the first fruites of his coronation: the which being performed at *Puy*, to the peoples great ioye, *Charles* goes to *Pouiers*, where he caused himselfe to be crowned King, and receiued the homage and oathes of the officers of the Crowne, Princes, Noblemen and gentlemen that were about him, with such pompe as the strictnesse of time would permit. Then he intituled himselfe King of *France*, and made shew of more authority and greater pompe. But on the other side, the Duke of *Bedford* beganne to bandy more strongly against him. *Henry* the 6. his pupill, a yong infant, was in *England*. He caused him likewise to be crowned King, till the seauen yeares after he should be solemnly installed at *Paris*, in the yeare, 1430. He set his name vpon the money of *France*, making a new stampe, but without any other change, then of his name.

The Dukes of
Bedford and
Bourgonne
hold a counsell
at Amiens.

So that hereafter two Kings, two factions, two armies shall contend for this goodly Crowne. The heire being the weaker shall fight against a strong pretender. Law fauours the one, and force the other: but the Protector of this estate, will giue a fauourable doome for the weaker, that the honour of so memorable a preservation of this monarchy, apparently drawne out of the graue, may be giuen to him, who rules the deluge of our confusions, by his miraculous prouidence. Scarce had *Charles* receiued the first fruites of his royall authority, when as the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Bourgonne* his capitall enemies, assemble at *Amiens*, to crosse his new dignity in the breeding.

There shall be seauē yeares of exceeding bad time, but after this sharpe winter, there will come a goodly spring, when as all seemed lost, and in the ende, Sommer shall follow with a plentifull haruest of rest, to this Realme, whereof the lawfull heire shall remaine in quiet possession, and the pretender expelled with losse euen of that which he might haue ciuilly inioyed.

A great league
against King
Charles con-
firmed by al-
liances.

In this assembly at *Amiens*, great plottes are layde against *Charles*, whose nine was their soueraine end. All is done at the charge of the *English*. *Peter* Duke of *Brittaine* and *Arthur* Earle of *Richmont* his brother, are there present. *Amedee* Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Dukes of *Bedford*, *Brittaine* and *Sauoy*, make a defensue & offensive league against *Charles*. The souerainty of the Crowne should remaine to the *English*: the com-
mand

ties to the Dukes. They fet the scale of marriages to this alliance. *John* Duke of *Bedford* marries with *Anne* the sister of *Philip* Duke of *Bourgonne*: and *Marguerit* his other Sister takes *Arthur* the Earle of *Richmont*. Then they seek the fruits of this alliance with the preiudice of *Charles*. Enery man takes his quarter, to torment him on all sides. The *Bourguignon* undertakes *Picardy*, where he settles *John* of *Luxembourg*, to expell the *Daulphins* out of some places which they held there. *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earle of *Salisbury*, went into *Champagne* and *Bry*, to cleanse the Country about *Paris*, and to bide *Orleans*. The Earle of *Warwick* undertooke *Guienne*, to make war against those townes that held the *Daulphins* party. *Lewis* Prince of *Orange*, had charge to arme in *Languedoc* and *Daulphiné*. Behold a great storme rising against the lawfull heire of this

What remedy
Charles may
giue to these
troubles.

By course.

Amidst all these difficultyes, *Charles* must needs be in great perplexitie: but I reade with ioy, that he whom God had chosen to restore this estate, was not amazed, nor daunted, but hauing commonly in his mouth this Oracle, *We must haue God and reason on our side*. He hath recourse vnto God, and falls courageously to worke. Hee flies to *Roche*, to assure it vnder his obedience. Being in the Towne, there happens a notable accident, as he was in counsell, a part of the chamber funke, and *James* of *Bourbon* with diuer others were slaine in this ruine. The King was but hurt. From this danger, he passeth on to the chiefe of his affaires. He sends into *Scotland*, *Milan*, and *Castile*, to summon his friends to succour him, who speedily will send him notable aides. He prouides for all the passages vnder his obedience. He assures himselfe of *Languedoc* (from whence he drew his chiefe helpees) by the Earle of *Clermont*: from *Daulphiné*, by the Lord of *Gaucourt*, from *Lions*, *Lyonnois*, *Forrest*, *Beauueuais* and *Maisconais*, by *Imbert* of *Croque*, *Seneshall* of *Lions*, from *Gascogne*, and other countries of high *Guienne*, where he was acknowledged, by the Vicont of *Narbonne*, and the maister of *Ornall*. He sendes *James* of *Harcourt* into *Picardy*, accompanied with *Pothon* of *Xintrailles*, or *S. Treille*, & *Stephen* *Vignoles*, called *la Hire*, the flower of his capitaines. And likewise the *Bourguignon* sent thither the greatest part of his forces. *Ambrose de Lore* goes into *Maine* & *Perche*, *Freemont* of *Cottin*, into *Champagne*. The Earle of *Dunois* (a bastard of the house of *Orleans*) keeps *Orleans*. The townes lying vpon the riuer of *Loire*, about & beneath *Orleans*, were vnder the obedience of the French, *La Charité*, *Cyan*, *Jargeau*, *Meung*, *Baugency*, *Bon Amboise*, *Tours*, *Samour*, diuerse small townes in *Beauvais*, *La Ferté* of *Caulles*, *Jannville*, *Espermy*, *Pluniers*. And in the countries of *Gastenois* & *Vrepois*, *Montargis*, *Chastillon*, *Milly*, neerer vnto *Paris*, *Mont-leheri*, *Orisy*, *Marcouffy* (very strong places then but now desolate) kept *Paris* in alarme.

Thus the Cardes were shuffled, but the *English* had the better part, keeping the great cities and the Kings purse: and (as the stronger) he begins the game, which had this issue for the remainder of that yeare. The *English* besiege and take *Bazas*: and the French in *Meulan*, vpon *Seine*, with great slaughter of the *English*: but the Duke of *Bedford* loth to endure such a thorn in the sides of *Paris* (doth presently besiege it. *Charles* sends thither succors, vnder the command of the Earle of *Aumale*, the Constable *Boucquart*, & *Tanneberg* of *Chastel*. Too many comandars, to do any great exploit. Iealousie of command breedeth a confusion, as all these troupes marched in disorder, no man acknowledging but his priuate comandar. Here vpon the *English* army arriues, who had an easie conquest of these disordered troupes, & then *Meulan* yeelds to the Duke of *Bedford*.

The French
deserted by
the English &
Charles yet
ded.

The sharpnes of winter could not temper the heat of these warriors. & as the fortune of the warre is variable, one wins, another looseth, *Ambrose de Lore* & *John* of *Beauvais* (thinking to take *Fresnoy le Conte*) lost a notable troupe of their men. The Lord of *Fontenay* hath his reuenge vpon the *English*, & defeats eight hundred of them at *Neufville*: and *John* of *Luxembourg*, a *Bourguignon* defeats the Lords of *Gamsches* and *Aumale* with their troupes. The Earle of *Salisbury*, takes the Townes of *Vertus* and *Espermy*, and the strong places of *Montaguillon* and *Osny* neere vnto *Paris*. The composition is strange: the souldiers yeelding at the Regents discretion, are brought to *Paris*, bare-headed, halters about their necks, and swords at their breasts.

M m

Thus

1422. This miserable troupe thus tyed, and ledde in triumph, passeth through S. James A street to go to the *Tournelles*, where the Regent was lodged, and from thence to bee drawne to the place of execution, if the Duchesse of *Bedford* (moued with the pity of a French woman, at so pittifull a spectacle) had not begged the lues of these poore condemned men, of hir husband.

The cause of
division be-
twixt the
Dukes of *Bed-
ford* and *Bour-
gogne*.

Charles hath
diuers loiles.

Thus that yeare passed, wherein *Charles* the 6. and *Henry* the 5. died, but God to restore our Monarchie, beganne in the same yeare to lay a leuaine against the attempts of Strangers, who fought to ruine it. *Iaqueline* of *Bauiere*, Countesse of *Hainault* and *Holland*, the onely heire of those two states, had married with *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant* who by a blind and ambitious auarice, gaue her selfe to *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, yncle to the King of *England*, and married with him, reiecting her lawfull husband. Her excuse was, that the *Brabantin* was her cousin germaine, but this shal be a meanes to dissolue the alliance so cunningly conioined by the dukes of *Bedford* & *Bourgogne*, who shall breake vpon this occasion. The yeare begins while that losses came by heaps vpon *Charles*, as the current of an vnauoidable ruine. whatsoeuer he vnderooke, succeeded not.

In *Picardie*.

Iames of *Harcourt* was *Gouernour* of *Picardie*, placed there ouer some remaiuers of the shipwrack of that country: he surpriseth *Dommart* in *Ponthieu* from the *Bourguignon*, and spoiles the neighbour *Abbaies*, and the country. Hauing ruined these poore disarmed men, he is charged by *Ralfe* *Butler* an *English* Capitaine, looseth all his conquest, and escapes hardly with his life, sees *Crotoy* taken before his face, the chiefe dungeon of his desheines, *Rue*, *S. Valery*, and in the ende the goodly Cittie of *Abbeville*, insufficient to stay the *English* forces, if it had bin garded by good men. After these hamfull losses he comes to *Charles* to excuse himselfe: hee pardons him, but GOD made him soone paye the interest of his thefts: beeing the cause of his owne ruine.

Hauing no place of aboad, he retires to *Parthenay*, to his vnclie, who entertained him courteously, but *Harcourt* not content with this kind viage, would be maister of the Castle. his practise fell vpon his owne head, beeing slaine by the gardes, suffering the punishment of his treachery, as he had done of his couetousnesse & cowardise. A lesson for bad seruants to their Princes, detestable either for their robberies, or for their treacherous cowardises, whom God payes in due season.

In *Maine*.

The entrance of this yeare was also infamous, in two shamefull losses, happened to two great Capitaines, To *Ambrose* of *Lore*, who looseth the Castle of *Tennuye* in the country of *Maine*, and to *Oliuer* of *Magny* beaten by the *English*, at the Bishops parkenere *Auranches*: but from small accidents, we must come to great actions. *Champagne* was in no better case then *Maine*. The Earle of *Salisbury* made warre with all violence, against *Pregent* of *Coytivy*, who defended the Kings party the best he could: but not able to beare so great a burthen, he flies to *Charles*, who sends him his Constable with forces, the which were employed both in an other cause, and with other successe then hee had desired, for behold the towne of *Creuant* in *Bourgogne*, (situated vpon the riuier of *Tonne*, vpon the frontiers of *Champagne*) is surpriseth by the bastard of *Baume*, for the King.

In *Champagne*.

Bourgogne.

The Constable flies thither, but too late, for *la Baume*, not able to take the Castle, abandons the Towne. In the meane time, the brute thereof drawes forces thither, from all parts, as a cupping glasse doth humors. The Dowager of *Bourgogne* (mother to duke *Philip*) lends a goodly troupe vnder the conduct of *Toulangeon* Marshall of *Bourgogne*. The Duke of *Bedford* doth sodainely furnish a notable supplie, for the respect hee bare to the Duke of *Bourgogne* his brother-in-lawe: *Charles* fearing least his Constable should miscarrye, assembles what forces hee can with all speede, and sends them vnder the conduct of the Lord of *Senerac*, Marshall of *France*, the Earle of *Ventadour*, the Lord of *Fontaines*, *Yelay*, and *Gamaches*.

The notable
bataile of
Creuant vn-
fortunate for
France.

The number was very equall, but the incomber fell vpon our armie. And this was the occasion, The Constable hauing made his choyse of a little hill, a place

A place of aduantage to attend his enemy. The *English* come with a conquering brauerie, as he that was accustomed to gaine euery where, without any stay: he forceeth our gard, placed vpon the bridge to keepe the passage. Hauing thus passed in vewe of our army, impatience seizeth on our men by this proud contempt, and they crie to the Constable, who galled with despight for this affront, resolues to the combat. So all with one furie leaue the hill, march towards the *English*, and offer him battaile.

1423.

The Earle of *Salisbury* makes a stand, to temper the heart of our *French*, who durst not approach very neere, fearing the furie of their *English* arrowes. This first motion thus slackt, the Earle of *Salisbury* giues the signe to battell. Those of *Creuant* halfe madde, hauing bene some dayes beseeged, issue forth, and charge on the one side. On the other side, the bodie of the *English* army, doth march with such violence against the *Scottes*, (which were in the first battailon) as not able to withstand this storme, they open, and giue them entrie against the *French*, who hauing fought resolutely, in the ende they leaue the place to the victors. All are in route. The Marshal of *Senerac*, forgets his honor, and flies in this disorder. They accompt the losse about three thousand men. Of marke, the Lords of *Fontaines*, *Guitry*, and *la Baulme*: of *Scottishmen*, the Lord of *Karados*, nephew to the Constable, *Thomas Seton*, *William Hamilton*, with his Sonne *David*, and *Iohn Pillot*, all worthy of the memorie of *France*, seeing they died for her in the bed of honour.

The euer-
throw at
Creuant.

C There were many more taken prisoners then slaine, by the resolution of the Capitaines, who in this generall ouerthrow, (rallying their troupes) intrenched themselves, and fought for their lues with the *English*, and saved themselves honourable with their armes. The chiefe prisoners were the Constable of *Bouenham*, and the Earle of *Ventadour*. It is a thing worthy remembrance, that either of these two lost an eye in the battaile: this was the 29. of Iuly. The gaine of this victorie to the *Bourguignon*, was, that *Mescon*, a Cittie of the *French* obedience, yeelded vnto him without any force, but feare.

This continuance of so many losses, was exceeding greuous: but as God ment to chastise *France*, and not to ruine it; so he counterpeiled these great losses with some small gaine. These victorious troupes returning without feare, all disordered, were defeated by the Earle of *Aumale*, sent by the King to preserue the rest of *Champagne*: eight hundred *English* were slaine. But this checke awaked the Earle of *Salisbury*, *Gouernour* of *Champagne* for the *English*: who hauing recovered new forces, goes to field to cleere the countrie. He besiegeth and taketh the strong Towne of *Sedan*, in the Countie of *Vertus*, and then *Rembouillet* in *Brie*, and *Neele* in *Tartensis*. Then the tide flowes for the *French*. The *Bourguignon* exceeding glad of the seizure of *Mescon*, (a Towne very important vpon *Saone*), commanded *Thoulangeon* his Constable, to rid all that the enemy held thereabouts, and to leaue the trafficke free. *La Buisiere* a most strong Castell betwixt *Tournus* and *Mescon*, did much annoy it. He resolues to take it by one meanes or other. But he did not foresee, that in seeking to take, hee should be taken. He had some familiaritie with the Capitaine of the place, And trusting to the usual practises of those times, he did confidently hope to corrupt him with money. He founds him, and findes it pregnable: They agree vpon the price, but hee was ignorant of the Capitaines meaning, to haue more then his money. A faithfull seruant to the King, and worthy to be named in this Register. The Capitaine doth aduertise *Imbert* of *Crosee*, the *Gouernour* of *Lions*, of this trafficke, who wisely provides to take him.

Some *English*
come.

Louis of *Cullant* Admirall of *France*, was then happily at *Lions*, attending some horse for the King, from *Philip Marie* Duke of *Milan*. The plotte is laide to surprize the Constable of *Bourgogne*, and the successe is answerable. *Thoulangeon* comes to *Buisiere* at the appointed houre, and brings with him men and money. He enters the Castell, with as many men as he held sufficient, and coumpts the money to the Capitaine. He hauing left his troupe in the field, behold the *Lionsis* issue forth their Ambul-

The Consta-
ble of *Bour-
gogne* taken
by his owne
practise.

1423. Ambuscado like Lions indeed, some seize vpon the Castle gate, and assure the place. Others charge his troupe, which was easilie defeated. The Constable with the chiefe that had followed him into the Castle were taken. a countercharge which shall deliuer the Constable of *Boucgham* and the Earle of *Ventadour*, soone after the battell of *Cullant*.

Pothon of
Xantrailles
taken prisoner

And almost at the same instant, *Stephen of Vignoles*, called *La Hire*, and *Pothon of Xantrailles*, roused themselves. *Vignoles*, surprised *Compi gne*, and *Pothon*, *Han*, vpon the riuier of *Somme*. But this ioy lasted little, for *John of Luxembourg*, gouernour for the Duke of *Bourgonne*, in *Picardy*, flies thither, besiegeth, and recouereth both the one and the other with a happy celerity. *Pothon* saues himselfe with much difficulty in *Guise*, (being pur tied by the *Bourguignons*, to their cost that were ill mounted.) *Luxembourg* managing his victory wisely, attempts other places: he takes *Ossy*, *Broissy* and other small Townes of *Tir-sche*, and in the ende he besiegeth *Guise*, where *John Protiff* commanded for the King: *Pothon* to anoy the besiegers, issues forth of *Guise*, but being too late engaged in the fight, he is taken prisoner, to make the siege of *Guise* the more easie: but *Protiff* doth his best indeauour to defende it. The Towne belonged to *René of Anjou*, Duke of *Bar*, and brother to the King of *Sicile*. He intreats the Duke of *Bourgonne* to leaue it him in peace, but it was in vaine. The sieges vehemently continued, so as in the ende *Guise* fallies into the *Bourguignons* hands, and so hee remaines maister of all *Picardy*.

And, as if this storme had fallen vpon *Charles* from all parts, *la Charité*, (a very important Towne vpon the riuier of *Loire*) is surprised by *Perinet Grasset*, for the *Bourguignon*: and so the terrour of the warre came into *Perry*, much troubling, the quiet commerce of the Court: for that the King most commonly was resident at *Bourges*, or at *Meung*.

The horrible
estate of these
times, a true
image of ours.

The like mishappe fell vpon *La Hire* at *Vitry*, the which he yeelds to the Duke of *Bourgonne*, by a composition very preiudiciall for the King and the Realme. And at the same time *Perceumont* vpon *Ossy* surprised by the *French*, was taken againe by the *English*, with much blood and sacke. In like sort the fort of *S. Michells Mont*, is besieged by the *English*, and well defended by the *French*, which caused the victory of *Grauelle*, happily taken by the Baron of *Colances* from the *English*, as it were to coole the heat of our continuall feuer with some little water. In sooth the Estate of *France* was then most miserable. There appeared nothing but a horrible face of confusion, pouerty, desolation, solitarinesse and feare. The leane and bare labourers in the countrye, did terrifie euen theeues themselves, who had nothing left them to spoile but the carkasses of these poore miserable creatures, wandring vp and downe like ghosts drawne out of graves. The least farmes, & hamlets, were fortified by these robbers, *English*, *Bourguignons*, and *French*, euery one straining to do his worst. There was no speech but of sorts and contributions. All men of warre were well agreed to spoyle the countreman and the naked Marchant. euen the cattell accustomed to the Larum bell, (the signe of the enemies approach) would run home of themselves without any guid by this accustomed misery. This is the perfect description of those times, taken out of the lamentations of our Ancestors, set downe in the original. Who seeth not here the image of our times, during the confusions of our viciuall warres?

Lewis the xi.
the eldest son
of Charles
boine.

But amidst this horrible calamity, God did comfort both the King and realme, for about the ende of the yeare, he gaue *Charles* a goodly Son by *Queene Marie* his wife, a happie gage for the establishing of this realme, whereof hee shal be a peaceable King. He was borne at *Bourges*, and there was honorably baptized in Saint *Stephens* Church, and was named *Lewis*, King of *France* after the decease of his father. *Charles* would haue *John of Alençon* a Prince of his blood, and then his trustie friend, to be his Godfather. But alas, both by this Godfather, and this Godson, shal growe a horrible confusion, euen when as *Charles* expected an ende of all his troubles. Which by we may learne, that there is nothing but vanity in worldly affaires, remarkable for great men, in that which seemeth most firme in mans life.

Ths

A This was the flux and reflux of this yeare. The beginning of the new yeare shewed a better countenance: but these small gleames of good happe, were soone ouercast by horrible loties, which seemed to giue the last wound to this Monarchie, and to alter the name, if God had not stayed it with his mightie hand. In laying a foundation whereon he shal build the meanest to restore it to her ancient beautie, without any thew of the industrie or force of man, when as all things seemed desperate. But the prouidence of God creepes on insensibly by degrees to perfect his worke.

The losse of the *Scottes* was verie great in the vntfortunate battaille of *Cullant*. To reaire this losse, *Charles* sends into *Scotland*, *Renauld of Chartre* his Chancellor and Archbishop of *Rheims*, accompanied with the Earle *Du-glas*, *Marshall of France*.

B And being reduced to a miserable want of mony, hee ingageth the Duchie of *Tou-raine* vnto him. A title which *Du-glas* shall not long inioy. But whilest they make this leauing in *Scotland*, and shal returne to his companies, let vs consider the humor of the *French* and *English* during this medlie.

New impulses
come out of
Scotland.

As the successe of the *English* was happy, so their hearts swelled with pride, and they exceeded dayly in Insolence, especially in great Citties, where they braued it disdainfully, as treading the name of *Frenchmen* vnder foote. This contempt bred an extreame discontent, euen in the most senselesse, to see themselves thus intreated, their kings suppressed, and their Lawes abolished. There were not two yeares past of this newe royaltie, and yet disputable. How farre, say they, will this *English* Empire exceede, being augmented and fortified by the authoritie of many yeares? Shal it be either to trans-

The French
grove discontented
with the insolency
of the English.

C port new Colonies beyond the Seas, or to plant others heere, and in the ende to extinguish the name of the originall *French*, to the ende that no man shall dare to repine at the ruine of his Countre, reduced into the power of Strangers? These imaginations were generally in all mens mindes, but complaints in the mouths of fewe, and that they whispered softly to their well assured friends: but the time was not yet come, although the blood, (which cannot degenerate) shewed many signes of hearts discontented with this seruitude, both at *Paris*, and especially at *Rouen*, where the *English* gouernment was most heauie. One *Michell Lallier*, was the beginner of this liberty, and was put to death at *Paris*, and a woman was burnt, worthy to lue amidst the flames, and to shine in the goodly light of our Historie.

Some French
men executed
by the English.

The Nobility of *Picardie* was much discontented with this newe command. *Tour-nay* began first to stirre for the Kings seruice. So immouable is the *French* obedience to their Kings, and so sweete and pleasing is their command. It was a capitall crime to speake of the King of *England*, but as the lawfull King. Spies were set in all places, to restraints the libertie of the *French*. These executions were threatnings of worse, if any should mutine. Yet the Nobilitie of *Picardie* were so wearied with the *English* and *Bourguignon* yoke, as they resolute to free themselves at what rate focuer. The heads of this resolution, were the *Lords of Longueval*, *Saint Symon*, *Mailly*, *Mancourt*, *Recourt*, *Blondel*, and many other gentlemen which had followed the *Bourguignons* partie. These are named. The original should not conceale the rest, whome I could not specific without some Author.

Behold the first fruits of the *French* libertie. These Enseigne bearers assemble at *Roye*, they fortifie themselves for the King, against the *English* and the *Bourguignon*, and take diuers Townes in *Picardie* at a prefixed day. *John of Luxembourg*, thunders against them that were suspected, and some hee takes and hangs. At these terrors, some dawe backe, and left this league: Yet the greatest part remayned constant, though with the apparent danger of their liues. These were the pure and true sparkles of the *French* fidelity to their King, but the day spring was not yet come, which mounting to our horizon, should in the ende shewe forth the goodly light of libertie to all France.

Complets
against the
English.

F These first motions put *Charles* in some hope of a better estate: but behold a newe checke which cooles his courage. At the sametime that hee made his leaue in *Scotland*, the Duke of *Exeter* prepared a great armie in *England*, to releeue the Duke

1424.

Newe forces
raised in Eng-
land.

of *Bedford*, his brother, that hee might haue meanes to contynue the warres in *France*. There comes vnto him eight thousand archers, and eightene hundred men at armes. For the imploying of these men, he beseegeth *Galardon*, & taketh it at his first approach, and without the losse of any houre, hee plants himselfe before *Tury*: and at the same instant all his forces come to him, vnder the commande of the Earle of *Salisbury*. The army being thus increased, he presseth the siege. *Girault of Paliere*, held the Towne for the King.

The Duke of *Bedford* summons him to yeeld it. *Girault* demandes respite to aduertise the King. *Charles* was then at *Tours*, well accompanied both of his subiects and forraigne friends: for after the defeat of *Crenant*, foreseeing that the *English* would pursue the cause with more violence, hee had prouided men to oppose against them. *The Marshall Douglas*, Duke of *Touraine* by his newe purchase, had brought him succors from *Scotland*. The *Vicount of Narbonne* a goodlie troupe from *Languedoc*, the which was the flower of the whole army. The Duke of *Alençon*, the Earles of *Aumale*, *Vendour*, *Tonnerre*, *Douglas*, *Moiry*, the *Vicount of Mardonne*, the Lords of *Fayette*, *Tournon*, and other Noble men of Marke with their followers were readie to do their best endeauor. So as hee had eightene thousand fighting men. The rendez-vous is in *Perche*, and they were shortly to march to *Tury*. The King stayes at *Chastellaudun*.

The Constable of *Boucbingham* sends to vewe the enemies countenance. The skourts report the greatnesse of the *English* army and their diligence at the siege, who being discouraged and pursued, hardly escape. They resolute, that in steede of charging the *English* army, they should beseege *Vernueil*, (a Towne obeying the *English*), eyther to take it, or to make a diuersion from *Tury*. The first succeeded, for our men approaching to *Vernueil* with a victorious countenance and bragge, as if the *English* army had bene defeated, *Vernueil* opens the gates without any question, and yeelds to the Kings seruice. But this shewe of victory cost our *French* men deere, who had done better to succour *Tury*, then in loosing it, to hazard their owne ruine, as it happened afterwards.

Vernueil yeelded to the
French.
Tury yeelded.

Girault of Paliere, hauing long and in vaine expected succors, and doubled the prefixed time, hee yeelds to the Duke of *Bedford*, who hauing nowe no other impediment, he resolues to fight with our army at his aduantage: for the effecting whereof, he had the better meanes, by their long itay. Hauing in-intelligence of the Estate of our Armie, he resolued to drawe them to battaile, knowing howe much it did import to send a victorious soldiar, against one, whome he hath vsually beaten. Hee therefore sends a herauld to defie them, giuing him charge to direct himselfe to the Duke of *Touraine*, a Scottish man being *Marshall of France*. To whome he saies. The Duke of *Bedford* my master commanded mee to tell you, that he comes to drinke with you. *Douglas* answers him. That he should be welcome, but hee must make some hys, for that diner was readie. Vpon this brauado they go to Counsell. The mischiefe was, the army had no head, hauing indeede too many. A multitude of commanders and commaunders, is a plague to all good order, and especially in militarie discipline, which consists wholly, in authoritie. Euery one had varied in his opinion. Somewere of aduice to attend the enemy, others thought it fittest to take him at his worde, without induring of these brauadoes.

The Duke of
Bedford sends
a challenge to
the French
army.A diuision among
the heads of the
French army.

Thus their diuided opinions diuided the armie, and those which in shewe made the armie, ouerthrew it. *Douglas* and *Narbonne*. *Douglas* sayed, Seeing the army is well lodged, hauing a good Towne to backe it, to what ende should they runne rashly against a victorious enemy? The *Narbonnois* replies, To endure these brauadoes, were to take away the hearts of the French Soldiars, and to coole their courage without any reason: and what greater indignities might a vanquished man beare? The Duke of *Alençon*: and the Constable were of the first opinion. but the contention grew so great, as the *Vicount* sayed, That if the wiser had no minde to fight, hee would go and defend the honor of *France* with the hazard of his life: so being rettyred to his quarter, he commanded

10

1424.

The French
armie.

A to found a marche, notwithstanding the Duke of *Alençon*s intreatie to stay and march together. On the other side, the Duke of *Touraine*, discontented at the *Vicounts* choller, keepes back the *Scottes*. But necessitie drew forth the whole armie, one Battaillon after another. This disorder was the cause they could not chosse a fit place of armes, nor dispose of their Battaillons. All were in grosse confusely, without any vanguard. The chiefe of the armie were on foote. They place two wings, and to euery wing a thousand horse. The *Italians* had the right, and the *French* the left. In the fore-fronte of this battaile they planted foure hundred horse, to beginne the skirmish.

The Duke of *Bedford* had oportunitie to dispose better of his armie, he makes a bode all on foote, where he placeth his chiefe force, and lodgeth there himselfe. In the front of this body, he placeth great store of Archers, and euery Archer hath a stake it clein the ground, to withstand the charge of the horse: Vpon either wing he plants the choise of his most resolute Archers. Behind, are his vnarmed people with the baggage: the horses being tyed close together, taile to taile, with two cordes or withs. but for their gard he left two thousand choise Archers. In this order he attends the *French*, whom he discouers comming a farre off, resolute to fight, with the countenance of conquerours. They were long before they could set their troupes in order, and ranne a full gallop to their death. So as in these sturres, and in their hast to fight, they were out of breath before they came to blowes. All the morning is spent in approaches, the two armies fronting one another: a little after noone, a signall is giuen to the battaile; our aduenturers go to the charge, to trie if they can force the gresse of the *English* armie.

The foure hundred *Italian* Lances (lead by *Cameran* with one eye) made the point, and at the first charge beate back the *English* Archers that were in the front. At the same instant, our two wings of horse, charge the *English* armie in flanke, seeking to breake their rankes. The fury of the fight was violent on either side; our men struing to enter into the body of the *English* foote, and the *English* labouring to withstand our men with a continuall stonne of Arrowes. Then, behold our *Launciers*, hauing forced one side of the battaile, begin to crie, *Victorie*. but the first rankes being forced, they are seconded by the rest without disorder: and with the like impression, the whole body of the *English* armie raise a great crie, and aduance to the combat. Thus the two armies ioyne with a horrible confliet, which continued aboue an houre, one fished against another with a cruell and bloudie furie. And (sayes the originall) there were neuer seen: two parties of so great power, fight so long without knowledge who were victors. But behold a new change in our Armie, our *French* and *Italian* horse appointed to force the *English* battaile, being valiantly repulsed flie, and leaues our footemen open to the *English* shot.

Both the battailes had continued long in fight, and that which had made it equally was not onely the equalitie of their forces, but the counterpeize of horres, which seru-
ued honourably. But the *English* had a supply of 2000. Archers, referued at the taile of his armie to garde the baggage. The Duke of *Bedford* seeing our foote naked of *Launciers*, resolues to imploy them. So as this fresh squadron, doubling a fearful cry, fall violently vpon this wearied troupe, and being halfe disordered, disperfeth them. Then all are in a route: some flie, others kill. The massacre was exceeding great in the first furie, kindled by the obstinacie of the fight. Yet after this first heate, the *English* accustomed to our bloud, fell to take prisoners. *Vernueil* was the neereft retreat, but the gates were shutte, fearing least the *English* should enter pel mel with them that fled; so as the Ditch serued for a graue or a prison to many. Thus the *English* had the victorie, but they bought it full dearely, for they lost aboue fiftene hundred men: our losse was farre greater. Our *Histories* confesse fiftie thousand, the *English* report fiftene thousand. Yet all was not lost, for *Xaint-railles* and *La Hire* gathered together a good number of them that fled, and saued them in *Mans*, the neereft place of retreat.

The banish-
of Vernueil.The French
defeated.

Mm 4.

There

1424.
A braue re-
treat of the
barr.

There happened a memorable thing in this route. The *Italian* troupe which had fled, being intrenched in a neere village, to fight for their liues, hauing a false aduertisement that our men had wonne the victory; they presently part, and come to the place of battaile. being knowne, they are charged by the *English*, but their retreat was exceeding hardy, for in despite of their armie they faued themselves. Being to passe a riuer at the end of certaine hedges, by so narrow a passage as they could go but one after an other, these *Lombards* plant their Cornets there, as the marke of their way, with sixteene armed men to make a stand, while the troupe should passe. All escape this way without any other harme, then feare. So much order preuailes euen in disorder.

The Noble-
men that
were slaine.

This ouerthrow chanced the sixt of August. The losse was the greater, for that it did aggravate the former: many great personages were slaine. The Earle of *Bouquingham* Constable of *France*, the Marshall *Du-glas*, (a short time Duke of *Touraine*) the Earles of *Aumale*, *Harcourt*, *Ventadour*, *Tonnerre*, *Moyry*; the Lords of *Grauille*, *Montenay*, *Combreff*, *Fontenay*, *Bruneil*, *Tumblet*, *Guirry*, *Peissy*, *Mathe*, *Rambels*, *Lindesay*, *Gamasches*, *Malstroict*, *Boyn*, *Rembouillet*, *Harpedane*, *la Treille*, *Fourehouinere*, *la Salle*, *Lappe*, *Rochebaron*, *la Tour*, and many other in great numbers. The Vicount of *Narbonne* (a rather instrument of this misfortune) was taken by the *Bourguignons*, and presently hanged, for a punishment, hauing assisted at the massacre of *John* Duke of *Bourgogne*. The chiefe prisoners were, *John* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Alençon*, and the bastard of this house, the Marshall of *Fayette*, the Lord of *Hormid*, *Peter* *Hersson*, *Lewis* of *Vaucourt*, *Roger* *C* *Broussert*, *Hines* of *Saint Marc*, *James* *du Puy*, and many others; from whom the *English* drew great summes of money. *Vernueil* (to augment this misfortune,) was yielded by *Rambures*, vpon an honourable composition, with their liues and baggage freed, except that which belonged to the armie. The insolent *English*, spoiled the poore Souldiars, when as the Earle of *Salisbury* arriuing, slue one of these treacherous wretches, causing these poore vanquished men to bee conducted into *Berry* or *Touraine* in good safetie.

With many
other places.

After this notable victorie, the Duke of *Bedford* hauing triumphed at *Paris*, managed this profitable accident to our losse. Hee presently deliueys these victorious troupes (carrying in their hearts and foreheads, the fortune of *England*) to the Earle of *Salisbury*, one of the wisest and most valiant Captaines of his armie, who implored them with great successe: for he tooke from *Ambrose* de *Lore*, (a braue and valiant Captaine) the Fortes of *Saint Susanne*, *Mahannes*, *la Hines*, *la Ferte-Bernard*, as the remainders of this Shipwracke, and in the end he carried it to the Towne of *Mans*, although the fidelitie of the inhabitants yeelded him their obedience more slowlie, and with greater difficultie. The *English* insolencie increased daily and apparently, like the swelling of a riuer. Watches were set to obserue all such as did but murmur for their libertie. The Lords of *Maucourt* and *Rocomp* were put to death, as guiltie of high treason. The goods of such as were absent, were confiscate. In *France* it was a great crime to be a *Frenchman*.

The miser-
able estate of
Charles in di-
uers sorts.

But as one mischiefe comes not alone, and griefe vpon griefe procures no health, these misfortunes which touched the members, had almost ruined the head: for this lamentable battaile of *Vernueil*, (which made all *France* to mourne) had almost thrust *Charles* into his graue. Besides these generall losses, this poore Prince was furcharged with many difficulties: the incredible burthen of his pouertie, and the reproches of his subiects, accusing him as the author of these banquerout losses, which chanced daily to his armies and Townes. Thus he was abandoned both of himselfe, and his subiects, his great and many afflictions hauing killed his courage, and lost his credit with the people. In this disgracefull necessitie, there was no speech but of ingaging the reuenues of the Crowne, to pay the garrisons of places, which else would be lost. The Kings table faled dully: hee ate no more in publike, but sparingly in his Chamber, attended on by his domesticall seruants. The Historie notes, that as *Pothon* and *la Hire* came to him to *Chasteaudun*, to require succours, they found him at Table with

with a rumpe of Mutton, and two Chickens: and yet in this extreame pouertie of his, the great men snatch on all hands. The Duke of *Alençon* had *Niort* in *Poitou*. and the bastard of *Orleans* the County of *Gyan*, for money they said had bin lent for the Kings seruice, who anowed all and paide all, for nothing. But that which was of harder digestion, was the continuall discontent of his subiects against him, as if (neglecting his affaires) he had abandoned himselfe to the loue of faire *Agnes*. A blot which doth yet blemish the name of *Charles* the 7. in the generall conceipt of the *French* nation, registered as a certaine truth, by the writers of our time, which haue described that raigne. As it is my coultie to seareh the originalls, and not to alledge any new writer for an Author: so haue I carefully noted what the Ancients did obserue. *Alain Charretier* the Kings Secretarie, saies nothing: *Monstrelet* speakes but vpon occasion, in the end of this raigne.

The King re-
proched for
the loue of
faire *Agnes*.

And for as much (saith he) as the King did see her willingly, the common fame was, that he kept her dishonestly, for the vulgar is more inclined to speake ill then well. But the loue which the King did shew her, was for her pleasing behauiour, and eloquent speech, and also for that she was of all faire creatures the fairest. The Historie of *S. Denis*, written by the Historic grapher of *France*, doth cleerly excuse him in these termes. *A Chronicler*, desiring to write the truth, haue duly informed myselfe, and without falsifying of the truth, doe finde by Knights, Councellors, Physicians, Surgians, and other domesticall seruants, examined by othe, as appertained to my charge, to the end to free the people from scandall: That during *Charles* yeeres that faire *Agnes* liued with the Queene, the King neuer frequented her but in great companie nor in the absence of the Queene: he neuer used any lasciuious countenance vnto her, nor touched her beneath the chinne. And after his sports, *Charles* retired himselfe vnto his lodging, and *Agnes* vnto hers. But he loued her for that she was pleasant and young among the fairest, seeking all kind of delights to sweeten his thoughts and cares. These are his very words. But how soeuer, this scaire remaines vpon *Charles* his face, that he neglected his affaires, loosing both his time and iudgment with this woman, and in his Gardens; the which blemished his reputation much, euen with his enemies, who held him for an idle person, and of small valour. But as this report made him contemptible, so the insolent behauiour of his Mignons made him hatefull, for that vnder his authoritie, these Horse-leeches oppressed the people, and tooke all reward from such as had ventured their liues for the Kings seruice.

The subiect
discontented
against
Charles.

Thus this poore Prince, furcharged with many difficulties, was so discouraged, as he had not any care to preferre himselfe by armes how soeuer, but employed all his spirits to finde some meanes of an accord, at what price soeuer, with the Duke of *Bourgogne* and *Brittanie*. But he was much deceiued, for they had all conspired his ruine, and euery one pretended a part in this confiscation. The Duke of *Sauoy* looked for a share, and *Lewis* of *Chaalon* Prince of *Orange*, was in hope to make himselfe great with the remainders of this spoile. But where the wisdom of man ended, there the prouidence of God began, who prouided meanes for *Charles*, the which he could not foresee, neither by his industrie or authoritie finde out; that the restoring of this realme might be knowne to proceed from the miraculous bountie of God, the Gardien of this estate.

The League
with *England*
shaken.

We haue shewed, with what care the Duke of *Bedford* had built an vnion with the Dukes of *Bourgogne* and *Brittany*, to confirme the *English* affaires in *France*. *Arthur* of *Brittanie* Earle of *Richemont*, brother to the Duke of *Brittanie*, began to make a breach in this alliance. He had married one of the *Burguignons* Sisters, and *Bedford* the other. This *Arthur* was a Prince of good iudgement, who gouerned his brother peaceably, and had a great interest in his Brother in lawe of *Bourgogne*. Hee shall helpe much in the restoring of this estate, vnting the hearts of Princes distracted from the King; but his foure complections did much distemper *Charles*, who shall pay deere for the fruites of his seruice; as the course of the Historie will declare. The Duke of *Bedford* being at *Paris*, mightily puffed vp with his victories, plaid the King this insolent greatnesse, which made him odious to the *French* (although they durst not shew

1424.

Bedford and Richemont, brother to the Duke of Britaine, at last being brothers in law.

Arthur of Britaine leaves the English.

Charles solicits the Duke of Britaine & his brother, & wins them to his service.

A notable procelle of Isauelme against her husband, supported by the Bourguignons.

threw it) was likewise hatefull to his owne people. Man hath alwaies the miserie that he seekes, and is the plotter of his owne misfortune. This pride bred a iarre betwixt him and the Earle of *Richemont*, and made a way to the generall diuision of these confederate Princes, and reunion of the whole realme. *Richemont* was come vnto him, to be employed in some honorable charge, fit for his house & person, making great esteeme of his loue, whereof their alliance seemed an assured gage. But he found nothing but discontent. *Arthur* was of a French humour, nourished in the mildnesse of our Kings, bred vp in their armes, and had bene prisoner for them at the battaile of *Azincourt*: the time onely had withdrawne him from the Kings seruice, whom euery man held lost. The pride of *Bedford* reuiued in him this first affection: so as not able any longer to accord with the English, he resolues to seeke all meanes to recouer the Kings good grace and fauour, and to intangle his brother the Duke of *Brittaine*.

Thus he leaues the Duke of *Bedford*, and retires to his house with this discontent. There fallies out a fit occasion to aduance this businesse, to the good liking of *Richemont*, for the office of Constable was void, by the death of the Earle of *Bouquham*, slaine in the battaile of *Vernueil*. *Charles* sleeps not at these newes; but as if he had attended some good opportunitie, hee presently sends a trustie Gentleman to the Earle of *Richemont*, to offer him his loue, and for a gage thereof, the dignitie of the Constable of *France*, with all aduantages that a King may honour his seruient with. This first summons *Richemont* tooke reasonable well: but he answered; That he could not doe any thing without his Brother the Duke of *Brittaine*: with whom hauing conferred, he would presently aduertise *Charles* of his resolution: But, as the Kings urgent necessitie made him to reckon the minutes, so the tediousnesse of the Britons answer made him to languish.

His counsell likewise allowed well of this league; the which shall proue more troublesome vnto him, then honourable, and more preiudiciall then profitable vnto *France*. *Charles*, (without attending any answer from *Richemont*) sends *John Louet*, President of *Prouence*, one of the chiefe fauourites, then in credit: but he remembered not that he was in dislike with these Princes, so as *Louet* returned without any effect. Yet *Charles* (lothe to loose this opportunitie, and to giue the English time to reconcile himselte to these Britons,) sends to him with all speed a very honorable Ambassage, which was *Yoland of Arragon*, Queene of *Sicile* his mother in lawe, with *Tannequy of Chastell*, being very acceptable to these two bretheren. Their comming did greatly aduance this businesse. They preuailed so farre as the Duke of *Brittaine*, & the Earle of *Richemont* his brother were both ready to imbrace the Kings friendship, and to doe him seruice, so as the Duke of *Bourgogne* would yeeld vnto it: and in the meantime (to draw this businesse to some good end) *Richemont* should go and treat with his master, vpon good hostages for his safety. This condition was accepted by *Charles*: and to loose no time, the Lord of *Albret* and the bastard of *Orleans*, were sent vnto him for hostages, and the townes of *Chinon*, *Loches*, *Lusignan* & *Meung*, were giuen him for assurance vntill the end of the treaty, and ample passports made to go and come with all liberty. This worke began this yeare, in November, and shal end the next yeare with a notable successe.

But the Duke of *Bourgogne* imbraced an other notable occasion, which shall more preiudice the English, then this occurrent of *Brittain*. We haue said that this leuain was layde in the yeare 1423. by the marriage of *Isauelme*, Countesse of *Hainault*, *Holland* & *Felnd*, a wife contended for by two husbands; the Duke of *Brabant*, cousin germane and a deere friend to the Duke of *Bourgogne*; and the Duke of *Glocester* brother to the Duke of *Bedford*, and vncle to *Henry* the 6. King of *England*, two great parties which shall diuide the Dukes of *Bedford* & *Bourgogne*, and shall be the meanes to reconcile the *Bourguignons* to *Charles*, & reduce him to the obedience of this crowne, expell the English out of *France*, and restore the realme. But the prouidence of GOD which goes insensibly by degrees aboue mans conceipt, must be distinctly considered. About the ende of this yeare, *Isauelme* of *Hainault* comes out of *England* with

A the Duke of *Glocester* her second husband, fortified with an armie of fise thousand English. She caused the Nobility and the Cities to renue their othes, both to her and the Duke of *Glocester* her lawfull husband. All the Nobilitie obeyes this commandement, except the Earle of *Conuersan*, *John of Lumont*, *Angilbert of Anguien*, and all Townes, except *Hals*. The Duke of *Bourgogne* greatly affected this quarrell. The Duke of *Bedford* foreseeing the danger that might growe by the *Bourguignons* discontent, labors to suppress it in the breeding, and to that ende he drawes them to *Paris* with their friends, but in vaine. The one strues to inioy his estats: and the other to hinder him. So as whilest the cause is disputed in the Court at *Rome*, the armies prepare on eyther side to ende it by blood and spoile. The *Glocestrian* begins, & the *Bourguignon* follows. So the end of this yeare is the beginning of a warre of foure whole yeares, but it shalbe ended in fauour of the *Bourguignon*. This newe yeare shalbe spent in the altercations of the Court and *Brittaine*.

The Earle of *Richemont* comes to *Tours* to *Charles*, as he had promised to the Queene of *Sicile*, but not able to resolue any thing without the consent of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, (as we haue sayd,) the King seeing it very necessary he should go to him, doth sende to him with a very honorable Ambassage, *James of Bourbon*, Earle of *Clermont* and a Prince of his blood, the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Bishop of *Puy*. The ende of their negotiation was double, That the Duke of *Bourgogne* should like of the alliance betwixt the King and the Princes of *Brittain*, and that hee himselfe should bee reconciled vnto him, to liue and continue good friends, as they were neere in blood. The first was fully concluded with the *Bourguignons* consent, the other was surseased. The causes are specified, for that *Philip* could not with honestie let slippe the death of his father, whereof *Charles* was the Authour, this reconciliation could not bee well effected, vntil that *Charles* did chafe from him all such as had dipped their hands in this massacre, eyther as fauours or as executioners. They were specified by name, *John Louet* President of *Prouence*, *Tannequy of Chastell*, *William d'Anaugour*, *John of Gyac*, son to that Lady of *Gyae*, who perswaded *John* Duke of *Bourgogne*, to go to *Charles* at *Monfresau-sant Yonne*, where he was slaine. But these were but colours, for notwithstanding their absence from Court, yet the *Bourguignon* seemed to be nothing inclined to the Kings seruice. In effect, he stood watching the oportunitie to effect his desires, and so entertayned time, to keepe the stakes, as the whole course of the Historie will declare. *Charles* imploying all his friends and meanes, intreats *Amedee*, Duke of *Sauoye* to be a mediator of this accord. In respect hereof he comes to *Monnel* in *Cresse*, but in truth this was but a shadow. They all sought to get from *Charles*, and so watched for oportunitie. Yet the *Bourguignon* made all shewes of his seruice vowed to the King & the establishment of *France*, which he lamented infinitely to be fallen into the hands of Strangers. He spared no cheere nor entertaynement for the Ambassadors, and for a gage of sincere loue. *Philip* giues his yongest Sister *Anne*, in marriage to the Earle of *Clermont*, but with an intent to winne a Prince of the blood neere the King. Thus the *Bourguignon* leueled alwayes at this marke, & did nothing but with an intent to maintaine his greatnesse at what price soeuer.

In the meane time the meeter smart for the follie of great men. At the returne of these Ambassadors, the Court is in an vpror, *Charles* greues to chafe away his seruants, which could not be done but in contempt of his authority. And yet the Ambassadors cryed out, that without it they should not effect any thing: and the more they feared the execution, the more they hindered the Kings seruice. *d'Anaugour* parted first with the good liking both of King and Court. *Gyac* made his peace, by the mediation of the Queene of *Sicile*, who had all power in this action. The King was wonderfully discontented for the departure of *Tannequy of Chastell*, whome hee called Father. A man beloued and of amiable conditions. But there was no remedy. Hee had giuen the chiefe stroake to *John* of *Bourgogne*. So likewise hee protested without any difficultie, to retyer himselfe whether soeuer his maister should command him.

He

1425. Hee beseeched him to giue him an autentiell testimoniall, that it was not for any fact of his, but for the good of his seruice. He obtains it, and a promise withall, that his offices should be continued him. Thus he retyers to *Beucaire* in *Languedoc*, and the office of *Prouost* of *Paris* remayned to him still, with the fee, and a good reputation with all men, to haue bene a good seruant to the King, and carefull of the publicke good. *John Louuet* President of *Prouence*, disputed his departure with some bitterness and obstinacie. What iniustice is it (saith hee) to condemne a man without hearing? What breach, to vse the Kings seruants thus, for an others pleasure? But not onely the *Bourguignon* and the *Britton* hated him to the death, but also the Court and people did detest him. A man of a high minde, cunning, obstinate, reuengefull, cruell. Great men hated him, as crossing their affaires with the King, abusing his tractable disposition: and meane men, as the horse-leech and the sponge of the publicke treasure, and a man without mercie. The *Bourguignon* hated him as the first motor of his Fathers murder; and the *Britton*, as hauing giuen counsell to the Earle of *Ponthieu* to take him prisoner at *Chantonneaux*. Hauing gotten great welth and impouerished the King and the Realme, hee had matched his Daughters in good houses. The one, with the Earle of *Dunois* a bastard of *Orleans*, the other with the Lord of *Soyse*. The respect of this alliance saued his life. He was safely conducted to *Auignon*, and from thence hee retyres into *Prouence*, without any other fame then to haue gouerned the King ill. His daughter of *Soyse* died with thought, for her fathers disgrace. *Cyac* returns into grace more then before, hauing purchased the fauour of the Queene of *Sicile*: But hee shall soone pay for these imaginations of his happinesse, not onely succeeding the President in his misfortune, but also loosing his life after an ignominious sort.

The Duke of Brittain comes to King Charles.

The Duke of Brittain, who came to Charles to *Saumur*: he tooke the othe of fidelitie, offering him all seruice. The *Bourguignon* speakes not yet one word for the King; onely he forbears to make warre against him, hauing a plausible excuse, for his not lending any more men to the Duke of *Bedford*, being busied for the *Brabantine*, against the *Glocesterian*, in the warre of *Haynault* and *Holland*. So this accident bred some ease to Charles, but no releefe. During these confusions in Court, *Mans* was lost, and after it the rest of *Mayne* obeyed the Earle of *Salisbury*. But the Constable of *Richmont*, (being freed from those domesticall crosses which might hinder his credit with the King) would make prooue of his valour, in arming the *Brittons* against the *English*. And as in the beginning all is good; at this first command all *Brittaine* riseth, and runnes to this warre. But these troupes being raised, and not yet ioyned to frame the body of an armie; behold the Earle of *Warwicke* marcheth suddenly with a goodly armie, gathered out of all the garrisons of *Normandie*, the inhabitants of Townes, and the Nobilitie of the Countie, with great speed, who besiegeth and taketh *Pontorson*, a towne vpon the confines of *Normandie* & *Brittaine*, neere *Saint Michels* mont. This prickt forward the Constable, to whome this scorne belonged. After that *Warwicke* was retired, hauing left a garrison in his conquest, behold the Constable comes to *Pontorson* with his *Brittons*, he besiegeth it, beats it, and takes it by force, making a great slaughter of the *English*.

This successe gaue him courage to passe on: the Towne of *Saint James* of *Beuueron* did much disquiet that Countie. Hee attempts it, hoping to be succored with men and mony from *France*. But hauing words alone without effects, his *Brittons* (being for the most part voluntaries,) slippe away dayly, notwithstanding any preuention of the Constables, who resolved (before this warlike multitude had abandoned him) to make profit of his presence, and to giue a generall assault. The neerenesse of *Auranches* (where the Earle of *Suffolke* with *Scales*, (famous captaines among the *English* army, armed with goodly troupes) gaue him occasion of feare, least they should charge his men in the heate of the assault. To this ende, he sends forth two thousand men out of the body of his army, to meete with these imagined *English*.

The

A The Comanders hauing discouered euen to the gates of *Auranches*, and found nothing, they resolve to returne to the army, not giuing the Constable any other advertisement. The *Brittons* being at the assault, seeing those men come, suppose them to be *English*, and fearing to be coopt in, hauing an enemy both before and behind, they resolve to leaue their ladders, and retyer to their Campe. Their retreat was very difficult, by reason of a poole with a narrowe Causey, which they had wonne with great labor and paine. The beseegeed seeing the *Brittons* forsake the walls, sally forth courageously after them, recouer the quarter abandoned, where there was a point that flanked the poole, in the which they plant threescore archers. There were eight or nyne hundred *Brittons* shut vp betwixt the walles and the poole: so as from this recouered point, they might choote them one after one. The rest of the *English* garrison issuing forth the Towne furiously, put these amazed *Brittons* to the sword, who are cyther gauled with *English* arrowes, like beasts in a toyle, or with a desperate courage leape into the poole. Thus lesse then five hundred men, ouerthrew about eight thousand. The Campe was abandoned and spoyle, eigheteen ensignes lost, with the banner of *Brittain*. Many prisoners were taken, after the *English* had bene wearied with killing. The principall that were slaine, were the Lords of *Molac*, *Coitivy*, *la Motte*, & many captaines of marke. The artillery, engins and all the rest of the munition remayned for a payne.

The Brittons defeated by their valour.

C This vnseasonable alarm, greatly troubled the Constable, who was now become all the hope of the *French*, as if hee carried all *France* vpon his shouldiers like an other *Atlas*. To repaire this ridiculous disgrace, he raiseth newe forces in *Brittain* with all speed, he ioynes vnto him the troupes of *Ambrosi* of *Lore* to be assisted with his valour, and hauing giuen them their pay, hee causeth them to march into *Anion*, where hee takes *la Flesche*, *Galerande*, *Ramsfort*, *Malicorne*, and so reuiues the hearts of his men after a notable losse, and kept his enemy in awe. From thence he goes to Court, where there were other desseings then to fight with the *English*. A man fitter to braue it in a counsell of State, then to dispute a battaile or the leege of a Towne. He came to Court to be the author of many confusions during this yeare: and on the other side, his brother the Duke of *Brittain*, before it passe, shall leaue the party of *France*, and reconcile himselfe vnto the *English*: that the honour of our deliuerance might bee giuen to God, the gardian of this *Monarchie*, and not to these Princes of *Brittaine*, to whome Charles was too much affected, in buying their friendship so deere being euen then vnprofitable, when as hee had greatest neede yet in their season, all these instruments worke to restore our decayed estate. But these were the Constables good seruices. After this shamefull disgrace, hee seekes to couer his fault, exclaiming first against the King, as if hee had bene the cause of this infamous disorder happened at *Saint James*, & hauing too freely discouered his griefes vnto the King, he presumed to take *John* of *Malestroit* Chancellor of *Brittain* prisoner, as beeing particularly charged to solicit the payement of such money as was appointed for this *Britton* army. Charles was much offended with this presumption, and in despite of the Constable, caused *Malestroit* to bee presently released, and sent into *Sauoy*. The Constable was greatly discontented with this proceeding, the which he tooke as an affront done to his person, and resolves to be reuenged. So great were the confusions of that age, as the seruant durst prescribe a Lawe to his maister: and his counsell bandie against him to controule his will. Yea the Princes of the bloud (so great was the corruption of that wretched age) were the chiefe controllers of the Kings actions. Then was there nothing more miserable then *France*, who discontented with her King, nourished the ambition of many Kings. This ielous ambition did nothing cure the infirmities of our Estate. Charles found it lost, he could not raise it alone. To debase his authority was no meanes to cure the confusions of the realme. And as there is nothing more troublesome then affliction, the *French* nation beeing then extremely afflicted, did nothing amend their condition; in casting vpon the King the reproches of their calamities.

Richmont stirs up new troubles in Court.

He exclaims against the King.

A dangerous waywardnesse to make the King odious or contemptible.

Na

This

1426.

This was to deprivie themselves of their head, wherein consists the whole life of the bodie. An vnreasonable discontent. The whole body of the State was sicke, and this distastd people would haue their head sound. A notable circumstance, for it is strange, that (after so many miseries,) this domestical confusion had not bene the vter ruine of the State. But let vs returne to our discourse. The Constable had great credit with the counsell, whome in the beginning the King had greatly countenanced: but the priuate practises, and the generall discontent of great persons, had made him halfe a King: the people detested them, as managing all things at their pleasure, to the preiudice of the common weale. There were two Mignons that did greatly vex them. *Gyac*, and *Camus* of *Beaulieu*. They resolue by a generall consent to dispatch them.

The Kings
Mignons
slaine by the
Counsell.

The Princes, with the Lords of *Albret* and *Tremouille* (who had a great interest in the State,) were of the partie. But the Constable must do the execution. The matter concluded betwixt them, was thus executed: *Gyac* was taken in bed with his wife, carried to *Dun le Roy*: condemned and executed: that is, he was put into a sacke and cast into the riuer. The Constable performed this office, without any other forme of lawe, then his bare commande. Afterwards *Camus*, borne in *Auvergne*, as hee walked in the Kings lodging, was venturously slaine, by a soldiari belonging to the *Marshall* of *Bouffiac*. *Charles* vnderstood it, and in a manner, toucht the bloud of his two domestical seruants, being wonderfully discontented. but the time (which did authorise these confusions) caused him to swallowe this pill quietly. *Tremouille* married *Gyacs* widowe, the heire of *Lisle Bouchart*, and entred newly in credit with the King, giving him to vnderstand that all was for his seruice, so as there was no more speeche there of: every man shut both eyes and cares. But *Tremouille* shall haue his turne: hee shall leaue some of his haire, and hardly saue the mould of his doubled. Thus the affaires of Court ebbed and flowed, the which raiseth vp one and cast downe another. In this deceytfull manner of life, there is nothing certaine but incontinencie, fauours being given not by desert, but most commonly by a blind appetite, which hath no other iudgement, but the apprehension of weake heads, diuiding the happinesse of a Countie life into quarters, this day to one, and to mortowe to another. A goodly lesson for such as are fauored in Court, not to bee transported with vaine hope, toyes to deceiue the indifferente. The surest gards of prosperity, are Integritye, wisdom, modesty, and patience: to remember aduersity in prosperitie, according to the precept of the wife.

This was the good gouernment of the Constable of *Richmont*, a bolde practicer of these domestical confusions, whilest the *Bourguignon* plied his businesse. We haue made mention of the sute of *Iaqueline*, Contesse of *Hainault* and *Holland*, for *Humfry* Duke of *Glocestier*, her pretended husband, against *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*, her lawfull husband, for so had Pope *Martin* pronounced it, in fauour of the *Brabantin*. but from lawe they go to armes. The *Bourguignon* supported the *Brabantin*. These Princes (hauing prepared their forces,) begin by writing. The *Glocestier* accuseth the *Bourguignon* of couetousnesse and trecherie. The *Bourguignon* giueth him the lie. But from reproches they fall to armes. The *Bourguignon* offers the *Glocestier* to ende the question by combate: and by that triall to auoide the effusion of their sold a bloud.

The *Glocestier* accepts it: all is prepared for the combate, but the Duke of *Burgundie* interpreteth his authoritie. To this ende hee calls the cheefe men of all estat to *Paris*, to quench this fire, and by common aduice decrees, That, that day should be disannulled, neither should it bee preiudiciall to eyther partie. That is to say, As being well veued and considered, there was no iust cause for eyther to call the other to this wilfull combate, from the which they could not depart, although it were accepted, without great preiudice to both their honours. In the meantime neither the Popes authority, nor the Regents decree, by the generall aduice of the

1426.

A States, could preuaile, but all burst forth into open waire. The *Bourguignon* proued the stronger: so as the *Glocestier* leauing *Iaqueline* at *Mons* (posted into *England* for newe forces, but all was in vaine, the *Bourguignon* making his profit of this Princes absence, did easily effect his desire, hauing no oposite but a woman, dishonored for her infamous adulteries. Hee failes not to enter *Hainault* with a stronge army, and with all force to reduce this people to reason.

The Country seeing it selfe pressed by the *Bourguignons* forces, (neither hoping for nor desiring any succors from *England*, and perswaded that *Iaqueline* supported a bad cause) resolue to obey the stronger. Hauing to that effect protested vnto their Lady, what they thought fitting for their dutie, they seize on her person, and deliuer her into the hands of the Duke of *Bourgogne*. *Philip* receiues her honorably, and promisseth her all offices of friendship to comfort her. From *Mons* hee carrieth her to bee conducted with a goodly traine to *Gand*, by *Lewis* of *Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, a braue Noble man. The *Cantois* employ their best meanes to honour her. This great liberty gaue her meanes to make an escape from this goodly cage: so as hauing practised some for her guide, shee disguiseth her selfe in the habit of a man, and retyres from *Gand* to *Breda*, where shee doth assure the riuer of *Garide*, and doth solicit the Townes of *Holland* by her Agents. The *Bourguignon* (foreseeing by these beginnings a long continuance of trouble) flies thither with his army. He enters the Countie: at the first they all resist him, for the respect the subjects bare to their Lady. But as the inconueniences of warre increased dayly, and that *Philip* did shewe by publike writings and priuate practises, that whatsoeuer hee did, was to maintaine the right of the lawfull husband, many Townes yeelded vnto him. At this time *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*, the lawfull husband of *Iaqueline*, dies in the Castell of *Lenenure*, hauing instituted *Philip* of *Bourgogne* his heire. The Citties seeing the *Bourguignon* supported both by force, and right, followe him by a common consent, as twise a Conquerour, and perfwade their Lady not to oppose her selfe obstinately against so reasonable a necessity.

The Duke of
Bourgogne
leaseth on
Iaqueline
Counesse of
Hainault.

She escapeth
from Gand.

Philip of Bour-
gogne made
heire of Brabant,
Hainault,
Holland and
Zeland.

So without any other force, but the happy successe of the stronger, an accord was made, betwixt *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne* and *Iaqueline* Contesse of *Hainault* and *Holland*, vpon these conditions: That *Iaqueline* doth acknowledge her Cousin, *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, for the lawfull heire of her Countie, and from thence forth doth make him gouernour of *Hainault*, *Holland* and *Zeland*. All these Estats should take their oath and gouernance of fealtie vnto *Philip*. All fortresses should bee deliuered into his hands, and she promise neuer to marrie without his consent. This *Philip* was honorably receiued throughout all these Estats, to the content of some and discontent of others, according to their diuers humours: but force controuled all. *Iaqueline* made a good shewe, yet greatly discontented to see him her maister. Such was the Tragical Comedie of this long sute, for the quiet of these Estats and the greatnesse of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who made his profit of all sides, for soone after *William* Earle of *Namur*, left him the Earldome of *Namur*, whereof he takes possession, to the great discontent of the *Ligeis*, as wee shall see hereafter. This greatnesse of the Duke of *Bourgogne* bred ieaousie in the Duke of *Bedford*: hee being assisted by the Duke of *Frisland*, his open enemy, and the Earle of *Richmond* Constable of *France*, whome hee sees hourly to growe great in his authority.

Thus hearing more mischeefe to fall vnto him by that meanes, hee resolues to fortifie himselfe with newe helpes, and to this ende hee goes into *England*, leauing the affaires of *France*, in charge of the Earles of *Warwike*, *Suffolke* and *Salisbury*. His stay was not long, necessity pressed him. Hee obtaines both men and money, fit remedies to preuent a storme. Hee returnes into *France* with ten thousand men, and a notable summe of money for their pay. For the good employment of these newe forces, hee resolues to beseege *Montargis*, a dangerous thorne, both for the neerenesse to *Paris*, and the conuerse of the *Bourguignon*, who continued his desings, notwithstanding the stil ieaousie of these Princes.

He is made
heire of Namur.

The Duke of
Bedford
brings newe
forces out of
England.

1426. The charge of this seerge was giuen to the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Suffolke*, with A three thousand men: therell were disperfed in *Normandie*, and in Townes bordering vpon *Picardie*, for feare of the *Bourguignon*, in whome he had no confidence. *Montargis* is befeeged, and although the waters hindered their approach to the walles, yet within fewe dayes it was fierly battered by the *English*, and valiantly defended by the *French*.

The seerge of *Montargis* happie for the *French*.

The Constable loth to go to the releefe of *Montargis*. They cie out for succour, but the affaires in Court were so wonderfully confused, (by the inextingine ialousies of the great men) that one gazed vpon an other, yet no man stirred, although *Charles* continually cried, to armes. In the ende they began to march: and although the Constable had busied himselfe in this leuie, yet fearing the example of Saint *James*, hee would not hazard himselfe in the leading thereof, alleaging many colour: to saue himselfe from blowes. For want of him, the charge was giuen to the Earle of *Dunois* a bastard of *Orleans*: to *William* of *Albret* Lord of *Oruall*, to the Lords of *Gaucourt*, *Guitry*, *Grauille*, *Villar*, *la Hire*, *Cyles* of Saint *Simon*, *Gaultier* of *Frossard*, *Iohn Stuard* a *Scot*, and other valiant Captaines, wholed sixteene or sixteene hundred fighting men. Their purpose was onely to vittell the befeeged, whilst the King raised greater forces in the Countreies of his obedience. The Constable remayned at *Largeau* attending the issue, which succeeded more happily then the desseine of to sligh a succour. The Earle of *Dunois* doth aduerse the befeeged of his approach.

Montargis beleued and the *English* decaied.

The ruer forced the *English* to make three lodgings, those within the Towne had cunningly surprisid the bridges vpon the ruer of *Loing*: and after the succours had secretly recovered the *Rendez-vous*, those within the Towne stopped the counseil the water so artificially, as the ruer ouerflowes the bridges. At the same instant all the troupes charge the *English*: *la Hire* leading the first troupe, chargeth the quarter where the Lord *de la Poole*, brother to the Earle of *Suffolke* commaunded, &c crying *Montioye S. Denies* he fills all with confusion, killing, burning and spoyling. *de la Poole* with much adoe saues himselfe with seauen more, in his brothers lodging in the Abby, without the Towne, vpon the way to *Nemours*. The Earle of *Dunois* (whose rendez-vous was towards the Castle) hauing ioyned with the Townesmen (who were issued forth with great resolution) chargeth the body of their Campe, the which he wholly ouercame.

The slaughter was great, for so small troupes, for they numbred sixteene hundred slaine vpon the place. In this charge the Earle of *Suffolke* fauored by the waters, gathers together al he can in his quarter, and recouers the hilles, to make his retreat to *Chisleau-Landon*, and *Nemours*, places vnder the *English* commaunde, and of neereft retreat. The honour of this happie successe, was attributed to the Earle of *Dunois* whereat the King receyued an incredible content, as a refreshing to this burning feuer, and the Constable *Richemond* a greuous discontent, being absent: and so this yeare ended.

The Constable seeks all meanes to crosse the King.

But the newe yeare will shewe what fruits *Brittain* yeelded to *France* during her great necessities. This checke at *Montargis* did somewhat coole the Duke of *Berford* heat, but the Constables ambition nothing at all: who hauing vnderaken to play the King with the King, sought to crosse all the humors of this Prince: hee hated what hee loued, disallowed what hee allowed, and disprayed what hee commended. After the violent death of *Gyac* (of whome wee haue spoken) hee had fauored *Tremouille*, to plant him in the Kings good fauour. But as Ambitious hath neyther faith nor honestie, *Tremouille* finding himselfe inward with the King, retaynes all fauour for himselfe, little esteeming both the Constable and the Princes.

Newe troubles in Court by the Constable.

Hee did onely associate vnto him in credit, *Prie* and *la Borde*, men of small account, to vse them at his pleasure, Iealousie mounts againe vpon the Stage: the Princes, Constable and cheefe officers of the Crowne, in steede of taking counsell to pursue the good successe of *Montargis*, they combine together to worke their wills vpon *Tremouille*.

A mouille, and his partians, as they had done vpon *Gyac*. The plot was orderly layed. 1427. *James* of *Bourbon* Earle of *Clermont*, and *Charles* of *Bourbon* Earle of *Marche*, Princes of the Bloud, become heads of this league against *Tremouille* and his companions. The league is thus plotted. Forasmuch as the King is gouerned by base people, to the contempt of the Princes and officers of the Crowne, and to the great oppression of the poore people, the confederates meane to punish these Flaterers, abusing the Kings name and authority, and to approach nere vnto his maiestie, to gouerne the affaires for the good of his seruice, and the ease of France. The execution must beginne with the seizure of *Tremouille*, and continue with *Prie* and *la Borde*. The Constable should take *Tremouille*, and the Princes were to seize on the City of *Bourges*, where *Prie* and *la Borde* were in the great Towre, and so to punish them.

The King discontented with the Constable and the Princes.

But this enterprise came to naught, for *Tremouille* hauing intelligence of this desseine, not only preserved himself, but hauing perswaded the King, that this complot was made against his owne person and authority, it so troubled *Charles*, as he came in person to *Bourges*, and preuented the Princes entry, and without any more disguising he was strangely incensed against the Constable, as the author of these troubles and confusions, forbidding the citties to receiue him.

The Constable notwithstanding smothered this disgrace, and to shew the deuotion he had to the Kings seruice, he goes to field, gathers together a goodly troupe of Brittons, and puts himselfe into *Pontorson* (a Towne abandoned:) he fortifies it, and mans it with a good garrison, vnder the command of *Monsieur de Rostrenan* and *Beaufort*. This doone, he dismisseth his *Brettons*. The Earle of *Warwicke* watched all occasions to surprise the Towne, when as behold these two gouernours minister a fit meanes: for (making a roade towards *Auranches*) they are both taken. *Warwicke* marcheth presently to the walles of *Pontorson* with his army. The Constable sends *Bertrand* of *Dinan*, Marshall of *Brittany* speedily with great succours. Yet the siege continues obstinately. New supplies are sent them by the Duke of *Brittaine*, the which were cut in peeces. *Pontorson* beeing painefully parled with in the ende yeelds to the *English*, the besieged departing with bag and baggage.

Pontorson yeelds to the *English*.

But this was not the ende of this victory: the *English* armye increased both in number and courage by this happy successe: and threatens *Brittaine* with fire and sword. They prepare to enter, *Iohn* Duke of *Brittaine* wearied with so many losses, and fearing worse, making no account of the succours of *France*, (to whom he was coldly affected) takes part with the Duke of *Bedford*, renounceth all other alliances, promitteth to acknowledge the King of *England* for King of *France*, and to take the oath of obedience, such as his predecessors were accustomed to doe to the Kings of *France*. Behold the great good which *Brittaine* brought to our country in her extremest afflictions, after so many hopes and imbracings. This yeare is painefull, shamefull and confused, but the forerunner of a worthy deliuerance. Take courage then my countreimen in the remainders of this tempest.

They threaten to enter into *Brittaine*.

The Britton leaves the alliance of France.

We haue said, that after that miserable battaile of *Vernueil*, the towne of *Mans* yeelded to the *English*. The inhabitants, not able to beare the imperious command of the *English*, resolue in the end to shake off that yoke: For the effecting whereof, they seize vpon a gate, giuing intelligence thereof to the Lord of *Oruall*, brother to the Lord of *Albret*, who happily arriues, takes the Cittie, and cuttes the *English* in peeces. The Earle of *Suffolke* was within the Castell. *Talbot* (that renowned Captaine) was at *Alencon*, he aduertiseth him of this surprise. *Talbot* prepares his succours with such silence, and flies thether with such speed, as he arriues at *Mans*, the third day after the surprize. Our *Frenchmen* (transported with ioy for so noble a conquest, and fearing no enemy among so many enemies, both politick and discontented) slept securely in their beds after the *French* manner, without feare or gard. When as *Talbot* (hauing entered the City by scaling) surpriseth them in their beddes, and killes them without resistance,

Mans surprised and the *English* cut in peeces.

Mans lost againe by the *French*.

1428.

A notable example, both to imitate and to flee: to flee, that through carelesnesse we suffer not our selues to be surprized like Swine. It is the very terme wherewith the Historie doth blemish this brutish loath. To imitate, not to hold any thing impossible, when as resolution doth accompany him that hath any notable attempt in hand. But this victorie staves not at *Mans*: the Earle of *Suffolke*, with his braue *Talbot* goes to field, they marche to *Laual* (a Towne of importance, vpon the confines of *Anjou* and *Bretanie*,) they take it easily, by the onely terror of their victorious armes, incounting no enemy to withstand them.

Domesticall
confusions.

The whole Court was in confusion, the Princes of the bloud and our Constable, studie not to make warre against the *English*, but against the *Mignons*. It was their proiect, as if the whole state depended vpon the Kings fauour, who lost daily, to the general discont of all the *French*. So this yeare had nothing memorable, but that our warriours had lost both iudgement, courage, and force: that through their defects God might raise vp some extraordinarie meanes, for the deliuerie of this Monarchie, almost ruined. Our Captaines then did some exploits, taking *Roche fort*, *Bertan court*, *Iannill*, *Chisteau newf*, *Puiset*, *Tourry*, *Mompieau*, *Nogent le Retrou* and *Lude*, but what toyes were these, in regarde of the stately triumphes of the *English*.

Tournay
yields to the
French.

That which was most admirable this yeare: amidst all these domesticall discontents, and all these ruines and desolations of the State (which might well haue quailed the best affected) those of the City of *Tournay*, (after long contentions) in the end abandon both *English* and *Bourguignon*, protesting solemnly, not to acknowledge any other King, then *Charles* the 7. sonne to *Charles* the sixt, as the true and lawfull King of *France*; and by consequence their lawfull Lord: yet they made a truce with the *Bourguignon*, being their neighbour, with the Kings good liking. In the meane time, the Duke of *Bedford* leuies what men and money he can, both in *France* and *England*, for some great attempt. *Charles* hath intelligence from diuers parts, but what could he doe in so deepe dispare of his affaires, and in so visible an impossibilitie.



The famous Siege of Orleance.



ALL the Citties of this side *Loire*, from the Ocean Sea, were lost, with the whole countries of *Normandie*, *Picardie*, the Ile of *France*, *Brie* and *Champaigne*. He had nothing left but the Townes lying vpon the riuer of *Loire*, from *Cyen* to *Angers*, for *La Charité* held for the *Bourguignon*. The chiefe was *Orleance*: this being wonne, what could hold out long for the *French*: *Bourges* could make small resistance, if the *English* had forced *Orleance*? The enemies of our State (who called

Charles King of *Bourges*) threatened to take from him this small and languishing royaltie. *Orleance* then was the marke wher at the Duke of *Bedford* aimed, who hauing wonne the *Britton*, it greatly fortified the *English* affaires in *France*. As for the *Bourguignon*, he had in a manner recovered the Estates of *Holland*, *Hainault*, *Zeland* and *Namur*. And although ambition and couetousnesse may neuer be bridled: yet these Princes (nothing friendly among themselves) but as comon enemies to this Crowne, agreed

A agreed well in this; to make their priuate profit by the ruine of our state. But man purposeth, and God disposeth: we shall soone see how much he scornes their vanities. In this lamentable time, mans reason could not discern by what means *Charles* should resist to mighty enemies. But in the weakenesse of this Prince, I read with joy the words of the Original, which saith. *During the time that the English held their siege before the noble City of Orleans, King Charles was very weake, beeing abandoned by the greatest part of his Princes and other Noble men, seeing that all things were opposite unto him: yet had he still a good trust and confidence in God. He was not deceiued in this hope, as the sequele will shew.*

The charge of this siege at *Orleans* was giuen to the Earle of *Salisbury*, a wise & valiant Captaine: hauing giuen good testimonies of his sufficiency, for the well managing of this siege, he resolved to take in all the forts neere vnto *Orleans*, that obeyed the *French*, & beginning with the weakest, parting from *Paris*, (taking his way through the Countie of *Chartres*) he seizeth vpon all the smal Townes, wherein our Captaines had so much toyled but a fewe monethes before. *Nogent le Retrou*, *Puiset*, *Roche fort*, *Fertran court*, *Iannille*, *Tourry*, *Mompieau*, the Castell of *Plunie*, and *la Ferte de Gaules*, and approching neere the Cittie, (both aboue and beneath) *Meung*, *Baugency*, and *Largau*. In the ende he plants himselfe before *Orleans*, the 6. of October, in the yeare 1428.

The Earle of
Salisbury sets
downe before
Orleans.

A day to be obserued, for that the 12. of May the yeare following was the last fit of our disease, which changed the estate of our miserable country, like vnto a pleasant spring, after a long and sharpe winter, when as a goodly summer crownes all our labours with abundance of peace and plenty: So this siege continued iust 7. monethes. The bruit of this great preparation did wonderfully disquiet both court, and country, vnder the *French* obedience: in the weakenesse and confusions of the state. The King, after the taking of *la Charité*, was commonly resident at *Poitiers*, he now retires to *Chinon*, to be neerer to *Orleans*. The townes willing y contribute, men, money, and victuals. Many great personages flee to this siege, to defend the chiefe strength of our King and Kingdome. *Lewis* of *Bourbon* the sonne of *Charles* Earle of *Clermont*, the Earle of *Dunois*, ballard of *Orleans*, the Lords of *Boussie* and *Fayette*, Marshalls of *France*: *John Steward*, Constable of *Scotland*, *William* of *Albret* Lord of *Oranill*, the Lords of *Thouars*, *Chaigny*, *Grauille* & *Chabannes*. The Captaines *la Hire*, *Naintrailles*, *Theolde* of *Valpergue*, & *John* of *Lesfego*, *Lombards*, with many other great personages. There were not any of the Prouinces of *Daulphiné* and *Languedoe* for that the Dukes of *Bourgonne* and *Sauoy* at the same instant prepared a great army, by the meanes of *Lewis* of *Chaulons* Pante of *Orange*, to invade those Countries being wholly in the Kings obedience. The *Orleanois* resolues to defend himselfe. He presently beates downe all that might accommodate the enemy, suburbs, howses of pleasure, wine pressies, yea and the temples themselves.

Salisbury doth likewise vse great dexterity and diligence to plant his siege, towards *Paris*, and the port *Banniere*: he builds a great Bastille, which he calles *Paris*. Another at the port *Renard* which he names *Rouen*. Towards *S. Lawrence*, another to the which he gaue the name of *Windsore*. At the port of *Bourgonne* he fortified a ruined Temple, called *S. Loup*, and neere vnto it an other, named *S. John* the white. At the *Porterai* hee built a great fort vpon the ruines of the *Augustines* Church, calling it *London*: from the which hee wonne the Towre vpon the bridge, and all with wonderfull speede. All the cittie is inuironed, hauing neyther issue nor entry, but with sore fighting. And in these toyles they spend the rest of the yeare.

The Earle of
Salisbury
builds vp forte

The first day of the new yeare, the *English* (for a new yeares gift to the cittie) bring their scaling ladders courageously to the Bulwarke at the port *Renard*, but they were valiantly repulsed by the defendants: the next day the Admirall of *Cullant* hauing passed the riuer of *Loire* at a foord (winter being very drie this yeare) visits them of the citie & brings the diuers necessities: vpon his returne, he incounters some *English* troupes

1429. troupes which came stragling from forrage. He chargeth them, cuts them in peeces, A and so retires without danger. Thus the moneth of Ianuarie passeth, without any other memorable exploite. But there happened a strange accident the 20. of Februarie following. The Duke of Bedford sent Lenten prouision to the Earle of Salisbury, with some munition of warre, vnder the conduct of *Iohn Fastfall*, and *Simon Bowyer*, with 1700. men for their garde. The Duke of *Bourbon* brought a goodly succour of foure thousand men to the besieged. He resolues to charge this *English* troupe, hauing well viewed their numbers. It was likely the stronger should haue the victorie, but the issue was contrary to the desseigne. For it chanced (as his men marched confidently, as it were to an assured victory, without any iudgement,) the *English* seeing them in doubt how they should fight, either on foote or horseback, and irresolute, in the end they resolute to charge the *French*: it falling out many times in this exercise, that he which begins, winnes. To conclude, without any farther aduise, the *English* embracing this occasion, charge our troupes, who were so surprised with this unexpected impression, as they presently giue way to the *English* Bowe-men. All flic, some here, some there, without order, without command, and without courage, and few fight. Such as made head were slaine. The rest saue themselves within *Orleans*. There were five or six hundred of our men slaine vpon the place. The *English* lost but one man called *Brisantenn*. The chiefe of our side, were the Lord of *Oruall*, of the Noble house of *Albret*, *Iohn Stuard*, *Chasteaubrun*, *Montpipel*, *Verduisant*, *Larigot*, *La Greue*, *Diuray*, *Puilly*, with better then a hundred Gentlemen.

This ouerthrow was called the battaile of Herings, for that they carried them to the besiegers. The amazement was greater then the losse, for that the Earle of *Clermont*, a Prince of the blood, who should haue beene a ring-leader of resolution and magnanimitie, in these extreame accidents, was so amazed with this losse, as he retired with his men, leauing the Cittie to the bastard of *Orleans*, who resolues to attend the end of this siege, at what price soeuer. In this gallant resolution, he was veremoullie seconded by the Lords of *Guitry*, *Gaucourt*, *Graville*, *Villars*, *La Hire*, and *Xaintrailles*, lights of great hope in this cruell storme, and worthy of eternall memorie in that they dispaired not of this monarchie; in so apparent dispaire. And that which is chiefly to be obserued herein, the King (vnderstanding this retreat of the Earle of *Clermont*.) said, that he did see no meanes to saue the reit from shipwrack. To increase this feare, the Duke of *Bourgogne* comes to *Paris* at the same instant, with a troupe of six hundred men at armes richly appointed. Our Commanders (being full of resolution) were not onely to incounter with the *English*, but with the confusion of times; the Kings misfortune, and (which was worst of all) the amazement of the men of warre, who discouered plainly the disorder of the State. They were loth to cast the helme after the hatchet, but sought the most assured meanes to saue the Cittie in this storme. They aduertise the King hereof, who was so irresolute, as he referres all to their discretions. They resolute to deliuer the Towne into the Duke of *Bourgogne* hands, to keepe it for the Duke of *Orleans*, or the Duke of *Angoulesme* his brother, being then prisoners in *England*, with the Kings good liking. *Pothon*, *Xaintrailles*, and *Peter of Orson*, (wise and valiant men) go to *Paris* to the Duke of *Bedford*, vpon his assurance. He heares them, and returnes them presently, both for that he distrusts the Duke of *Bourgogne*, and held the conquest assured. The *Burguignon* was greatly discontented with the Duke of *Bedford* for his refusall, whom after that time he neuer loved.

The *English* triumphed thus as a victor, so as our Ambassadors could hardly saue themselves with their passport. Then the *English* (saith the originall) being in great prouidence, had no consideration that the wheele of fortune hath power to turne dryly. But the holy veritie of the church, which drawes vs to the wise prouidence of God; cries. I haue said to the fooles, play not the fooles: and to the wicked. Lift not up your hornes speake not with so great pride, for greatnesse comes not from the East nor West, neither from the North: it is God that raiseth up, and casteth downe. He holds a cup of Vine in his hand, he imparts it to euery

The battaile of Herings, vnder fortune for the French.

The King in dispaire of his affaires.

Orleans stands vpon termes to yeeld to the Duke of *Bourgogne*.

The Duke of *Bedford* refuseth the *Deputies*, and discontentes the *Burguignons*.

A euery one as he pleaseth. Truly the pride of the *English*, who possessed of this Monarchy, being drunke with his good fortune, was nowe come to his height: there remained nothing but the hand of the soueraigne Iudge to suppress him, but he shall not long hold it.

Our country, forget not the time of thy visitation, read in this true discourse, the estate of thy predecessors. Remember their afflictions, behold their feates, see the image of that time wherein thou hast borne a part, and iudge if now, onely thou beginnest to be afflicted. In this extremity, as the *French* were exceedingly distressed, so the *English* were transported with ioy, for their late victory, and reioycing with a new hope as if all were wonne, they cry to the besieged. Will you buy my faire herings: At the same instant the townsmen issue forth vpon the shoare. The Earle of *Salisbury* stood at a window in the tower vpon the bridge beholding the skirmish, when as one of his Captaines named *Gladius*, said vnto him. My Lord, behold here your city: here may you view it plainly. But behold a Cannon charged with stones was shot from the Towne, which ayimed at the Earles head, strooke him and left him dead in the place. This unexpected blow (comming as it were from heauen) changed this exceeding ioy of the *English* into mourning, being a man of great valour, who by his carriage had wonne great credit among them, beloued & honoured of all, for the mildenesse of his manners. So this losse troubled both the wits and affaires of the *English* armie, the which had greatly disbanded, if the Earle of *Suffolke*, *Talbot*, *Iohn Fastfall* and *Seales*, famous Captaines, had not chappily bene there, to reuue their spirits and forces, attending the Duke of *Bedford*s pleasure, who gaue the charge to *Talbot*, beeing the choite of their best men, with new forces. So as the siege is continued with more vehemencie then before, with great presumption, that all would go worke with the besieged.

In this occurrent, Charles knewe not what to doe, to whom should he flee? his Princes forsake him. *Orleans* beeing taken, whether should he retire? *Bourges* was ready to yeeld, and withall the Country adioyning. He had no whole Prouinces vnder his obedience, but *Languedoc* and *Daulphiné*. And at the same instant the *Burguignon* and *Sauoyard* prouide worke for him in those countries. The taking then of *Orleans* (which in reason seemed vnauoydable) was the ouerthrowe of Charles and his estate. There was no winking at that which was too apparent. That (considering the estate of his affaires in generall and of his house in particular; If *Orleans* should be lost) all the cities vpon the riuer of *Loire*, and in like sort the rest (already warring would abandon him.

Amidst these fearefull considerations what could the braue and Noble Commanders within *Orleans* doe; but plant their hopes in God and in themselves, A soueraigne remedie in extreame daungers. So (to purchase an honourable and profitable composition) they set a good face on it; giuing the *English* to vnderstand, that if they desired their liues, they should buye them deere. *France* reduced to so great an extremitie, and truly such, as men could doe no more, behold God raiseth vp an extraordinary meanes, the which meanes reason could not foresee, and much lesse prouide. A meanes which reuiued the daunted spirits, changed the face of our affaires, and dismaied the enemies. And to conclude, by a miraculous meanes gaue a happy successe both to our King and Realme: and this was the occasion.

A young Maiden named *Ioane* of *Arc* (borne in a village vpon the Marches of *Parre*) called *Domremy*, neere to *Fauconleux* of the age of eightene or twenty yeares: issued from base parents, her father was named *Iames* of *Arc*, and her mother *Isabell*, poore Country folkes, who had brought her vp to keepe their cattell, shee said with great boldnesse, That shee had a reuelation, howe to succour the King: how he might be able to chase the *English* from *Orleans*, and after that to cause the King to bee crowned at *Rheims*, and to put him fully and wholly in possession of his Realme.

After shee had deliuered this to her Father, Mother, and their neighbours, she

The estate of the French disperate.

The Earle of *Salisbury* slaine before *Orleans*.

The Lord *Talbot* commandes in his place.

King Charles his miserable estate.

God raiseth vp a newe meanes for their deliuey.

Ioane the virgine.

1429. she presumed to go to the Lord of *Baudricourt*, Prouost of *Vaucouleurs*. the boldly delivered vnto (him after an extraordinary manner) all these great misteries, as much wished for by all men, as not hoped for. especially comming from the mouth of a poore country maide, whom they might with more reason beleue to be possessed by some melancholy humour, then diuinely inspired, being the instrument of so many excellent remedies, in so desperate a season. After the vaine strivings of so great and famous personages. At the first he mocked her and reprov'd her, but hauing heard her with more patience, and iudging by her temperate discourse and modest countenance, that she spake not idly, in the ende he resolues to present her to the King for his discharge. So she arriues at *Chinon* the 6. daye of May, attyred like a man.

The disposition of *Joane*.

She had a modest countenance, sweet, ciuill and resolute, her discourse was temperate, reasonable and retyred, her actions cold, shewing great chastity. Hauing spoken to the King or Noblemen with whom she was to negotiate. Shee presently retired to her lodging with an olde woman that guided her, without vanitie, affectation, babbling or courtly lightnesse. These are the maners which the Original attributs vnto her.

The matter was found ridiculous both by the King and his counsell, yet must they make some triall. The King takes vpon him the habit of a countriaman, to be disguised: this maide (being brought into the Chamber) goes directly to the King in this attire, salutes him with so modest a countenance, as if shee had bene bred vpon Court all her life. They telling her that shee was mistaken, shee assured them it was the King, although she had neuer seene him. Shee begins to deliuer vnto him this new charge, which (she saies) she had receiued from the God of heauen, as shee turned the eyes and mindes of all men vpon her.

This matter being referred to counsell, it was concluded, they should take the aduise of diuines. They answer, that in desperate diseases, the prouidence of God doth commonly raise vp extraordinary remedies, and imployes women, when as men grow faint hearted: as in the afflictions of *Israel*, he hath mightily vsed *Deborah* and *Abigail*. The one to teach the people, the other to kill a furious tyrant: and *Judith*, which was that great tyrant in the midst of his army. So as necessity, which made them to seeke all sorts of remedies, caused the King to try if this maide spake truth, but without the hazard of any thing.

Joane held to be an impostor or mad.

This *Joane*, holden for a prophetisse by many, is reported by *Girard*, called Lord of *Haillin*, and sundry other French writers, & plainly said to haue bin induced to this imposture by three Noblemen, who had incited hir thereto, and layed that plot, only to encourage King *Charles* to battaile, displaying of his state.

She is armed and sent to Orleans.

She desires of the King, that she may be conducted to *Orleans*, to begin the worke which she said she had in charge. A word remaining in *Touraine*, in a place called *S. Katherine of Fierebois* was brought vnto her, to bee armed therewith. They gaue her armes and horse, with a sufficient troupe to enter the City. *Lewis* of *Cullent*, Admiral of *France*, and *James* of *Rieux* Marshall, had charge to accompany her with some vi- Etualls to the besieged, and to haue a care, that all should bee wisely carried without hazard. She prepares her colours, & being armed at all points, she went to take leaue of the King, with a grace worthy of a great Captaine: beseeching him to trust in God in whose name she spake. Thus she parts from *Chinon* the 12. of Aprill.

Now they reckoned the sixt moneth of the siege: the besieged cri'd out for hunger. This victualling prouided at *Blois*, is conducted by the abbe named *communier*, with great care, as well for feare of the English, (who had their sentinells in all places) as for the distrust they had of this new commander. She marched in the foremost rank betwixt the Admirall and the Marshall, very watchfully carrying the countenance of a very resolute personage. They arriue (with this prouision) safely at *Orleans*, the English making no shew of arming, although she passed before their forts, in viewe of their army, yet had they scarce six hundred men in this supply.

The power of Gods prouidence is admirable in the hearts of men, making them to yeeld

A yeeld insensibly to what he hath decreed. This first blow stirred vp the spirits of the French. *Orleans* begins to reioyce at the sight of this maide, attired like a man, standing vpon the point of yeelding. This first releefe was not sufficient for so great a multitude. They resolued to fetch more victuals, and to that end would returne to *Blois*. But before their departure, the Maiden writes this Letter following, to the chiefe of the English armie, and sends it by a Trumpet. I haue truly set it downe out of the originall, in the owne proper stile, both for the reuerence of antiquitie, the noble courage of this Virgin, and the truth and state of the subiect.

King of England, doe reason to the King of Heauen, for his blood royall; yeeld up to the Virgin the Keyes of all the good Cities which you haue forced. She is come from heauen to reclaim the blood royall, and is ready to make a peace, if you be ready to doe reason. Yeeld therefore, and pay what you haue taken. King of England, I am the chiefe of this warre, where soeuer I encounter your men in France, I will chase them, will they or no. If they will obey, I will take them to mercie. The Virgin comes from the King of heauen, to driue you out of France. If you will not obey, she will cause so great a stirre, as the like hath not bene these thousand yeares in France. And beleue certainly, that the King of heauen will send her, and her good men at armes, more force then you can haue. Go in Gods name into your countrie, be not obstinate, for you shall not hold France of the King of heauen, the Sonne of Saint Mary, but Charles shall enjoy it, the King and Lawfull heire, to whom God hath giuen it, he shall enter Paris with a goodly traine. You William de la Poole, Earle of Suffolke, John Lord Talbot, Thomas Lord Scales, Lieutenants to the Duke of Bedford, and you Duke of Bedford, terming your selfe Regent of the Realme of France, spare innocent blood, and leaue Orleans in libertie. If you doe not reason to them you haue wronged, the French will doe the goodliest exploit that euer was done in Christendome: vnderstand these newes of God, and of the Virgin.

This Letter (being deliuered to the Earle of Suffolke,) was read with laughter. Charles and his Counsell were scorned, as seeking remedies without reason, and transported with folly in following of these vanities. They now assure themselves of a speedy victory, seeing that Charles is vncertaine what to doe. The Trumpeter is imprisoned, against the lawe of Nations, ready to be burnt in the sight of the besieged. When as suddenly there was other worke prepared for them. A new supply of victuals is made at *Blois*, through the care of *Renold of Chartres*, Chanceller of *France*, and Archbishop of *Rheims*, a great personage in his time. The Virgin goes to field for the sake conducting thereof to *Orleans*, but with a greater troupe then before: for the fame of her actions, and of this new successe, had drawne together seven or eight thousand men: like vnto a cheerefull Spring, which causeth trees being dead in shew, to sprout and spring againe. The commanders were not greatly moued with these popular brutes, giuing but cold beleefe to the Virgins visions and promises, so as they passe an other way for their greater safetie. The Virgin lets them go, forbearing to speake any thing before their comming to *Orleans*: Then she said, I will hide your selues from me, as if I were ignorant of your intentions, but you must not doubt of the performance of that which God hath decreed. This was the 20. of Aprill.

Orleans being thus fortified, both with men and victualles: the Earle of *Dunois*, *Pothou* and *Maistrailles*, holde a counsell what was to be done: they call her, and intreat her to deliuer her opinion.

My aduise is (sayth shee) that without any further delay, wee charge the English, that be iugers, for that (GOD being on our side) they cannot escape us: but before we proceed, let every man dispose of his conscience, and banish all lewd and naughtie persons out of the Armie. Although there were small hope or likelihood to vanquish a Conquerour, yet the Commanders resolute to accept and imbrace her counsell as an Oracle from God.

The Earle of *Dunois* made choise of fiftene hundred strong and lustie men for the fight, meaning to beginne with the Forte at *Bowgonne* gate, called *Saint Loup*. The Virgin goes in the foremost ranke, with the chiefe Captaines of the Armie. The

The besieged talles forth by the Virgins persuasion & takes a Forte. The

1429. The souldiers encouraged by her presence, assaile this fort furiously, beeing garded by A
foure hundred *English*: neither arrowes, pikes nor halberds could stay the planting of
their ladders. The virgin enters the fort first, crying, *Moutiay S. Denis, the fort is wonne*.
The *English* abandon their defences and suffer themselves to be slaine, by the *French*.
who (seeing themselves maistres of the fort, and wearied with the execution) take ma-
ny prisoners. The artillery and munition beeing drawne forth, they set fire on the fort.
This chanced the 4. of May, a remarkable day, being the first frutes of the deliue-
ry of *Orleans*, and the generall restoring of this Realme.

Thus the Virgin returns into the Cittie with her victorious souldiers. All the peo-
ple followe her with cries of victory: she can hardly retire to her lodging: All the
world runs to see her, and to commend her, both men women and children: all ene
out confusedly with a ioy mixt with teares. *Blessed be the Virgin which comes to deliue-
us*. On the other side, the *English* (seeing their men carried away like Chickens be-
fore the Eagle, and their force consumed as with fire from heaven) were greatly a-
mazed, being in so great possibilitie to vanquish the *French* on all sides, *Suffolke* and
Talbot make Orations to their men, to reuiue their spirites, daunted at this new and
strange spectacle. But we must proceed, and not suffer the courage of the victorious
Souldiers to growe colde. The Virgin goes to counsell with the chiefe of the Cit-
tie, causing them to resolute to continue the next day, what they had so happily
begunne.

At the breake of the day, the Virgins colours are carried through the Cittie: she C
resolues to passe the riuer, and to take the Fortes on the other side. She passeth happi-
ly betwixt the Forte of *Saint Loup* that was ruined, and the new Tower, where she fu-
riously assailes and winnes the Forte called *Saint Iohn the White*, and cuts all the Sould-
diars in peeces: from thence she marcheth to the *Portreau*, where the great *Bajun* of
London was built, vpon the *Augustins* Church. This place was valiantly combated
through the resolution of both parties, but in the end it was forced. The victorie was
double, in vanquishing of the enimie, and in deliuering of friends, for there were ma-
nie *French* prisoners found therein. There now remained the *Tournelles*, and the *Ba-
sion* vpon the bridge, being the dungeon of their principall defence. The Virgin held
this exploit sufficient for that dayes worke, leaving the rest vntill the morrow, to giue D
the Souldiers breath. So the Fortresse being besieged, they prepare for the last at-
tack.

The next day (being Saturday, the sixt of May) ended this dangerous tiege, which
had continued seuen moneths. The sharpest Thorne remained yet behinde: the
Tournelles adioyning to the bridge, was kept by *Glacidas* (one of the most resolute
Captaines among the *English*), hauing well encouraged his men to defend themselves,
and to fight for their liues. The skirmish begins at nine of the clock in the morning,
and the Ladders are planted. A storme of *English* Arrowes falls vpon our men with
such violence as they recoile. *How now* (saith the Virgin) *haue we begun so well, to end
so ill: let vs charge, they are our owne, seeing God is on our side*. So every one recovering E
his forces, flocks about the Virgin; the *English* double the storme, vpon the thickest of
the troupes. The Virgin fighting in the foremost rankes, and encouraging her men to
doe well, was shotte through the arme with an arrowe: She nothing amazed, takes the
arrowe in one hand, and her sword in the other. *This is a fauour* (saies she) *let vs go on,
they cannot escape the hand of God*. At this womans voice, amidst the sound of warre,
the combate growes very hote. Our men greatly encouraged by this Virgin, runne
headlong to the *Basion*, and force a point thereof. Then fire and stones raigne so vio-
lently, as the *English* being amazed, forsake their defences. Some are slaine vpon the
place, some throw themselves downe headlong, and flie to the Towre vpon the
bridge. In the end this braue *Glacidas* abandons this quarter, and retires into the bafe F
Court vpon the bridge, and after him a great troupe of his Souldiers. The bridge
greatly shaken with Artillerie, tried by fire, and ouer-charged with the weight of this
multitude, sinkes into the water with a fearefull crie, carrying all this multitude with it.
This

The *English*
grow amazed
at the Virgins
exploits.

The Virgin
winnes the
rest of the
English forts.

The Virgin
incourageth
the *French*
which recoile.

Many *English*
drowned at
Orleans, the
bridge break-
ing.

A Thus the riuer of *Loire* was the Sepulchre of *Glacidas*, and of his troupe, alwayes 1429.
accustomed to vanquish, but when they were vanquished. An example of mans
vanitie, who (drunke with their victories,) cannot conceiue that the rodde of the
Iudge of this world may touch them. The *English* lost in these three dayes skimi-
shes, about eight thousand men, and we scarce a hundred, the which was Gods han-
dle worke. If the ioy of *Orleans* were great, and the Virgins honour proclaimed in
this happy successe, being proofes of her true foretellings. If her triumph were
the double, when as passing through the Cittie (hauing her arme honourable hurt) she
was murthered by the Earle of *Dunquis*, *Pothon*, *Xaintrailles*, and all the most fa-
mous Captaines: the perplexitie of *Suffolke*, *Talbot* and *Scales*, was not lesse, fore-
B seeing the vnauoidable proceeding of their misfortune, if they should obstinately
defend the other fortres that were towards *Beausse*, although a good part of their
armie remained there. So they take counsell from danger: to abandon all these
Fortes, to retire into some place of safetie, and to aduertise the Duke of *Bedford* of
their misfortunes.

The same night they gather together with great silence, about nine thousand men,
and take the way to *Baugency*. The *Orleanois* are watchfull, obseruing their departure,
prepare to charge the enimie, but the Virgin would not consent thereto. And in
truth this remainder was appointed for other victories. The inhabitants thus freed,
issue early in the morning out of the Cittie, they come to the *Basions*, where hauing
C gathered together great store of armes, victualles and baggage, they cast these great
monuments of the *English* labours vnto the ground. They giue sollemne thanks
vnto God, the author of so miraculous a deliuerie: and to the end this singular be-
nefit might be celebrated yearely, they erect a monument for this memorable suc-
cesse, King *Charles* the seventh armed, and *Joane* the Virgin likewise armed, both
kneeling vpon their knees. Truly, thanksgiving for so excellent a good, is due to God
onely, and this memory ought to bee religiously consecrated to posteritie, as the
first frutes of the restoring of this Estate, then halfe dead through the force and
might of Strangers.

To confirme this goodly victorie, the Virgin parts well accompanied from *Orle-
Dans*, and goes to the King to *Chinon*, to yeild him an account of her Commission.
It cannot be spoken, with what ioy this Prince beheld her, and what credit she pur-
chased by this miraculous successe. But, *My Liege* (saith she) *This is but a beginning,
we must finish the God of heauens worke, causing you to be crowned at Rheims, and chas-
sing your enemies out of your state. This is the commandement I haue received*. And so by
her aduice *Charles* assembles all his forces. The Constable of *Richemont*, (who re-
uer durst shew himselfe after the quarrell with *Tremouille*) is now reconciled by the
Virgins intercession, and hereafter shall doe very good seruice to this Crowne. *Charles*
of *Fourbon*, Earle of *Clermont*, is now wonderfully discontented, to haue retired him-
selfe from the battaile of *Herings*, hauing not honourably assisted in these exploits, in
E the which he had held the first ranke. But *Iohn* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Alencon* arriued
happily out of prison from *England*, (he had bene taken at the battaile of *Fernucil*)
to be commander of these goodly troupes, which go resolutely to take possession of
the Citties of *Champagne*, being all then in the possession of the *English*. Men post from
all parts to this banker. Their hearts being reuiued, their countenances change, and
their affaires take a new forme. They then plot, saying.

But whilest the King prepares for his Coronation at *Gyen*, and to be neere his chie-
fest affaires; let vs suppress these *English* which remaine, after that great defeat of *Or-
leans*, and let vs take from them those Townes which are neere about. The Earle of
Suffolke was at *Largeau*: the Towne is besieged and taken, all the *English* are either slaine,
F or taken prisoners. one of the Earles bretheren was slaine in the fight, another of
them drowned, and he himselfe was taken vpon the Bridge as he was flying away.
Meung was taken by *Guy* of *Lauall*, and seuen or eight hundred *English* men slaine:
Baugency yeeldes by composition.

Orleans freed
from the
English.

The *English*
returne with
their forces.

The Constable of *Richemont* reconciled to the King.

The *English*
defeated at
Largeau, the
Earle of *Suffolke*
taken, &
his brethren
slaine.

1429

The English
defeated at
Pataj.

The Duke of *Bedford* gathers together what forces he can, to present the rest of the Townes from shipwrack, sending a troupe of foure thousand men to fortifie them. *Talbot* with *Thomas Ramelson* haue the charge. This troupe was presently subiect to our victorie, and when as they finde that neither men nor Townes can hold out for them, they seeke to retire themselves: but they are incountred at *Pataj*, a small village in *Beauusse*, where all are slaine or taken, yet our mens furle being past, many are spared, both in the fight and in prison: that the English might haue a testimony of our mildenesse. The great *Talbot* is taken, and brought to *Charles*, who vseth him with great respect. *John Fastoll* flies shamefully, and is therefore degraded by the Duke of *Bedford*.

This chanced the 20. of May. Wee had all the tokens of an absolute victorie. The Commanders slaine or taken, the field wonne. A hundred and ten Ensignes brought to our Temples. Their Canons, Artillerie, and all other habillements of warre, are seized on: and moreouer, the hearts of the King and the French were resolved to end the matter. Behold the first fruites: the harvest shall be gathered in time, as the Historie will shew by degrees. But let vs go to *Rheims*, to Crowne *Charles* according to the Virgins appointment.



THE CORONATION OF CHARLES the seuenth.

King Charles
crowned at
Rheims.

Y this happie successe, the way was made to *Rheims*, although the Kings Councell framed many difficulties to hinder this voyage, as superfluous, and almost impossible: for why, say they, should *Charles* be crowned? The lawe of State made him to bee borne a King, and he was Crowned at *Poitiers*. But if (to please the people) it must of force be so, where is the meanes to effect this decree? *Rheims* and all the Townes of *Champagne* bee in other mens possessions. Thus did many discourse. The Virgin answered. We must go to *Rheims*, to crowne the King. It is true, the King is the lawfull heire, but his right is called in question by the English, this maske deceiues many, and makes them disobedient: As for the meanes, leaue that to the God of Heauen, he will provide for it.

This aduice preuailed, as an Oracle: all things are prepared in readinesse for the Coronation. *Charles* retires to *Bourges* for this intent, as if the preseruer of the Monarchie would mocke his enemies, who called him King of *Bourges* in jest: For shortly after hee partes from *Bourges* to bee proclaimed King of *France*. But whilest hee attends there, vntill that all things may bee made fitte for his journey to *Rheims*: behold an encrease of good newes to crowne his late and happy victorie against the English; That the *Bourguignon* and *Sauoyard*, who would haue seized

1429.
The desseine
of the Bour-
guignon and
Sauoyard, in
Daulphine &
Languedoc.Preparations
against Daul-
phine and
Languedoc.

A seized vpon *Daulphine* were defeated. The particular of this discourse is: The realme being set to sale to Strangers, and that euery one sought to haue his part: the Dukes of *Bourgogne*, and *Sauoie* had layed a plott to appropriate vnto themselves both *Daulphine* and *Languedoc*, with other Prouinces that obeyed *Charles*, vsing in this negotiation the helpe of *Lewis of Chaalons* Prince of *Orange*. a man of valour and credit, especially in those Countreies, by reason of his principality which laie neere vnto them. The diuision of this marchandise was thus made betwixt them three. The *Bourguignon* had the *Viennois*, neere vnto *Lions* and that which depended on *Lions*: whereon hee had cast his eye, to make profit of that goodly Citie. *Grismaudan* with *Grenoble* euen to *Romans*, *Ambrunois*, *Gapensois*, *Briançonois* and all the Countreies of the Mountaynes were the *Sauoyards* part.

B The *Orangeois* (to enlarge his principality,) had *Valentinois*, *Dyois* and the *Baronies*, where hee held some land vnder the obedience of this Crowne. This portion was allotted to him for his paines. They all arme vpon this proiect, euen when as the English pressed *Orleans* most. The best houses of *Bourgogne*, and *Sauoie*, contribute to this warre, as to a flecte that goes to the East, or the West Indies: but they had not assured their venture in the port, with an intent to haue all the profit. This leuie is made with great shewe: the Duke of *Sauoie* sends fise hundred Lances, vnder the command of the Lord of *Varenbon*, besides voluntaries, and three thousand foote. The *Bourguignon* (with his mothers assistance) a thousand Lances. Many Noblemen repayre thither, as to an assured gaine. There were leuied in his territories nine or ten thousand foote. The Princes of *Orange* assembles a goodly troupe, as well of his subiects, as of his friends in *Prouence*, where hee had a good portion: and for his beginning, hee seizeth vpon *Enton*, a Towne vpon the *Rosne*, a fitt passage for *Sauoie* and *Bourgogne*: and *Colombiers*, a Castell of great importance neere vnto it. Hauing brought sixtene hundred men thither, he attends the troupes of *Bourgogne*, and *Sauoie*, which repaire vnto him daylie. Hee putts fortie men at armes into *Colombiers* for the gard of the place, and keepe the rest of the troupes about him with great securitie, fearing no enemie, in this generall amazement of the Kings affaires: but the successe was contrarie to his desseine, for *Raoul of Gaucourt*, gouernour of *Daulphine*, resolues in this extremitie, who (attending no succors from the King, being visibly ingaged, and in great danger,) doth husband such forces as hee could gather together within his gouernment, from *Lions* and *Viuares*, Countreies that were vnder the French obedience. *Imbert of Grosse*, gouernour of *Lions* and *Marshall of Daulphine*, *John de Lewis Baron of la Voute*, the Lords of *Joyeuse*, *Turnon* and *Crusol* (great men in the Countreie of *Viuares*) did their best deuoir, the Nobility of *Daulphine* (renowned alwayes for their fidelity and valour) assisted as much as could bee desired in so great a necessitie. The Baron of *Maubez* is noted about the rest for his well deseruing. *Don Roderigo de Villandras* a Castillian was there with a goodly and valiant troupe.

E The Lord of *Gaucourt* resolues to charge the Prince of *Orange* with this troupe, giuing him no leisure to assemble the body of his Armie, the which increased daily. So (without any further delay) he besiegeth *Colombiers*, and takes it by force, before the *Orangeois* had any intelligence of his approche. Hauing this good successe, hee would giue the enemie no time to take breath, but desirous to make his profit of this happy beginning, he partes sodenly with these resolute troupes to drawe the Prince of *Orange* to fight; who was then parted from *Enton*, hauing intelligence onely of the siege, but not of the taking of *Colombiers*, beleeuing confidently, that the very brute of his forces would make our men to hide themselves: but hee was deceiued. Hee had foure thousand men with him, and *Gaucourt* had about two thousand: yet (notwithstanding his small number) being nothing amazed, hee chargeth and defeateth them. The neerenesse of *Enton* saues many. There were fise hundred slaine vpon the place, and two hundred of the brauest Souldiers taken prisoners. The Prince of *Orange* hauing recouered *Enton*, passeth the *Rosne*

The Prince
of Orange de-
feated.

1429. in a boate, and faues himfelfe. The common report is that hee paffed this violent ftream on horfebacke all armed. The people of that Country do beleue it from thither to Sonne, that this horfe was kept & died at *Orange*, hauing along time been nourished there by the Princes commandement, acknowledging the feruice he had receiued of this beaft in his extreame neceffity. *Monftrélet* fayeth, That he parted in great diforder, and was chased euen vnto *Authun*. *Alain Charretier*, Secretary to our King *Charles*, writes in exprefse words, That he paffed the *Rofne* at the ferrie of *Enton*. He fetts downe, that the boote was aboue a hundred thoufand Crownes, befides many notable prifoners of *Bourgogne* and *Sauoie*, which came to bee fpoyled, thinking to do the like to our *Charles*.

This defeat happened the twentieth of May, the fame day that the *Engliſh* (which retired from *Orleans*) were defeated at *Patay*. To credit the worke, againſt ſuch as made their accompt alonewithout God, who ſecking to raiſh an other mans goods vniuſtly, loſt their owne deſeruedly. Thus GOD workes ſpeedily, as may appeere by the courſe of ſo many happy exployts, linkt one to an other in this moneth of May, as a prediction of the reſtoring of this eſtate in this Realme. The *Bourguignons* and the *Sauoiards* deſeigne being diſappointed by this defeat, *Gaucourt* reſolues to haue his private reuenge of the *Orangeois*, beeing the factor of this filthie traficke. To conclude (without giuing him any reſpit) hee paſſeth the *Rofne* with his victorious armes, takes many places from him, the which he ſackes and burnes. But not ingaging himſelfe farther in the *Franch-Conté*, (where thoſe of *Chaalons* haue many goodly places,) he came to *Oranges* his cheefe houſe, whereof hee carries the name, as ſoueraigne Prince. He takes both Towne and Caſtell, and all that he held in *Dauphiné* vnder the Kings obedience: yet the Cittizens of *Orange* (wonderfully affected to their Prince) within fewe monethes after chaſe the *French* out of the Caſtell, and become maſters thereof, for the ſeruice of their Prince, to whome they yeeld it. Such was the end of this enterpriſe, ſhamefull for the Authors, and ſhamefully preiudiciall for the inſtrument.

Amedee Duke of *Sauoie*, (fallen from ſo viſible a hope, to fiſhe in a troubled water: and ſeeing on the other ſide the happie ſucceſſe of *Charles*) hee growes ſo much diſcontented, as his whole diſcourſe is to abandon the world: but heereafter wee ſhall ſee his actions. At this time hee returnes in the midd-way, without effecting of any thing. Our *Bourguignon* flewe a higher pitch, and had more then one deſeigne in his head. But let vs now returne to our King to *Bourges*. The preparations for this Coronation were royall and verie admirable after ſo great affliction, but aboue all it was beautified with great perſonages. There were preſent, *John* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Alençon*, *Charles* of *Bourbon* Earle of *Clermont*, Princes of the bloud, (who had faithfully and profitably accompanied the King in his greateſt afflictions,) *Arthur* of *Brittaine* Earle of *Ricmont*, Conſtable of *France*, *Charles* of *Anjou* ſonneto to the King of *Sicile*, and brother to the Queene. The Earle of *Dunois* baſtard of *Orleans*, *Charles* of *Albret* Earle of *Perdrie*, a yonger brother of the noble houſe of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Cab-lant*, Admirall of *France*: the ſoure *Marſhalls* of *France*, the Lords of *Bouſſac*, *Lohes*, *Rieux* and *la Fayette*. The Lords of *Tremouille*, *Laval*, *Chauigny*, *Chaumont*, *Lamſan*, *d'Aulin*, *Serrant*, *Crufol*, *Saint Chaumont*, and many others, with *Pothon*, *la Hire* and the virgin, excellent peeces of thiſt triumph. Many could not come in time to this ſolemnitie: great troupes came poſting from all parts, notwithstanding the danger of the enemy, which was great in diuers places. Such was the deſire of the *French* to aſſiſt at this wiſhed aſſe: loyaltie remayning in their breſts, as the ſeede doth in the boſome of the earth during winter. But *Charles* (before he parted from *Bourges* to *Reims*) provided for the publicke ſafety, leaſt the *Engliſh* ſhould attempt any thing during this ſolemnitie. Hee ſends his Conſtable into *Normandie*, and the Earle of *Perdrie* into *Guienne* with ſome troupes, and reſerues ten thouſand men for his Coronation, as well to make his paſſage through Townes that ſhould reſiſt, as to honour the ceremony. A very doubtfull iourney yet moſt happie.

Gaucourt takes *Oranges* from the Prince. He recouers it againe by the meanes of his ſubiects.

Preparatiues for the coronation of King *Charles*.

A Thus he begins his voyage: The firſt Cittie that was ſummoned by his commandement, was *Auxerre*: they excuſe themſelues by reaſon of the truce lately obtained by *Tremouille*: intereſſion. A preſumption very preiudiciall in the example, euen now in this firſt triall of obedience, vpon this ſame of victorie, whereof none could make any queſtion without apparent danger. Euery man did ſee this error; but no man durſt open his mouth, for that the King did countenance *Tremouille*, euen with the preiudice of his affaires. So *Charles* entred not into *Auxerre*, he onely tooke their words, that at his returne they ſhould doe as the reſt, and furniſh the Kings armie with victualles for their money. From *Auxerre* the King comes to *S. Florentin*, which yeelds without any queſtion. *Troyes* was ſummoned next: at the firſt they reſuſed, like vnto *Auxerre*, through the practiſes of ſuch as were of the *Engliſh* faction: but as *Charles* prepared for the ſiege, behold a notable troupe of the choiſe Cittizens aſſemble themſelues, aſſure the Cittie, and gree the King to vnderſtand, that they are ready to receiue his commandements, and without attending any anſwer from the King, a goodly company goes forth to meete him, and to offer him their obedience. *Charles* then enters into *Troyes*, to the vnſpeakable ioy of all the people, being wonderfully glad to ſee their Princes face, after ſo long captiuitie. *Chaalons* follows their example, and all the reſt of the Townes, with great alacritie and willingneſſe.

But the chiefe combate muſt be at *Rheims*, the chiefe *Rendez-vous* of this voyage. The Lords of *Chaffilion* and *Sauenze*, with their Partifans of the *Engliſh* humour, did what they could to hinder the Kings entrie. But the good Cittizens preuaile, who (being ſtronger then the *Engliſh* faction,) could hardly keepe the people from tearing them in peeces, being loth to ſhed any bloud. They agree and ſweare by common conſent, to obey the King, and to that end ſend him the Keyes to *Chaalons*. The way being thus made, and the gates of *Rheims* open, he goes thither with the beautie of his Court, and is receiued with the vnſpeakable ioy of all the people, who come to meete him in great troupes. the fields, gates, and ſtreets ſound out; *God ſaue the King*. *Charles* accompanied with his Princes and officers, appears like a goodly Sonne after a ſtorme Winter. But in the greateſt beautie of this triumph, *Joan* the Virgin is beheld with admiration, and loden with popular bleſſings.

D Two dayes being ſpent in the preparation of the ceremonie, *Charles* was annointed and crowned King the eight day of Iuly, in the year 1429. by *Renold* of *Chartres*, Arch-biſhop of *Rheims*, Chancellor of *France*: a date to be obſerued, being the beginning of great good to this realme. This was the ſeuenth year after the law of State had called *Charles* to the Crowne, whereof he was heire, but the violence of Strangers reſtrained and held moſt of the *French* from their obedience. So this coronation was added to confirme the generall approbation of this law full authoritie, not onely in their common beleefe, but in the tongues of the *French*, as the ſequell will ſhew, that this ſolemn publication did greatly aduance the Kings affaires againſt his captall enemy.

E But as the Sonne, riſing higher in his Horizon, increaſeth both in brightneſſe and heate, ſo the beames of the *French* libertie were more apparent, and the ſubiects deuotion to their naturall Prince kindled dayly, after the long and ſharpe Winter of the *Engliſh* command. This was a reuiuing both to their hearts, State, and manners: the image of a golden age, after the horrible tempeſt of a long and mortall confuſion. The *French* did ſtraine to receiue their King, and the King to receiue them with a fatherly loue. The Kings commandements (generally proclaimed to lue modeſtly without oppreſſion of the people) were freely executed, and the people made the beſt chere they could to ſo pleaſing gueſts.

F This acte did greatly daunt the *Engliſh*, all the Prouinces taking a new reſolution to ſubmit themſelues vnder the obedience of their naturall Prince, as the ſequell of the Hiſtorie will ſhew. But before we ingage our ſelues in ſo long a diſcourſe, order doth command vs to obſerue the eſtate of the Church and Empire; hauing paſt it ouer in ſilence, ſince the year 1364. towards the end of the raigne of *Charles* the 5.

1429. All *Champa-gne* yeelds to King *Charles*.

The fruites of this ſolemnitie.

1429. Doubtlesse we were sufficiently troubled with our owne confusions, vnder the miserable raigne of *Charles* the 6. imbarcking our selues in forraigne stormes. We are therefore briefly to note, according to our stile, what hath happened since about fiftie nine yeares, in these two great bodies.

The estate of the Empire. We haue left the Empire in the hands of *Charles* the fourth, an excellent Prince, but exceeding more in lawe and valour, then in iustice and vertue: yet hee vsed the counsell of *Barthol*, an excellent Lawyer, hauing gouerned the publike affaires of *Germanie* and *Italie*, twenty and sixe yeares, amidst many confusions: and in the end he purchased the Empire, with the preiudice of the Empire. His Sonne *Wenceslaus*, whom he had caused to bee crowned King of *Hungarie*, and *Bohemia*, at the age of two yeares, hauing bought the Empire for him, hee caused him to bee installed, B and liued two yeares after, dying in the yeare 1378. hauing left a wretched successor of so great and royall a dignitie: deformed in minde and body, a foole, idle, voluptuous, and a coward; hauing no other care but to wallow in the most infamous filthinesse and sinnes of dronkenesse and whoredome; nor other minde, but to doe euill and mischiefe; as malicious and cruell, as without valour and vertue. So (contemning his affaires and businesse) he grew contemptible: in hating of his subiects, he grew so hatefull, as in the end, the *Germanes* and *Hongariens* (being wearie of such a scorne,) take him prisoner: and at last, after a painfull and shamefull patience (they hauing suffered him 22. yeares, and a huge masse of diuerse and sundrie confusions, which grew by his ill and wicked gouernment) they depriue him of C the Imperiall dignitie, by a common consent. And yet to shew, they bare no malice to the house from whence he was descended, they choose in his place *Iosse*, *Marquis* of *Brandebourg* and of *Bauiere*, the Sonne of *Iohn Henry*, brother to *Charles* the fourth, and so Cousine germaine to *Wenceslaus*: who liued in that State but sixe moneths, and had nothing of the Empire, but that hee was buried with the Imperiall ornaments of that country.

He is degraded by the *Germanes*,

Then *Rupert* Count *Palatine*, Duke of *Bauiere*, and first Elector, was chosen Emperour, after many controuersies and dissensions: a man of small stature, but of great iudgement, vertuous, valiant, and louing the common-weale. Hee laboured and tooke great paines to redresse the confusions of *Italie*, then exceedingly disordered, D through the quarrells of *Galeaz*, Duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *French*, and *Aragonais*, vpon diuers and sundry occasions: but finding that whatsoever he could doe, he lost his labour, (euen by the disloyaltie of such as employed him,) hee suffered them to ruine and spoile one another, and retired himselfe home: where (after he had happily gouerned the Empire ten yeares) he dyed in the yeare of our Lord 1410.

Sigismund King of *Hongarie* and *Bohemia*, a Prince of happy memorie, succeeded *Rupert*, by the generall consent of all the *Germanes*, who loued and honoured his vertues: and although hee fought against the Turke with ill successe, when as he borrowed forces of *Charles* the sixt (as I haue saied) yet his losses did nothing blemish his reputation, nor his vertues, whereof he gaue great prooffe in the gouernment of the Empire. But that which troubled him most, was the estate of the Church, then plunged in Tragical confusions, bred by the long and scandalous Schisme, which dismembred it by peece-meales, through the dissention and controuersies of sundrie Popes, which were chosen in diuers places, and that diuerslie at one instant.

The estate of the Church.

Order commands vs now to represent it, as carefully as the subiect is of importance. I tremble to rippe vp these shamefull and detestable wounds. I will endeavour to represent it plainly and sincerely, following the steppes of *Platina*, *Naucler* and *Thierry* of *Niem*: who hauing remained in the Court of *Rome*, Secretaries to sundrie Popes, one after another, and managed the affaires from the beginning of the Schisme, neere vnto the end; ought to be held for an vnreprouable witnesse in that which he hath seene. This Schisme continued fiftie yeares: it banded all the Christians

A horrible Schisme.

Christians of *Europe*, diuided Kings and Princes, nourished their diuisions, bredde 1429. and brought forth horrible scandales, toucht the hearts, opened the mouthes and dispensed with their hands to a newe faction, referred to our latter age.

Six Popes seated in *Rome* one after another, had euerie one his opposit in *Auignon*, with the same name or title, and in the profession of the same authoritie. Three Popes at one instant in three seuerall places. Foure Councells were called to remedie these confusions, being generally detested of all men, both great and small, seeing the Popes (who had so long contended with the Emperours, vntill they had chased them out of *Italie*) contend now among themselves: and this was the cause of the Schisme.

The cause of this Schisme.

We haue sayed, that the vnfortunate successe of the voluntarie quattrell moued by *Bonifate* the 8. against King *Philip* the faire, ministred occasion to transport the Pontificall sea from *Rome*, to *Auignon*, where hauing bene vsually resident 74. yeares, and the Popes chosen out of the *French* nation, *Gregorie* the x. a *Limosin*, grew desirous to go to *Rome*, and to transport his Colledge thither, consisting for the most part of *French* Cardinals. After his death, (being to choose a newe Pope, the Clergie and people of *Rome* being vnited, protest vnto the Colledge, that they will haue a *Romaine* or an *Italian*, and no *French* man. If they do it not willingly, they threaten force. The *French* are the stronger in the Conclau, being thirtene against foure. But what could they do against the mutinie of a multitude armed with furie? To conuie this storme, the *French* and *Italian* Cardinals agree to name an *Italian* Pope, with whome the Pontificall dignity should bee left in gard, vntill they might choose one by a free election of the whole Colledge.

They all consent to choose *Bartholomew* of *Naples*, Archebishop of *Bary* in *Apulia*, esteemed a learned man, graue and modest. The reputation of his vertues made them proceede to confirme him in the election: so as all by a generall consent, (especially *Peter de la Lune*, and the Cardinall of Saint *Agrene* in *Viuarez*) crowne and adore him, for a finall conclusion of his Popedom, assuring themselves that hee would continue vertuous, as he had a fouretime begun vertuously. But honors change manners.

Two dayes were scarce past after this sollemne reception, but this *Bartholomew*, (who shall nowe be *Vrbane* the 6. in changing his degree and name) did also change his humors and manner of life. Hee which was accustomed to humble himselfe to all men, doth nowe braue all them which had newly rayfed him to this dignitie. He threatens to keepe them vnder, and checks them with reprochfull wordes. *Otho* Duke of *Brunswick* (husband to *Ioane* Queene of *Sicilie* and *Naples*,) comes to congratulate his election, and for a prooffe of his great humilitie, (as *Vrbane* called for wine) *Otho* takes the cuppe from his taster, and kneeling before the Pope presents it vnto him. *Vrbane* takes it, leauing him on his knee with a frowning countenance, without speaking any thing. This insupportable arrogancie displeased the whole Colledge, but especially Queene *Ioane*, (holding this disgrace done to her selfe) and made *Vrbane* so odious, as they all resolute to depose him, and to choose another Pope: wherunto *Ioane* doth promise her assistance. They all ioyntly resolute to retire themselves quietly out off *Rome*, into some place of libertie. So vnder colour to auoide the heat of Sommer, they take their leaues to go to *Anagnia*: where hauing sojourned some weeke, they go to *Fundy*, a Cittie in the Kingdome of *Naples*, a fit place to enioy their liberties vnder the Queenes protection. Then began they to plant their battell against *Vrbane*. They set downe for the grownd of their right, that the condition specified in the election of *Vrbane*, should bee auailable to those that did choose him, to declare him incapable of the dignitie whereof hee shewed himselfe unworthy: and (to obserue all formalities,) they cite *Vrbane* before them, and write vnto the other *Italian* Cardinals, that their meaning is to name an *Italian*: A means to drawe them to increase their number. Being assembled, they depose *Vrbane* by the plurality of voices: and being to choose another, at the same instant

The Pope changeth his manners and discontents the Cardinals.

The pride of Pope *Vrbane* the 6.

Pope *Vrbane* depose by the Colledge: *Clement* chosen,

1429. they aduance Cardinall *Rupert* of the noble house of the Earles of *Genewa*, and call him, *A Clement* the 7. This bred a great alteration both at *Rome* and in *Vrbans* minde for *Rome* is presently abandoned, and *Vrbans* so amazed as hee knowes not what to do. Behold two Popes in one chaire, which is too little for them both, seeing the world will not suffice them: for in choosing *Clement*, they found no more clemencie, then *Vrbans* civility and ciuill conuersation in *Vrbans*. *Clement* yeelding nothing to the vices of his competitor: an ambitious man, willfull, audacious, sumptuous and poore, hauing nothing rich but the heart, puffed vp with the greatnesse of his house. These two do worthy exploits, especially *Vrbans*, whose name the people changed, and for *Vrbans* they called him *Turban*: that is a troubler of world, to note his barbarous and fierce nature, louing troubles and confusion.

Clements disposition.

And that which made a way to this mischeefe, Kings and Princes (who should haue employed their authorities to quench this fire) were nothing affected therewith: for the Emperour *Charles* the 4. died soone after the breeding of this *Schisme*, leauing an insufficient successor. *France* and *England* were too far ingaged to determine their owne quarrells by the sword. As for the particular of *France*, during the imprisonment of *John*, the infirmity of *Charles* the 6. and the halfe shipwrake of *Charles* the 7. what helpe could the *French* bring to these confusions, being almost drowned in their owne? In the beginning *Clement* had all aduantages ouer *Vrbans*. The authority of the ordinarie and ancient Colledge, Canonically chosen, followed by the Court of *Rome*, and the Castle *Saint Angelo*, by the which he might enter the Citie. All the *French*, the greatest part of the *Italians*, many *Germanis*, all the *Spaniards* and *English* which were at *Rome* repaired vnto him, and consequently all those nations followed him. *France*, *Spain*, *England*, with a part of *Germany* and *Italie*. There remayned the *Hongariens* & some *Germanis*, who for feare of the affaires at *Naples* (not daring to trust themselves in *Anagnina*) were forced to continue in *Rome*, a leuaine which shal soone cause great diuisions. *Vrbans* as much daunted in aduersitie, as he was puffed vp in prosperity, humbled himselfe to all men: he weepes and deplores his miserie, and craues ayde of euery man, promising all fauour if they did helpe to restore him. There is neyther *Hongarien*, *German*, nor *Italian*, which belong vnto the Court, but hee sues vnto him. By their aduice and direction, hee flies to the Emperour *Charles* the 4. and to *Lewis* King of *Hongarie*, D

Pope *Clement* vith the Emperours Ambassadors disgracefully.

Pope *Vrbans* makes a new Colledge of 26. Cardinals.

intreating them to be mediators to the Colledge of Cardinales, who were discontented with him. But *Clement* (growen ouer proude with this first successe) gaue him means to repaire his estate. He hath a desire to surpris *Rome* by the Castell: but as *Bernard Cazal*, with a troupe of *Neapolitans* would haue seized vpon one of *Rome* gates, hee was valiantly repulsd by the Inhabitants. The Emperour *Charles* the 4. and *Lewis*, King of *Hongarie*, sent their Ambassadors to *Clement* and to the Colledge of Cardinales, to treat an accord. *Clement* vseth them without all clemencie, hee checks them, puts them in prison, and in the ende sends them away with many indignities. This affront moued *Charles* and *Lewis*, so as by their means, both *Germanie*, *Hongarie*, *Poland*, *Denmarke*, *Sueden*, *Norway*, and *Prusse*, were all affected to *Vrbans* faction. *Charles* was a spectator of this first Scene, and died three monethes after, leauing vpon the stage dangerous actors against *Clement*. *Vrbans* being thus fortified grewe high minded, and for a marke of his authority, hee creates a new Colledge of six & twentie Cardinals, all created in one day, being *Italians*, *Germanis*, *Hongariens*, *Polonians*, and other nations that fauored him, to haue a support of this authority in all parts. *Clement* works likewise, and to haue his reuenge, (for that hee could not seize vpon a gate of *Rome*) hee resolved to send an armie to field, to vex the *Romans*, and to force them to obedience: but the successe of this desire was not answerable to his desire: for hauing sent the Lord of *Montioux* his Nephew with goodly troupes furnished by Queene *Iane*: the *Romans*, led by *Alberic of Barbiane* defeated this army, and tooke *Montioux* prisoner, whome they beheaded, as a disturber of the publicke quiet, and so they chase the *French* out of the Castell *Saint Angelo*.

Clements forces defeated by the *Romans*.

Clement finding himselfe nothing safe at *Fuudy*, meanes to retire to *Naples*, but the *Neapolitans*

Neapolitans would not receiue him, notwithstanding the Queenes perswasions: and so 1429. he passeth to *Auignon*, whether he brings the Pontificall sea, for the second time, as *Clement* the 5. had done at the first. It was in the year 1384. that the Popes second sea was planted in *Auignon*, five yeares after that *Gregory* had retired himselfe. *Clement* frustrate of all hope of his returne to *Rome*, faints not in these first difficulties, finding himselfe in a place of safety, where he might command at pleasure, being proud by nature, by reason of his great birth, and by his forces vnitd in two great kingdoms. So euery one armes, for a sharpe encounter, according to the forces they could raise. First eyther of them prouides his battery of excommunication. *Clement* the 7. cures *Vrbans* before him and his Colledge of Cardinales canonically chosen, with his Cardinals vnlawfully elected by him who had beene desposed from the charge which had bene giuen him but to keepe; declaring all that he had done, or should do, to be of no force. *Vrbans*, on the other side, encounters *Clement* with the like excommunications. He declares him Antipope, a schismaticke, and an Heretike, and all them that should follow him, guilty of high treason, both against God and man. Their goods, honours, liues, bodies and soules confiscate.

Clement comes to *Auignon*.

Two Antipopes in armes & their courtes.

The crueltie of 2 Popes.

This first point performed, they come to the effects. *Clement* makes search throughout all the territories of his obedience, for those of *Vrbans* faction, whome hee imprisons, condemnes, and kills with sword, fire, and water: many are strangled, massacred, drowned and burnt with extreame cruelty. *Vrbans* shall doe no better: but hee proceeds by degrees. He makes his peace with the *Florentines*, *Perusins*, *Milanois* and *Genouois*: the *Venetians* onely he could not winne. The Emperour *Charles* the 4. being dead, he could not preuaile much with *Venceslaus*, an vnworthy Prince: but he made his profit of *Lewis* King of *Hongary*, a capitall enemy to *Ioane* Queene of *Naples*, the soueraigne object of *Vrbans* choler, whom he sought to ruine, as the sole motiue of all his crosses. But amidst the disorders of these confused passions, the diuers effects of Gods prouidence are remarkable, who drawes light from darkenesse, and order from disorder, in such sort, as it is most commonly vknowne to man, but alwaies iust and admirable in his iust effects.

Vrbans (presuming that the force of *Hongary* would fortifie his proceedings) doth D excommunicate *Ioane* Queene of *Naples*; declares her incapable of the crowne, and calles in *Charles* of *Durazzo*: of whome we haue made mention. But who sees not, that this belongs properly to the history of *Naples*, whereof we intreat accidentally, matters being tyed together by a necessary vniō. In the ende *Ioane* lost both goods and life, through the power of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who remained absolute maister of the Realme of *Naples*, by the death of *Lewis* of *Aniō*; whom she had adopted; but *Lewis* thinking to reuenge her death, lost his owne life; and drew *France* into great miseries, whereof this vnseasonable adoption was the leuaine. Behold the ende of the first *Ioane* Queene of *Naples*, who shall be soone followed with a second *Ioane*, to continue our voluntary languishing in *Italy*.

Vrbans proceeding against *Ioane* Queene of *Naples*.

In the life of *Charles* the 6.

E But the ende of this *Proserpina* was the beginning of a second trouble, through the ambition of *Vrbans*, the which hauing no limits, transported his spleene against *Charles* of *Durazzo*, whom he had drawne out of *Hongary*. He is not satisfied that *Charles* should do him homage, but hee will haue some places in his absolute power, and that *Charles* should inuest his Nephew *Butillo* (a man of no estimation, hauing nothing rare in him but his extraordinary vices) in the principality of *Capua*, & the Duchy of *Durazzo*, seeking to get so firme footing in the state, as he might dispossesse *Charles* at his pleasure.

Pope *Vrbans* discontented against *Charles* of *Durazzo* whom he had opposed against queene *Ioane* of *Naples*.

Durazzo, being loath to labour for another man, excuseth himselfe to *Vrbans*; who takes no excuses for payment, but citeth him before his Consistory, threatening, that if he appeares not at the day prefixt, he will proceed against him by excommunication. *Charles* who feared more the losse of his new purchase, then the lightnings of *Vrbans*, makes him vnawares a prisoner, hauing placed many Souldiers about him for his guard. *Vrbans* seeing himselfe braued by *Charles*, euen within *Naples*, complains of

1429.
He doth ex-
communicate
him.
Charles goes
with an army
against Pope
Urban.

The Popes ne-
phew defeated
and taken.

Pope Urban
cruelly against
his Cardinals.

The French
copy writt
lane.

Pope Urban
practises to
get monye.

Urban dies
miserable.

Pope Boniface
exceeding co-
uettous.

of this affront, and by his suffrance, he retires to *Nocera*, from whence he sends excom-
munications against *Charles*, who laying aside all respect, opposeth a goodly army, &
comes to besiege *Urban* with Ensignes displayed in *Nocera*. Hee sends a trumpet to
aduertise him, that he was come according to his assignement. In the meane time he
takes information of *Urban*s abuses, (being knowne and detested of all the world)
and moreover he tried the opinions of the Cardinalls, to censure or depose *Urban*,
who being aduertised hereof, was so moued, as (not able to be reuenged of *Charles*,)
he imprisons seuen Cardinalls (the most sufficient of his Colledge) without any other
iust matter to charge them with, but that they were the learnedest and of greatest cou-
rage: and to make triall of his forces, he sends his Nephew *Buttolo* against him with a
troupe, which this great Captaine suffered to bee ouerthrowne, and him selfe to
betaken. This successe daunted the courage of *Urban*, and inforced him to craue
leau of *Charles* to retire himselfe: the which he easily obtained, by the intercession
of the *Seigneurie of Genes*, (whether *Urban* pretended to go) departing from *Nocera*, he
led with him these Cardinalls prisoners, and desirous to be rid of them, hee caused
one to be slaine vpon the way, pretending that he was sicke, and abandoned his bodie:
he caused fise others to be sowed vp in sackes, and to be cast into the sea, as he passed
to *Genes*. Being there, he commanded three others to be apprehended (being ieal-
ous that they had intelligence with the rest) and in the presence of all the people, hee
caused them to be knockt on the head, & then hee dries their bodies in an Ouen, and
preserued them in chefts, the which he caused to be carried before him vpon moyles,
when as he did ride: and for a marke what they were, he set their red hats vpon the
chefts. The originall notes this extraordinary ciuility in Pope *Urban*.

In the ende *Charles* dies in *Hungary*, but *Urban*s spleene continues against his chil-
dren. He had left two, *Ladislaus* and *Ioane*, who by the vertuous protection of their
mother *Marguerit*, kept both themselves and their estate out of his hands. *Urban* sleeps
neyther day nor night, thirsting continually after their ruine. And for that hee found
by *Charles*, that the *Hungarians* feared not his spirituall lightnings, he grounds his de-
seines vpon temporall armes: and knowing they are not to be raised without money,
he seeks the meanes to leuie a great masse. To this ende he ordaines a Iubile, as a so-
lemne feast for all Christendome, and to draw more people therunto, he sends newe
indulgences and pardons, into all parts vnder his obedience. A deuice to get money,
the people being perswaded by his Bulls that it was the onely meanes to purchase
Paradise, and to auoide the paines of purgatorie. He also challengeth the right of first
fruites, which giues the first yeares reuenues of all benefices to the pope, and so con-
tinues vnto this day.

But as he gathers together this money with a wonderfull greedinesse, behold hee fall
from his moyle and bruseth himselfe. The worke of heauen, answerable to his inso-
lent ambition, who soaring too high makes him fall lowe: dying when his hatred was
greatest to ruine his enemies. He languished 27. dayes in his death bed, dying by de-
grees, suffering the paines which he caused his poore Cardinalls to indure: not able
with his death, to wipe out the immortall hate of his detestable life, disgraced by all writ-
ters. Thus *Urban* the sixt, the first guidon of Schisme, died in the eleuenth yeare of his
Popedom. In whole place *Peter Thomael*, named *Boniface* the 9. is chosen Pope, suc-
cessor to *Urban*s couettousnesse, as his life and death doth witnesse. *Niem* obseues a
memorable act. *Boniface* lying at the point of death, someone (to comfort him) saide
that he should do well. A brutish custome, as if to speake of death to a sicke body, were
to pronounce the sentence of a Iudge, to deliuer him into the executioners hands. *I*
should do well (saide he) *if I had money*, and yet he had full howses, hauing then but ten
howres to liue. So he dyed the tenth yeare of his Popedom, not lamented of any, but
that he liued too long, and by his impudent couettousnes opened the gate to all im-
punity of sinne.

Innocent the 7. succeeded in the place of *Boniface*, no more innocent then the for-
mer, verifying the beauty of their names by the bounty of their liues. A sworne enemy

A to the vniou of the Church, causing two *Romaine* Cittizens to be put to death as sediti-
ous, for that they moued him therein, as *Platina* doth obserue. He continued but two
yeares: & into his place, *Angelo Carrier* a *Venecian*, called *Gregory* the 12. was aduanced:
a subtil and dissembling man, coldly ambitious, and faintly holy, hauing no piety but in
shew; so as for his crooked manners he was called *Errorius*: for *Gregorius*, that is to
say a Deceiuer, drawing men into error with his goodly shewe. All this was done at
Rome by the *Italians*: in the meane time what doe our Popes: sea at *Auignon*? *Clement*
the 7. making profession of the same authority which the Pope did at *Rome*, was no bet-
ter then the other, although the history notes not so many priuate acts of his excessie.
In generall, he was cruell in the beginning, & couettous during all the time of his Pope-
dome. He was exceeding ambitious and wilfull, vnder colour of modestie and humili-
lity. He furnished him but two yeares. After the death of *Clement* the 7. they create a new
Pope, to oppose against him at *Rome*, which was *Peter de la Lune*, a *Spaniard* borne: but
hauing liued long at *Montpellier* to study the law. A man of sound iudgment, learned,
active, patient in shew, but in effect very ambitious, a dissembler, giuen to his owne
will, and tyed to his profit: free from cruelty (whereof he is not taxed) giuing free scope
to couettousnesse. So great was the impudency of *Marchandize* in the Church, (sayes *Niem*,
and *Platina*) set to the view of all Christendome, that the authority of the keyes and Aposto-
like learning was contemptible to the whole world. Truly all diseases growe by degrees
through surfeits taken vnadvisedly, and bad humors which creepe insensibly into the
body. euen so in these miseries of the Church. All was set to sale, all sorts of benefices,
especially Cardinalls hats, were for them that would giue most. The reuenues, impro-
priations, and all things else, were sold to him that offered most: Sometimes one be-
nefice was sold to many, and all their money fell into good handes, that had learned
to receive and not to restore againe. The composition for all sorts of crimes & whole
Townes were sold by the authority of the Soueraigne pastor. I write but a part of
that which the Popes Secretaries haue set downe at large, and tremble to report the
iudgment they make of these abominable confusions.

To conclude, all christendome (tyred with these disorders, committed by such as
had the authority to order) complained much to their Kings and princes, who wishing
a redresse, exhorted the Popes of both seas, *Gregory* the 12. and *Benedict* the 13. to
leave their priuate quarrells, for the generall good of the Church. *Benedict* makes
great shewes to desire it: That if he must needs yeeld, he is ready to leave the dignity wher-
with the Church had honoured him, yea his owne life, (these are his very wordes) for
the peace of Gods Church. *Gregory* speakes more coldly, yet hee promised the like:
but when it came to performance, they were but shiftes, delayes, and other deu-
ises to winne time, and to retaine still their authority, which neither of them
would leaue.

In the ende, at the great instance of Kings and Princes, the Colledges of *Rome*
and *Auignon* agree to meet at *Pisa*, to finde some meanes to determine of this reproch-
full confusion. *Benedict* yeelds: but *Gregory* opposeth. Notwithstanding his refusall, all
meet at *Pisa*. Thus all assembled (whether the Emperour, the Kings of *France*, *Eng-
land*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Portugall*, *Hongary*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, *Pologne*, and *Norway*,
send their Ambassadors, and the Churches of the east their deputies) hauing debated
the conuersion depending betwixt *Gregorie* and *Benedict*, they depose them both, as
nourishing a schisme in the Church, and refusing to obey the Councell, whereas nei-
ther they nor their deputies had appeared. In their place they choose *Alexander* the 5.
a *Canaiot*, held to be learned and vertuous: but he died within the first yeare of his
Popedom. So as the Colledge of Cardinalls (retiring to *Bologne*) created *John* the
23. in his place.

F But neither *Gregory* nor *Benedict* omitted any thing of their traine, scorning
the decree of the Councell. So as for one Pope, they had three, the one
at *Rimini*, the other at *Bologne*, and the third at *Auignon*: and the last being worke
then the first, shall giue a reasonable good cause of further inquiry to Christian
Princes

1429.
Pope Innocent
an enemy to
the vniou of
the Church.
Pope Gregory
the 12. a cun-
ning dilem-
bler.

The estate of
Auignon vn-
der their
Popes.
Bout 13. an
ambitious dis-
sembler.

Disorders in
the Church.

A counsell at
Pisa to re-
forme the
schisme of the
Church.

Two Popes
deposed & *A-
lexander* the 5.
chosen.

Three Popes
at onceme.

1429. Princes in an other season, the which we will attend by order of the history, and will A
returne into France, to our Charles the 7. in the ioye of his Coronation: which was to
him and to all his subiects a happy fore-telling of the restoring of his Realme, but this
excellent worke was not so soone ended.

We must now see by what degrees Charles recovered the possession of the Townes
subdued by the English, and how he expelled them out of this Realme. The second par-
cell is set downe by vs in the front of this discourse.



BY VVHAT MEANES AND DE-
GREES, THE TOWNES SVB-
dued by the English, returned to the obedi-
ence of this Crowne, and how the English were chis-
ed out off this Realme.

From the yeare 1429. to 1454. after the ebbing and flowing of many actions, and the accord
of the Duke of Bourgogne with Charles, long debated and in the ende obtained by the meanes
of the Duke of Bourbon, Paris yeeldes to the King. The other Citties and Prouinces
of this Realme, one after another, in diuers seasons, and by di-
uers occasions, returne to the King, as to their head:
and expell the stranger, who held the state.

TO THE REDVCTION OF PARIS ARE 7. YEARES: TO THE FULL RESTORING
OF THE REALME, 18. AND IN ALL 25. YEARES AFTER
HIS CORONATION.



His happy beginning of the Kings affaires, seemed to bring with
it a generall restoring of his whole Realme, by the absolute
bedience of all Townes and Prouinces. But God which go-
uerns nature by seasons, and giues not harvest when as they sow
the seede, he doth likewise gouerne the society of mankind by
degrees, that the force of mans industry, of it selfe, may ap-
peare vaine and nothing, and not successfull but by his grace,
without who man can do nothing. We haue hitherto seeme in-
to what distresse the preseruer of this estate hath drawne both the King and Realme, but
in the ende his prouidence shal appeare no lesse admirable in preseruing it.

The Duke of Bedford wonderfully discontented with his happy success, resolves
to stop the courre, both by force and policie. To this ende hee sends to Eng-
succors both of men and money: he leaues all he can in France, and practiseth with the
Duke of Bourgogne, who was held of both parties, to haue power to strike the last
stroke in this equality of affaires: So as finding himselfe fought vnto by them all, hee
certaines them all, giuing Charles secretly to vnderstand, that he was for him, and yet he
presently takes armes for the English. A man wholly addicted to his affaires, hauing no
other object but his owne greatnesse: yet shall he effect no wonders, being now so
much fought vnto.

Charl

A Charles parts from Rheims, to obserue his enemies way, he passeth by Soissons, Chasteau, 1429.
Thierry, Prouins, Couffy in Brye, and comes to Crespy in Valois: all these Townes shake
off the English yoke to obey him. Bedford was at Senlis, with an armie of ten thou-
sand men, from thence he writes letters of defiance to Charles, as to the vsurper of the
realme. He represents vnto him at large, the compassion he had of the poore French
people, so long oppressed with warres, and doth challenge him to appoint a day and
place, to end this long miserie, eyther by a peace or battaile. A part ill acted by a
Stranger, for who could beleue these protestations, in the mouth of a Stranger,
against the heire of the Crowne?

Charles answers him by effects, and offers himselfe to the combat: the English ar-
mie was before Senlis, being lodged in that renowned Temple of victorie, the anti-
ent monument of the valour of Philip Augustus. The French armie was opposite
against them without hedge or bush, in a large Plaine. The King called a Councell,
whether he should giue battaile. The Virgin held opinion they should not hazard
these happy beginnings vpon a doubtfull combat, being sufficient to stave the ene-
mie, in shewing him the Armie, without striking. So as these two Armies stood
two dayes together in battaile, looking one vpon another without mouing, although
many skirmishes seemed to offer occasion to drawe them to a generall fight. In the
end there was a confused charge of some fore-lorne hopes, Picards and French, but
the battailes stood firme.

C After this countenance, Bedford takes his way to Paris, to auoide the alterations
which the Kings approche and prosperitie might breed. Charles hauing receiued the
obedience of Compeigne, Senlis, Creil, Beauuois, Pont Saint Maxence, Choisy, Gournay,
Remy, Neufville, Mognay, Chantely, Saintes, and other places thereabouts, with the
homages of the Seigneuries of Mont-morency and Mont, he marcheth towards Paris,
vpon promise made by the Bourguignon, to be receiued by the Cittizens. Being at
Saint Denis, he not onely findes Bedford in Armes without the Cittie, but also the
Cittie well garded by the Inhabitants, so as the Virgin seeking to surprize Saint Ho-
nories ditche, had like to haue bene taken, being fore wounded, and loosing a good-
lietroupe of her best and most resolute souldiars. The inconsiderate desire which
D Charles had to winne the loue of the Duke of Bourgogne, did much preiudice his
affaires, for all Picardy held him in great esteeme, especially the great Townes of Ami-
ens, Abbeville, and S. Quintin: but the respect he bare the Bourguignon, made him to
neglect these occasions to his great hurt. Hauing therefore found this passage to be
very perilous, he retires into Berry, and the Duke of Bedford (freed from the feare
of his forces) goes into Normandie, where the Constable Richemont had surprised
Eureux, Aumale, Chasteau-gaillard, and Audely, places of importance in that
Prouince.

But during these alterations, the Duke of Bourgogne married with Isabell, daugh-
ter to the King of Portugall, adding this third wife, to his two former deceased. The
Duchesse of Bedford was at this marriage, not in regard of the feast, but for her hus-
bands affaires. The Bourguignon conducts her to Paris with foure thousand armed
men, where he renews the League more strongly, (somewhat shaken through the
affaires of Isabell Duchesse of Hainault) with his brother in lawe. There hee
made the order of the Golden Fleese, as if he had already conquered the Gardens of
Hesperides, like a second Iason: but hee determined to make violent warre against
Charles the yeare following: and returning into Picardie, hee tooke Gournay and
Choisy, places lately subdued to the Crowne. Melun, Sens, and Villeneuve le Roy,
gave a happy beginning to this yeare, yeelding to the Kings obedience, but the
losse of the Virgin Ioane, and the taking of Pothon, two of the greatest and most
valiant heads of the Armie, quailed all the ioye of these conquests. The Tragedie
was thus acted. The Bourguignon hauing taken Choisy by force, hee buies Soissons
of the Captaine that commanded: and so hee marcheth against Compeigne with
his

Ioane the Vir-
gin disuades
King Charles
from fighting.

The Bourguig-
non at uicth
King Charles.

Ioane the Vir-
gin fore
wounded, and
her men de-
fected.

The Duke of
Bourgogne
makes the or-
der of the
Golden fleese.

Pp

1430. his armie, with whom the Earles of *Suffolke* and *Arondel* ioyne, with tv o thousand men. The Virgin issues forth with a notable number of the best Souldiers, to charge the besiegers, who being too farre engaged in the fight alone, was taken by the Bastard of *Vendosme*, and presently brought to the Duke of *Bourgonne*. Hee reioyced much at so notable a prize, as hauing conquered all *Charles* his good fortunes, and referues her as a triumph for the Duke of *Bedford*, whose proceedings we will now set downe.

Joane the Virgin taken at *Compiegne* by the *Bourguignon*.

Pothon was then taken vnaduisedly. The Archbishop of *Rheims* being Chancellor, with the Lords of *S. Seuer* and *Boussac*, Marshalls of *France*, being at *Beauuais*; behold a young Shepheard comes vnto them, assuring them, that God had reuealed vnto him a meanes to take *Rouen*. They (taking the vanitie of this foole for present payment) as if God had raised vp a new Oracle, in the declining of the other, by the the surprize of the Virgin) arme inconsiderately, singing a triumph before the victorie. The *Englisb* (aduertised of their departure and numbers) meetes them, and doth surprize them, at *Nully* neere vnto *Beauuais*, when as they looked least for them, finding them like men newly dislodged, without order or feare, and ouercame them easily. *Pothon* striving to make head with a squadron of 25. Lances, presteth so farre in among the enemies, as he is taken: and by *Talbot* himselfe, whom he had taken at the battaile of *Patay*, and so well intreated, as *Talbot* made him a good requital; for hauing imbraced him as a brother, he honourably gaue him his libertie, and sent him in safetie to *Beauuais*. Thus honestie and humanitie reapes what it hath sowne. A good tyme is neuer lost among men of honour. An example for such as manage armes honourably, in whom there is nothing more vnworthy then crueltie, especially against the weakenesse of a prisoner. Crueltie is fitter for theeues and Canniballes, whom they call *Antropophages*, or eaters of men, but curtesie becomes good Souldiers, who are twise Conquerours; winning their hearts by curtesie, whose bodies they had conquered by force.

Pothon taken and deliuered.

Curtesie most commendable in a Souldier.

The Virgin brought to *Rouen* and condemned.

The Virgin *Joane* was not so well intreated by the Duke of *Bedford*, who hauing bought her for ready money, of *John* of *Luxembourg*, as the best prisoner of the armie; he causeth her to be brought to *Rouen*, being resolved to put her to death. The honour of the law of Armes, and the consequence which made all them guiltie, which should hereafter be taken by the *French*, did contradict his will; but the vnurly passion of the deadly barred conceited against this maiden (as hauing ruined his affaires in *France*) preuailed aboue reason. And hauing no colour to put her to death, as a prisoner of warre, he resolves to make her a prisoner of Iustice: but the Magistrates would not heare of it. Vpon their refusal, he hath recourse to the diuines. And as the Oracle of *Apollo* spake according vnto the money that was giuen, sometimes for *Philip* of *Macedonie*, sometimes for the *Athenians*; so the Diuines (being pensioners to the *Englisb* in this acte) made their diuinitie *Englisb*.

After they had grauely consulted and resolved on the matter: they declare her to be against kinde, hauing abused her sexe, beating the habit of a man, against the expresse worde of God, a witch working by deuills, without the which she could not haue performed so many extraordinarie deedes, nor obtained such a memorablenecessitie, and so by consequence an Idolatresse, a seismatike and an heretike. This was decreed in the vniuersity of *Paris*, with many hands to the Sentence. This conclusion (being carefully procured by the Duke of *Bedford*) was presented by him to *Peter* Cauchon Bishop of *Beauuais*, whome hee requested to proceede speedily in the cause. The Bishop assembles the deane and Chapter at *Rouen*, he calles the Abbot of *Fescamp* thether with a newe supply of diuines, for the execution of this decree. There is no thing more easie then to do euill. And although they were all possessed with *Englisb* passions, yet could they not so soone resolve themselves against her; so as they were long in suspence, before they could condemne her, for the answered pertinently to all their accusations. In the end violence preuailed, the which (being muffled with the

Joane condemned for a Witch.

A cloake of religion and Iustice,) condemned *Joane* (as guiltie of the abouenamed crimes) to perpetuall prison: but in the ende being deliuered by the Bishop to the secular power, the Duke of *Bedford* caused her to be burnt at *Rouen*, in the year. 1431. And burnt the 6. of Iuly.

Thus shee happily serued *France* one whole yeare, and was prisoner somewhat more, leauing a great greefe to those that liued then, to see her so intreated: and a memorie of immortall praise to come, hauing bene so profitable and necessitie an instrument, for the deliuerie of our Countrie being almost ruined. But the wise providence of God had limited both her labors and her life. He would onely vse her in the beginning, to shewe that *Charles* hath not bene the Author of the restoring of this citate, but God himselfe, who would shame men by a maide, most worthy to be honored by our posterity. I haue reported at once what was acted in two yeares, being all of one subiect: not to breake off the order of my discours in matters which followe after. And nowe I will returne to *Compiegne* besieged by the *Bourguignon*.

As all the *French* were much amazed for the losse of *Joane*, so the *Englisb* and *Bourguignons* were greatly incouraged to presse the seige of *Compiegne* with greater force. This important Citie (seated vpon the riuer of *Oise*, at the entrie of *Picardie*) had greatly furthered the *Bourguignon*, who for this reason was resolute to haue it cyther by loue or force.

Hee doth againe negotiate with *Charles*, assuring him of his loue. *Charles* (bewitched with the charmes of this *Bourguignon*) giues care to his newe deuises, and (forgetting that hee had bene abused,) hee promiseth to deliuer *Compiegne* into his hands. The *Bourguignon* accepts it: and the better to play his part, he drawes his *Portuguesse* to *Noyon*, being one of the cunningest women in the world, and most affected to her husband, as a gage of the loue he had promised to *Charles*, the which she should manage. The Lord of *Flauy*, *Gouernor* of *Compiegne*, had receiued seuerall commandments from the King to deliuer it. But hee excuseth himselfe, desiring to haue a more ample warrant from the King. Hee shewes him the importance of the place, and the wilfulness of the inhabitants, and so denying his maister honestly that which might bepreiudiciall vnto him, he discharge the dutie of a good seruant. Trulie it is a good seruice to denie the maister, when as hee commands that which is hurtfull vnto himselfe. This policie succeeding not for the Duke of *Bourgonne*, to surprize *Compiegne*, hee resolves to haue it by force. *Bedford* sends the Earle of *Huntington* with a thousand *Englisb* Archers to fortifie this seige. *John* of *Luxembourg* (who was there for the *Bourguignon*) builds great forts to keepe them from succors, and for a retreat he doth fortifie the Abbies of *Venete* and *Royaulieu*. The Inhabitants were in great extremitie, yet were they resolute to endure all vnder their wife and faithfull gouer- nor, rather then to fall into the hands of strangers, whose gripes they had formerly felt.

The *Bourguignon* proleth loue to King *Charles*.

The gouer- nor refuseth to deliuer *Compiegne* to the *Bourguignon*.

If they were fiercely besieged by the *Englisb* and *Bourguignons*, so were they as well succored by the *French*, vnder the happie commande of the Earle of *Vendosme* gouer- nor of *Beauuais*, and the Marshall of *Boussac*, who (hauing valiantly forced the first battions,) enter the Towne, & hauing visuallied it, they issue forth, with great resolution, so as they take all the other forts, to their enemies great losse. So *Huntington* and *Luxembourg* retyre with disgrace, leauing not onely that Countrey free, but their victualls, artilerie, munition & habillements of warre in their lodgings of *Venete* and *Royaulieu*, sauing themselves with some difficultie, at *Pont l'Esque*, through the fauour of *Noyon*. The *Bourguignon* was so amazed, as hee retyred into *Arthois*, hauing as bad successe by force as by policie.

Compiegne re- leued by the *French*.

The *Bourguignon* cha- led from *Compiegne*.

Our *French* forces being maisters of the field, they recouer all the *Bourguignons* con- quests. *Choyssy*, *Gournay*, *Bertueil*, *Garmigny*, *Reffons*, *Pont Remy*, *Pont Saint Maxence*, *Longueil*, *Saint Mary*, *la Boyssiere*, *Ireligny*, *Verduel*, and other places, where hee had gathered together all the corne and cattell of the Countrie, the which was restored to the poore people, to their great content. The *Bourguignons*, pride thus taken downe (after

1430. so many victorious hopes) was a principall part of this victorie. But hee refused to haue his reuenge of this affront. Being come to *Arras*, hee gathers together all the forces he can: and from thence hee goes to *Peronne*, to attend the bodie of his amie. His intent was to recouer what hee had lost in his last warre of *Compiègne*, meaning to begin at *Garmigny*, which did greatly anoye all that Country. He sends a troupe of 600 men before, vnder the conduct of *Thomas Truell* an *English* man. *Girard of Brimen* Governor of *Roye* augments this troupe with a hundred of his men. In this order they go to the siege of *Garmigny* as to a marriage: but *Pothon* (who had his spies in all places, and had put himselfe into *Garmigny*, at the brute of this siege,) slept not. Having therefore sent to discover the enemies countenance, hee learns that these *Picards* (being neere to *Bouchoire*) did hunt after hares, (whereof there are great store in those parts,) and that this troupe was wholly in disorder, running vp and downe with great noise. *Pothon* embraceth this occasion suddenly, and hauing drawn his men to field, he surpriseth these hunters, being dispersed and out of breath, and becomes a hunter of his peace: hee defeats them, kills them, and in the ende cries, that they take the runner waves. The Commander is taken, with most of their best men. *Antoine of Liège* and the Lord of *Hully* (being greatly lamented by the *Bourguignon*) were first led to *Garmigny*, and then to *Compiègne* in great triumph.

The newes heereof did greatly trouble the *English*, especially when as the Earle of *Fland* went with the *French* army to brauen him at the gates of *Roye*, offering him battaile. He made shewe to accept thereof, but naming called a Councell, he framed a reasonable excuse, that his soldiars were not willing he should fight in the end of the yeare. With these affronts the yeare ends, and with the death of a sonne which hee had by his new wife, whome hee loued deere, his spirits were so opprest with sorrowe for this losse, as this Prince (being too passionate) had speeches vnto the grauie of his person, and the greame of his blood, quen weeping and wishing for death. Doublesie it often falls out, that he which is too much put vp in prosperity, is easily daunted in aduersity. A goodly lesson for carmen (who cannot learne but by great examples) that their greame should not rise them from the common condition of mankind, that they are men and must die like men. O man what fouler thou beest, behold good remedies against the troubles of fortune: to be dronke with profperity, nor drowned in aduersity. Hee that succeeding years haue nothing memorable, but an entry to the obsequies in the Church of *Paris*, which shall give example to all the rest of the realme. The want of parties was necessary for the making of an accord. The Duke of *Bourguignon* could do much, but his infinite offends had transported him beyond the clouds, without some check. The same disgraces did greatly lessen his credit with the Duke of *Bedford*, who expected much more from him than hee felt by the effects: but that which made a breach in their friendship was, the foloweth of *Arche* Duke of *Bedford* sister to *Philip* Duke of *Bourguignon*, the more of their cold friendship, which till then was very necessitate but after marriage it was but upon a small, although in this occasion their league was not apparent. The one weeps for his wife, the other for his sister. The beginning of this warre was noted by the taking of *Montargis* from the *French*, through the notable treachery of a woman, whose entrance to the *English*, and who presently reaped the fruits of her treachery. But let vs attend the yeare following, where wee shall see a more notable change in this miserable Towne. At the same time, in recompence of *Montargis* *Charles* returns to the Kings obedience. The meanes is worthy observation, being put in practise in our times in many places. A Carter being at *Chartres* had a brother resident in Court with a Treasurer. The familiarity this Carter had with brother came into the Towne, made him both desire and to lay the plot of so memorable an enterprise. Neere vnto the gate there was an olde turned house, in the which there was a great vault haile filled vp with rubbish: there they lodge a hundred men: on the other side they conuay a thousand men, secretly in the night, into a house nere vnto the Towne. The Carter comes at the breake of day with his Cart vnto the gate

The *Bourguignon* defeated.

The *Bourguignon* daunted in aduersity.

The Duke of *Bedford* is daunted.

Montargis taken.

Charles returns to the King.

A where he ouerthrows it of purpose, faining that a wheele was split. While the gard labours to helpe him, the Ambush issues forth out of these ruines, and surpriseth the Port, and the rest second them with such speed, as the Cittie is wonne. This had bene done without any effusion of blood, if the Bishop had not animated the inhabitants to fight against their King, where hee himselfe was slaine with some of the Citizens. About this time, *René* Duke of *Bar*, brother to *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, and King of *Sicily*, (who shall make himselfe famous in the following raigne) received a great check. He had a notable quarrell against the Earle of *Vaudemont*, pretending the Earldome: from words they go to blowes. *René* fortifies himselfe with the forces of *France*: *Vaudemont* with those of *Bourguigne*. *René* being farre stronger in shew, besiegeth the Towne of *Vaudemont*, and when as the Earle, with the helpe of his friends, would haue raised the siege, *René* drawes him to fight, defying him, and promising to himselfe an assured victory. But God (the soueraigne Iudge of these factions) gaue it to the Earle, and *René* remained prisoner in the hands of the Duke of *Bourguigne*, to whom hee paid a great ranfome. In the end, by the Dukes meanes yeelding him his libertie, this quarrell was ended, marrying the eldest sonne of *René* with the daughter of the Earle of *Vaudemont*. But let vs reserve the rest to the following raigne.

About the end of this yeare, a solemnitie was done in *Paris*, which carried more shew then substance. We haue said before, how that *Henry* the 6. King of *England*, had bene crowned King of *France*, when as our *Charles* was crowned at *Poitiers*, after the decease of his father. *Henry* was but two yeares old, and came not out of *England*, vntill that *Charles* had bin solemnly crowned at *Rheims*, to the great ioy of all the *French*; but when as the Duke of *Bedford* found, how much this autentike publication aduanced the affaires of *Charles*: he caused *Henry* to be brought into *France*, and to be crowned at *Paris*, with an extraordinarie Maiestie, to out-countenance *Charles* his Coronation, by a greater shew of pompe. But the bloud of *France* cannot dissemble: no man was moued thereat, no more then to see a Tragedie acted vpon the Stage. This yeare is very barren of all memorable exploits, but that this silence noted an entrance to an accord (both parties being weary of pleading) yet with great slacknesse, as we see in diseases which come suddenly, and passe away slowly: we must therefore crosse this rough way before we come to *Paris*. *Montargis* taken by the *English*, as we haue said, was not recovered by the *French*, but after a diuers manner; for the *English* lost the Towne by the Castell, and the *French* the Castell by the Towne, yet were they three moneths in winning of the Castell. Hauing taken all, they lost all by the same meanes that made them so much to gape after the Castell, which was the want of money. This shamfull losse greeued many of the greatest in Court, and bred a new trouble by this occasion.

Tremouille was yet in great credit with the King, hauing by this meanes a great hand in the State: they accused him to haue heaped vp great treasure, to the preiudice of such as daily employed their lues for the Kings seruice. The greater men reioice to take *Tremouille* prisoner, and to punish him like vnto *Glac*, and others before mentioned. The King was at his Castell at *Chinon*: *Tremouille* followes him as his shadow, but it chanced, as he was in his chamber, the Lords of *Brueil*, *Coytuy* and *Fetard*, taken with 400 armed men, enter and take him: not one of a hundred of that fort could escape. But six thousand Crownes saved his life, hoping to returne againe into credit. The Constable of *Richmont* growes into greater fauour then before. Thus misfortune is good for some thing. *Bedford* putt vp with the successe of *Montargis*, takes *Milly* in *Gassenous*, but hauing besieged *Lagny* in *Brie*, he was repulsed: and at the same time, *John* of *Luxembourg* (of the *Bourguignon* faction) is dispossessed of *Ligny* in *Barrois*, by the Gentleman of *Comecy*. A disgrace which shall draw the *Bourguignon* to a composition so much desired; together with the happy successe of the *French*, in the County of *Arthois*, the taking of *S. Valery* in *Ponthieu*, and the generall wauering of these Citties in *Picardy*, tired with these confusions, being so great, as no man was assured of his person, of what partie sooner, if he were the weaker. The Cardes

1431.

A quarrell betwixt the Duke of *Bar*, and the Earle of *Vaudemont*.

Henry King of *England* crowned at *Paris*.

Montargis taken and lost againe.

Tremouille taken and delivered againe.

The confusion of the warre.

1432. were so shuffled, as an *English man* would become *French*, to take a *Bourguignon*, and a *Frenchman* become *English*, or a *Bourguignon*, to take a *Frenchman*. These vnkind treaties, cheries were vsuall, especially at *Amiens*, *Abbeville*; and throughout all *Picardie*, where the warres had been most licentious. Which outrage hath been reuiued in our miserable age, through the crueltie of these wretched warres, which causeth men to make shipwracke both of faith and honour.

This year had a plausible beginning, but without any great effect. The Councell of *Pisa* being assembled (as we haue said) to redresse the confusion of Antipopes, and to reduce the Church (diuided by this Schisme) vnto vnion, sends the Cardinall of *Auxerre* vnto the Kings of *France* and *England*, to exhort them vnto peace. *Charles* protested that he desired nothing more; the *English* said the like. They assemble to this end at *Auxerre* in great troupes, but at their first meeting, all this treatie was broken off, for both the one & the other, stood vpon the qualitie of King of *France*, being the fundamentall point of all their quarrell. The Duke of *Bedford* spake more proudly then *Charles* himselfe, as if the law of State (which maintained this Monarchie) had bene made in *England*, an Iland become firme land, and *France* changed to the Isle of *Albion* or of *Brittanie*: of such force is error euen in matters of State, when as passion ouer-rules the light of reason. So as they all depart without any effect: They onely conclude a truce, for the great want of the poore people, who could suffer no more. But this truce was a pit-fall for many, trusting the countenance of this courteous warre, which making profession to meane nothing so, is more to be feared when the smiles, then when the frownes.

We haue said, that *John Duke of Bourbon* was taken prisoner in the battaile of *Azincourt*, whom they could neuer redeeme at any rate. This year he dyed in *England*, and his sonne *Charles* succeeds him. He had to wife the sister of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, but they fall to words for their rights, and so to warre. *Charles* takes from *Philip*, *Grancy*, *Aulon*, *Perepertuis*, *Mucy-l'Eucluse*, *Chaumont*, and other places. The *Bourguignon* had his reuenge, and besiegeth *Belleuile* in *Beauuenlois*, belonging vnto *Charles*. *Mary Duchesse of Berry*, labours to reconcile these Princes, and draws them to a peace, the which shall soone be a meanes of a generall accord betwixt the *Bourguignon* and *France*, by the mediation of the Duke of *Bourbon*, a profitable instrument of so good a worke. This occasion not prevented, was seconded by an other; for the Duke of *Bedford*, after the death of his wife (being sister to the Duke of *Bourgonne*) marries with *Jaquelin* the daughter of *Peter of Luxembourg* Earle of *S. Pol*, who was no friend to the *Bourguignon*: and moreouer the youth and beautie of this new spouse, had so bewitched *Bedford*, as he was easily drawne from *Philip*, whose loue he entertained with great difficultie, yet in respect of the generall cause they made a good ther, and had met at *S. Omer* to that effect: but this enterview encreased their discontents.

In the meane time, the truce (being ill obserued on either side) is conuerted into a languishing warre. *Bedford* makes warre in the Countrie of *Maine* by *Seales* and *Willelme*, two renowned Captaines, which besiege *S. Celerin*. *Charles* succours it by the Lord of *Bueil*, who hauing lodged some troupes at *Vuain*, (a village of small account) made it famous by a notable peece of seruice. *Seales* aduertised of these troupes lodged in this hamlet, hastes thither, surpriseth them, and cuts them in peeces: but the Lord of *Bueil* had his reuenge: for falling vpon the Conquerours, who returned in disorder, he puts them in route. *Chartier* notes it for a notable seruice, that fortie lances overthrowed a thousand five hundred men, which were all slaine, or taken prisoners: of such force is disorder and amazement in warre. The siege of *Saint Celerin* being thus raised, to the great disgrace of the *English*, *Bedford* much greeued for this affront, sends the Earle of *Arondell* thither with new forces. It was at the same time when *Charles* went into *Daulphiné*: the fame of this notable victorie, holding mens minds in suspence, so as *Arondell* takes *S. Celerin* by force, and from thence he marcheth to *Silley le Guil-lume*. The Gouernour fearing to want succours, treats with *Arondell*. That if by a prefixed day, the *French* were not the stronger, at a certaine Elme nere vnto the place

A treatie between the French and English.

John Duke of Bourbon dies in England.

A quarrell between the Dukes of Bourbon and Bourgonne.

Bedford marries againe.

The Duke of Bedford and Bourgonne in dislike.

The English defeated at Vain.

A notable overthrow.

A place, hee would then yeeld vpon the Towne, and for assurance thereof giues him hostages. The Court was troubled at this summons: all post thether, fearing to continue their shame with losse, Princes and officers of the Crowne, the Dukes of *Alexon* and *Anion*, the Constable of *Richmont*, the Marshalls of *Bouffac*, *Rieux*, & *Retz*: the Lords of *Laheac*, *Graville*, and *Bueil*, with his good fortune. Being all come to the Elme at the day appointed, they summon the Earle of *Arondell* to deliuer vp his hostages and to fight with them, but he yeelds vp his hostages and leaues the sege. The last of the omitted voyage makes our men to post presently to Court. *Arondell* returns to the sege of *Silley*, and not able to take it hee surpriseth *Beaumont le Vicomte*, but pressed with sicknesse hee retyres to *Mans*, a Towne then vnder their obedience.

The voiage of *Daulphiné* was performed. *Charles* comes to *Vienne* passing through *Auvergne*. The reason of this progresse was to settle matters in *Daulphiné*, *Lionnois* and *Langnedoc*, which Countreies had serued him faithfully and profitably in his greatest afflictions. All the cheefe of those Countreies attend him, and hold their Estates by his commaundement. The ioy both of *Charles* and his subiects was exceeding great after so long and dangerous a storme. *Charles* did gladly imbrace his ancient seruants, the Earle of *Fois*, *Gaucourt* and *Groslee*, with the Nobility of *Viwarez* and *Daulphiné*, who had giuen him so great testimonies of their faith and valour. All men were confirmed in their gouernments, no man was denied of what hee demanded: which giues them courage to do their best endeauours in his seruice. The States graunt the King a notable summe of money for the maintenaunce of his warres.

We haue obserued the humour of *Amedee Duke of Sauoie*, who during the doubtfullnesse of the *French* affaires, had carried a watchfull eye, to make his profit by their confusion. Being well informed, that *Charles* loued him not, he fortifies himselfe by alliances. Hee had giuen his eldest daughter to *Lewis* of *Anion* King of *Sicile*, and now he marries his Sonne *Lewis* Earle of *Geneue* with *Anne* the daughter of *John of Lusignan* King of *Cyprus*, from whence the title of the realme of *Cyprus* comes to the house of *Sauoie*. This marriage was honored with the presence of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, the Earle of *Neuers*, and the Prince of *Orange*. These were good cautions for *Amedee*, against *Charles*: but wee shall soone see that hee will finde an other expedient against alleuents. As a tree in the sappe sheweth that the spring is neere, so diuers popular accidents chancing this year foretold what should happen. There were 60000 men in armes against the *English* in *Vexin-Norman*, and in *Caux* 20000. *Charles* doth carefully imbrace those occasions, and encouraging them both by letters and messages, he sends them notable Commanders, the Duke of *Alanson* with the Lords of *Lore* and *Bueil*, braue and Valiant Captaines. But as a tree that sprouts forth through the fauour of a warme season, is stayed by a sharpe winde: so all these popular braueries were soone daunted, and this streame was soone turned. The Townes that were mutyned yeeld to the *English* force, but they keepe their hearts for their King, vntill they may shake off the *English* yoke.

But the wise prouidence of God, who gouerns the worke for the restoring of this estate, raised vp means which all the humane policie of *Charles* or of his Councell could not foresee, who had labored by all meanes to winne the *Bourguignons* loue. He harbored in his heart a resolute discontent against the *English*: to whome hee imputed the cause of all his crosses and disgraces. The *Liegeois* crosse him many waies, in the possession of *Namur* newly fallen vnto him. *Antwerp* and *Arras* are discontented, and ready to rise against him. The *English* (in his opinion) is the author and fauor of these discontents, and it may be did all he could to molest him, what shewe soeuer he made. But how focuer it were, the *Bourguignon* (meaning to make an open breach with him) compounds at quarrels with this discontented people, intending to make a firme peace with *Charles*. So the year of 34. passeth without any great alteration.

This year of 35. shalbe more happie for the *French* then the former, *Charles* beseegeth

Exploits of warre.

1435 Gerberoy by Pothon and la Hire. The English come to succor it, led by the Earle of Arondell, being a thousand against lesse then five hundred. Our men therefore resolute to retyre to Beauvais, but they must accompt with the stronger. There is but one meane of safetie, to hope for no helpe. So these braue warriors resolute to fight, and are victors for the English troupes are defeated: seauen or eight hundred slaine vpon the place, and all the rest prisoners. The Earle of Arondell (being greuously wounded) dies at Beauvais, a braue and resolute Captaine, dying in the bed of honour. This was the beginning of the yeare: the winter was verie sharpe, but it daunted not the courage of our warriors. The Earle of Dunois (a bastard of Orleans) was the ring-leader in many exploits: he causeth Saint Denis to be surprisid by Captaine Degenulle, and hee followes well accompanied to keepe it. In going along he takes Houdan, and then hee fortifies Saint Denis with men and vittells, and leaues the Marshall of Rieux to gouerne it. And for that hee would loofe no time, hee imployes his troupes to take some places there abouts, as Pont Saint Maxence, Orville and Menlan. The English had fortified Saint Ouy, to keepe the Countrey in alarme: Occasions are oft of dayly skirmishes, and daylie the English are beaten. But the long stay of this little army, and this thorne of Saint Denis, stured vp the people of Paris, who loth to be so restrained, prepare a great power to force Saint Denis at what price fouer. The Marshall of Rieux, loath to ingage himselte, (being in all shewe the weaker,) retires honorablie to Menlan, without any losse. The English beat downe the defences of Saint Denis, being a common retreat to all men, without any more labour, eyther to keepe it, or to recouer it.

The English defeated and the Earle of Arondell slaine.



The accord of Philip Duke of Bourgogne with Charles the 7. King of France.



An Assemblée to treat of a peace.

In the ende behold an agreement made with Charles, so much expected, so vnprofitable fought after, and nowe freely offered by the Duke of Bourgogne. The deputies of the Councell presse both French, English and Bourguignon, to ende al quarrells, by some good composition. The Citie of Arras is allowed of by them all, to treat in. The Assemblée was great: from the Pope and the Councell of Pisa there came the Cardinalls of Saint Croix and Cipres, with twelue Bishops: For the King of France there was the Duke of Bourbon, the Earle of Richmond, Constable of France, the Earle of Vendosme, the Archebishop of Rheims, Chancellor of France, the Lords of Harcourt, Valpergue, la Fayette, Saint Pierre, du Chastell, du Bois, Chastillon, du Flay, de Baillou, de Rommet, Curselles, and de Cambray first President of the Patliament at Paris, with many wife and learned men, as, John Tudart, Blesset, John Charetier, Peter Cletel, Adam la Queux, John Taise, and la Motte. For the King of England the Cardinalls of Yorke, Winchester, the Earle of Suffolke, the Bishop of Saint Davids, John Ratcliffe keeper of the great scale, the Lord of Hangerford, Ralse the wife, the Official of Canterbury, and some Doctors of diuinity. For Philip Duke of Bourgogne, there came the Duke of Gueldres, the Earle of Nassau, the Bishop of Cambray, the Earle of Farnembourg, the Bishop

of Lige, the Earles of Flandemont, Neuers, Salines, S. Pol, and Ligny, besides the deputies of many of his best Townes. The pompe was great, both on the deputies behaile, & of the Duke of Bourgogne, who intainted the with all the honour & good chere that might be wished. But leauing these circumstances I make hast to the principal matter.

The Kings of France and England began the treaty. The fundamentall question was, to whom the Crowne of France belonged? The English did challenge it, both for that he was issued from a daughter of France, as also by the graunt of Charles the 6. who did issue Henry the 5. and his successors, heires of the crowne, & had disinherited Charles the 6. whom he termed an usurper. The deputies for Charles answered, that they ought not to call in question the ground of the Estate, which cannot stand firme without that heire to whom the lawe appoints, and therefore without prouing of that which was apparent of it selfe, they came, to offers for the ending of all controuerfies. That if the King of England would both disclaime the title of King of France, & yeeld vp the countries held by him in diuers parts of the Realme, he should inioy the Duchies of Guienne and Normandy, doing homage for them vnto the Kings of France, as his fouerrange, and with those conditions which his Ancestors, Kings of England had formerly inioyed then. They stood vpon very different termes: their authority was limited, and possession putt vp the English. But sometimes he refuseth that after sues. He that sweareth to haue all, most commonly loofeth all. One moitie in effect had more auailed the English, then all in imagination, who in the ende shall finde, that the soveraigne Judge, the preferuer of the lawe, eard of States, giues and takes away, appoints and disappoints, according to his good and wise will, and that there is no force, nor wisdom but his. The matter was soone ended betwixt the Kings of France and England: seeing right could do no good, the sword must preuaile.

The question for the crown of France.

Charles & the English cannot agree.

Thus the Ambassadors of England, returne without any effect, those of France stay to treat with the Duke of Bourgogne and his deputies, amongst the which he himselte was the chiefe, as well for his owne interest, as for his iudgement in affaires. A man exceeding cunning, who could imbrace all occasions to make his profit by an other, as the discourse of his life hath made manifest. But to what ende serues all this murther, and so great workmanship, to frame a building which shall be ruined vnder his forme, and that bury him in the ruines thereof? It is a foolish reason which thou calledst reason, having no ground of reason, and doest not hearken to the voice of heaven. O Foole, altho' riches be taken from thee this night, if thou walkest in shadow, he toys in vaine, to make his name immortal in the graue, he hunts with infinite labour and takes nothing.

As for Charles, he sought to retire the Bourguignon from all league and alliance with the King of England, and taking from him all occasions of discontent, so to ingage him by gifts, & honours, as he should resolute to follow his faction, as the most profitable knowing that his own priuate interest was the chiefe end of his designs. Matters were carried in shew according to the humour of that age, the disposition of the court, and for the honour of Charles, who must aske the Duke of Bourgogne pardon, having committed his father to be slaine against his faith. But was it not true, must not the crime be committed by him that was culpable? Charles therefore resolves to send him a banke, & the next day testifie that the Bourguignon filed it with so many vnreasonable conditions as it is strange so great a monarch should stoop so much to his subject & vassall, but necessity hath no law.

Charles sends a banke to the Bourguignon to insert what conditions he pleased.

A preface for great men, not to attempt any thing against reason, least they bee constrained to repaire it with reason, and yet to know that it is an amendment of a fault to yeeld to necessity for the good of the state, being a great thirst to loofe for gain. The original sets downe at large all the conditions of this treaty: vnto so please may read the ninth of Montfrellet, & in the history of S. Denis. The summe is, that the massacre committed in the person of John Duke of Bourgogne at Montreuil-saint-yonne, is fully repaired by confession and ceremonies. Great sommes of present money with goodly Seignories are given to the Duke of Bourgogne, so many assurances for him and his, and a great volume is full of these scrupulous conditions.

The

1435.
King Charles
and the Bour-
guignon re-
conciled.

The Duke of *Bourgongnes* promise is more simple, that he should declare himselfe a friend to *Charles the 7. King of France*, & enemy to his enimies: that he should renounce all alliance and friendship with the king of *England*, and promise, both his person, and all his meanes to expell him out off *France*. The performance was according to promise: *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, and *Arthur of Brittain*, Earle of *Richemont*, Constable of *France* in the name of *Charles the 7. aske pardon of the Duke of Bourgongne, for the death of his father, and the Duke pardoned him for the loue of God*. The Cardinals (in the Popes name and the Counsels) absolve the Duke from the oath which he had made vnto the *English*: and eyther part sweares to maintaine the accord in that which did concerne him. So the peace was published with great solemnity, to the incredible content of all men.

The King, the Duke of *Bourgongne* and the whole Realme reioyced exceedingly, only *John of Luxembourg* Earle of *S. Pol*, wold not be therin cōprehended, he shall suffer for it and his house after him. This was the 24. of September, in the yeare 1435. a famous day for those things which happened in this raigne, whereof this accord gaue the first occasion. The marriage of *Charles sonne* to the Duke of *Bourgongnes*, with *Katherine of France*, daughter to our *Charles*, was concluded to seale this accord. From this peace sprong a more violent war against the *English*. The Duke of *Bourgongne* sends backe all his contracts to the Duke of *Bedford*, and hauing shewed him the iust reasons which had moued him to imbrace the Kings amity, beeing his kinsfeman and Lord, hee renounceth the alliance of *England*, with a watch-word, that euery one should looke to himselfe. Euery man sharpenes his sword, and scoures his armes, to recouer that by force which they could not obtaine by reason.

War very violent against the *English*.

The first frutes of this accord beganne to grow ripe euen in the heart of winter, for *Corbeil* yeelds presently to the King, with *Brie-Conte-Robert* and the Castle of *Bois de Vincennes*. The *Bourguignon* employes all his friends and intelligences at *Paris*, he vseth all his instruments, meaning to let them to worke the yeare following. All *Normandy* begins to reuolt, *Diepe*, *Fecan*, *Monstier-Villiers*, *Harsen*, *Tancarville*, *Bec-Crespin*, *Gommesle*, *Loges*, *Villemont*, *Grasville*, *Longueville*, *Neufville*, *Jambreville*, *Charles-Mesnil*, *S. Camain*, *Fontaines*, *Preaux*, & *Blainville*, obey the King willingly, chafing away the *English*: & receiuing the *French* for their safety: all which was acted in two dayes. What more? To finish this worke, God takes away one of the chiefe causes, and one of the principall instruments of the misery which had so long afflicted this estate. We haue seene what part *Isabel* of *Bauierre* played in this Tragedy, wee haue sought her after the death of her poore husband and could not finde her, for in truth she was ciuilly dead. *Bedford* fearing the spirit of this *Medea*, seekes not onely to stay her hands, but to keepe her eyes from the managing of affaires. And for that shee had deuoured the treasure of the Realme, he constraines her to keepe a diet. He doth therefore sequester her to the house of *S. Pol*, where she liued vntill the ende of this yeare in great pouerty, no more assisted by the *Bourguignon* then by the *English*. Beeing dead, they caused her body to be put into a small boate, and so transported by the riuier of *Seine* to *S. Denis*, where she was buried without any pompe, like to a common person. A light put out, whose fauour doth yet offende posterity.

Queene Isabel dies.

In this yeare also died *John of England*, that great Duke of *Bedford*, called Regent of *France*, who hath noted many blacke pages in this volume, and so much terrified our Ancestors. Hauing seene the former accord, and felt so sodaine effects in *Normandy*, fearing the rest would follow, he drowned himselfe in sorow, and knowing no meanes to auoid this storme, he dies at *Rouen*, the 15. of December, leauing to King *Henry the 6.* a bottom very hard to vntwist, and to his yong wife (beeing sister to the Earle of *S. Pol*) a cause of mourning, the which continued not long, for she married soone after with an *English* Aduenturer of small accompt, giuing cause to laugh at her, beeing but little pittied.

The Duke of Bedford dies.

Charles being thus discharged of a heauy burthen, by this accord, hath more liberty to follow his honest delights. He goes to *Lions*, visits *Dauphiné*, and stayes in *Languedoc*.

Arca a Province which he loues about all the rest, hauing found it most deuoted to his service. *Montpellier* was his aboad, a place very pleasantly seated: be taking this time of recreation, he had left good lieutenants in *France*, who shal soone send him newes of their exploits.



The Citty of Paris yeelds to the King, and expells the English.



He *Bourguignon* prepares to annoy the *English*, whilest that the Constable makes way for the reduction of *Paris*. His intent was (parting from *Pontoise*) to put himselfe into *S. Denis*, a Towne halfe dismantled: but *Thomas* of *Beaumont* Capitaine of the *Bastille* (hauing intelligence of this dessein) preuented the Constable, and entred into *S. Denis* with a notable troupe of soldiers. *Richmont* notwithstanding approacheth neere to *S. Denis*: the sentinell hauing giuen warning of his approach, *Beaumont* issues forth to the bridge, vpon the little riuier which is towards *Pierre-fite*, where he met with the fore-runners, who hauing drawne him forth, ingage him in the battaile, the which was led by the Constable, marching from the valley of *Montmorency*. This *English* troupe was easily vanquished, most of them were cut in peeces, and the rest taken, hardly any one of them escapes, to carry newes to *Paris*. *Thomas* of *Beaumont* is flaine among the rest vpon the place. The Constable makes vse of this good successe: he presently marcheth with his victorious forces to *Paris*, which stood amazed at this reuerent, wanting a Regent, who was lately deceased, and such as were left to command were more fit to handle an Oare, then to gouerne the helme. Now was the time for good *Frenchmen* to shew themselves, whereof there were many in the Citty. The *Bourguignon* faction being now become the Kings seruants, imbrace this occasion, and being consulted together, they resolute to shake off the *English* yoke, the which they had too long endured.

The English vanquished.

The Duke of *Bourgongne* was then at *Fruges*, but he had left the Lord of *Lisle-Adam* to defend with his partisans at *Paris*. It is the same whom he had formerly employed against *Charles* and his father *John*, in the murder of the Kings seruants. He had great credit in the *Parisians*, of whom *Michael Laillier* was the chiefe Tribune. Hee discouers by him the peoples affections, being resolute to submit themselves to the King: of whom they craue onely a generall absolution of what was past. This gentle demande beeing brought to *Pontoise* to the Constable, and easily granted, all prepare for the effects. That quarter nere the *Halles* gaue the first signe of the *French* libertie at *Paris*, by the meanes of the Curat of *S. Eustace*, and al *S. Houores* street ioynes in this hardy resolution. In the meane time the Vniuersity beyond the bridge doth the like. *Lewis* of *Luxembourg*, Bishop of *Therouenne* Chancellor for the *English*, the Bishops of *Lisieux* & *Meaux*, the Lord *Wilshy*, with others deuoted to the *English*, aduertised of the mutinie, withdraws parts of the Citty, fearing some sedition, retire towards *S. Anthomes* gate, hauing carried all their best furniture into the *Bastille*, and fortified the houses adioyning. All being thus prepared at *Paris*, the Constable of *Richemont*, guided by *Lisle-Adam*, parts from *Pontoise*, & comes to *S. Denis*, in the night, where hauing rested some houres, he marcheth early in the morning, accompanied with the Earle of *Dunois* (a bastard

1436. of the house of Orleans) the Lords of *Suze* and *Bueil*, with a great company of resolute souldiers, approaching nere the Citty. *Lisle-Adam* with a choise troupe goes before. *James* gate, the appointed place for the Rendez-vous, where he finds all in a readines, so as *Lailier* having planted ladders for him at the lowest part of the wall, he mounts with his troupe. Being entred the citty, the people of that quarter (who were assembled for his coming) begin to crye. *A peace, a peace. God saue the King, and the Duke of Bourgogne.* *Lisle-Adam* being ioyned to the chiefe of the citty, goes directly to the Gate, the which was set open by the capitaine of that quarter, and the Constable, who was before it with his troupes, entred in good order. Then the people redoubled their cries. They all stand at a gaze, being aduertised of this entry, and exceeding glad to see themselves ready to recouer their ancient liberty, they prepare to march where they should be commanded to expell the *English*. All run to the Bastille. The Tournelles are presently seized on, and approaches vnto the Bastille are soone won. Such as werewithin it at the first, made some shewe of defence, but as all things were prepared to force them, they demand a parle, and agree to depart with their liues and baggage. They are conducted about the Towne beneath the *Louure*, to imbarke vpon the riuer of *Seine*, and so to passe to *Rouen*. They could not well haue passed through the citty. The people aduertised hereof run to the walles, and cry out with great shoutes, bayting the *English* like dogges, whom a little before they had feared and honoured as their masters. This happened the 27. of February, in the year 1436. Thus *Paris* returns to the obedience of this Crowne, hauing passed seuentene yeares vnder the gouvernement of the *English*: which made the fatherly command of their King more pleasing vnto them, and them more willing to obey him, hauing tasted the imperious commande of a stranger.

The Constable is received into Paris.

Paris obeyes the King.

The Kings entry into Paris.

Charles his humour.

The nature of tractable humors.

The inconueniences of Charles his facility.

The Burgundians attempt Calais in vaine.

Charles aduertised of this happy successe, parts from *Montpellier*, and returns slowly by *Auvergne*, to giue the *Parisians* time to prepare for his entry the which was performed with great pompe, six moneths after the reduction of the citty, but with so extraordinary an affection of the people, as drinking after a great thirst. All the townes within the Realme had followed this example, if *Charles* had imbraced this goodly occasion, all being drawne vnto their duty by a naturall instinct. He was of a milde spirit, pliable to all windes, flying toyle, but patient when he had undertaken it. We haue heard therto scene him content inough in his afflictions, although the waight of blowes so often doubled, had made him senselesse, so as he bare his crosses with lesse feeling, as a mortified member doth the rasor or corrosiue: but prosperity had so renewed his spirits, as he recovered himselfe & returned to his owne disposition. He wanted authority to command well, and iudgement to make choyse of his seruants, for he often imbraced and rewarded vnecessary men, and put back such as were profitable.

This proceeding discontented such (as seruing him faithfully) did see themselves contemned. These discontents giue them liberty to speake, and doe things, which offended the King, Experience teaching, that these tractable humors are as soon moved as pleased, and above all, are suspicious and cholericke: for impressions creeping into these wake spirits, makes them to fall into another extreame of vnmeasured passion. We haue scene the like in the life of *Lewis* the gentle, but we shal not find the like excess in our *Charles*: yet shall we see that by the like indiscreet facility he disordered his owne affaires, discontented his bloud, grieved many of his best seruants, filled his life with languishing in the prosperity of his affaires, to cast him headlong (in the midst of his greatest triumphs) into the gulph of a fearefull graue: what we are to represent in this discourse, shall be the comentary of this truth.

As soone as the spring appeares, the Duke of *Bourgogne* army goes to field to besiege *Calais*, it consisted for the most part of the commonalties of his estates. He easily engaged them in this warre, both by his authority and the shew of profit: to haue a Towne so conuenient for trafficke. This army had scarce continued in field ten dayes but they looke homeward to their houses, shoppes and fieldes: besides, the *English* wrought them vnder hand, and sent a great supply to defend *Calais*. This humour did

As to possesse this armed multitude, as the *Bourguignon* had no power to hold them. All passe away like to a violent ifream, and this his desseme came to nothing, although he chased in vaine, like vnto the *Perseus* that threatened the tempest & whipt the sea. So all enterprises succede not. The Duke of *Bourgogne* being thus retired, the *English*, had his reuenge of this affront, & spoiles the marches of *Boulogne* and *Gravelins* to the great losse of the Countrey. The Lord of *Croy* sought to make head against the *English*, being followed by a goodly troupe: but he was defeated and saues himselfe with distinction in *Ardes*. The *Flemings* stirre at this losse, and march vnder the Duke of *Bourgogne* commande, but they returne with shame, for *Calais* was referred for an other sea-son. We haue sayed that *Charles* had a sonne named *Lewis* borne in the midst of his greatest crosses, the first yeare of his raigne, in the year 1423. Being thirteene yeares old, he married him to *Marguerite Stuard* the only daughter of *James* King of *Scotland*, a Princess of excellent vertues, and a gage of the faithfull seruice which *Scotland* did to this Crowne in her greatest dangers, who furnished not much this felicity of *France*. *Charles* was desirous to returne to *Montpellier*: where hauing called an assemblée of that Province, he heard many complaints of the outrages, his soldiars had committed, running vp and downe the Countrey in great disorder. The best soldiars were guilty of these insolencies for want of pay. *Rodrigo de Villandrado* an *Aragonais*, (who had faithfully serued the King,) was in disgrace, and banished with his troupe, but being ioyned with *Pothin* in *Gasconie*, and hauing taken some places from the *English*, he made his peace with *Charles*. This confusion was not alone in one Countrey, but generally disperfed throughout the Realme. A troupe of 2000. horse led by *Anthoine* of *Chabannes*, *Blanchfort*, *Gualter* of *Eron*, *Floquet* and other renowned Capitaines, parting from *Normandie*, passe through the Countreys of *Vimeu*, and *Ponthieu*, by *Dorleans*, *Orville*, *Bray*, *Cappy*, *Lihons* in *Sauters*, and enter into *Cambresy*, from thence they lodge at *Sallines* towards *Hainault* with insatiable spoile, eating and ransoming all after a hostile manner. *John* of *Croy* the Bayliffe of *Hainault* sent troupes against them, but they were defeated. They were called the flauers, or fleasers.

The Lord of Croy defeated by Calais.

The Dauphin Lewis married to a daughter of Scotland.

The robberies of soldiers.

In the end through *Charles* his many commands, they come into *Champagne*, where hauing remained sometime, they were employed to take *Chasteau-Landon*, *Charny*, and *Nemours*, and from thence they were led to *Monstereau-saut-yonne*, where there was a menialous seege, being well assailed and well defended: but in the end the Towne was taken by force and the Castell by composition. *Charles* was at *Bray*, and the *Dauphin* commanded at this seege. He made faire warres with the *English*, who thanking him before the King his father, yeilded him these first fruits of his authoritie in the viewe of the whole army, who honored him afterwards as the Sun rising, whence grew the iealousies we shal hereafter speake of.

The Mignons of Court were then in quarter gaue a great occasiō. *Christopher*, of *Harcourt* Lord of *Chaumont*, and *Martin Gouge* Bishop of *Clermont*, men that had no good in them but to do ill. The Duke of *Bourgogne* had much trouble this year: the *English* had sowed great diuisions in his chiefest Citties. *Bruges* stirred vp strange mutinies against him, whereas he was in danger of his life: *Lisle Adam* chiefe Capitaine of his gard is slaine. A popular man whom wee haue scene to command the *Parisians* to life, once against the King, and an other time for the King, he presumed in like sort to gouerne them of *Bruges*, but they teare him in peeces, as the *Gantois* had in former times massacred *Artenille*, their Tribune. A multitude is a dangerous thorne, which cannot be handled without pricking. *Gant* followed the example of *Bruges*, but in the end all was pacified, with the losse of the most seditious, to the content of the same people, who denoure him they did adore. After these seditions, *Philip* returns to waite he beseegeth *Crotoy* (a place very important for the free trafficke of his Countries) but after great paines and charge, it proued all vaine. A man vnfortunate in war, but in Councell he commanded mens minds with an Imperious grauity. But (amidst the generall) shall I omit this particular obseruation, profitable for the example: That great Capitaine *la Hire*, passing neere vnto *Clermont* (a Towne then

1436.

He is vnfortunate in war.

1437. subiect to the *English*) was there honorably received by the Lord of *Anfemont* gouernor of the Towne, and (for that he trusted *la Hire* much) he suffered him to enter with his men into the raulin to eate a banquet. *la Hire* embracing this occasion, makes him his prisoner and takes the place, *Anfemont* had his reuenge in time, by meanes of the Lord of *Mouy*: he enters *Beauuais*, where *la Hire* was gouernor, goes vnto him to the Tenise Court, takes him and leads him away prisoner in vewe of all the inhabitants, and makes him to yeeld both his ransome and *Clermont* againe, notwithstanding *Charles* his letters to the *Bourguignon*: but in the ende they are good friends. Thus discourtesie is alwaies requited with the like, leauing a long repentance for him that is the author of the iniurie, how braue and cunning soeuer he bee, God punishing iniquitie in due season, when as men thinke least of it, and by meanes least apparent. The warres had wonderfully vnpeopled *France*, but this scourge was not sufficient. The whole Countre lying wast, (not able to be tilled by reason of the daylie incursions and ordinarie spoiles of both parties) there fell a great famine. That which was vually worth but five pence, was sold for five shillings and six pence, or more. The people being famished, sought bred where they might finde it, being forced from their houses by raging hungar, they disperse themselves in the fields and Townes: in the one to finde some fruite among the trees and in the bushes, ro some herbes or rootes in the other to get some morcell of bread, or some garbage, to fill the panch with any thing they could meete withall.

Famine and
pestilence
followe war.

So their bodies filled with bad meates were likewise filled with bad humors, falling into diuers languishing diseases. In the ende all turned to a plague so horrible, as all these poore creatures famished & weakned, with diseases were like vnto dne wood in a great flame. Thus one plague bred another, and that miserable plant of warre, brought forth two branches of miserie to our wretched Countre, famine and pestilence. These afflictions dispersed throughout the Realme, rained chiefly at *Paris*, the sollempne *Rendezvous* of this languishing people. There was nothing to be seene but lamentable troupes of people pale and leane, of all sexes and ages, eyther running in the fields or vp and downe the streets, or layed vpon dunghills, or dead in the market places, a most horrible spectacle to behold.

Alamentable
spectacle in
Paris.

There died threecore thousand persons in *Paris*. All the principall men abandoned the Cittie, except *Adam of Cambray* the first President, *Ambrose of Lore* the *Prouost* of *Paris*, and the President of the Accounts, whome God preserued in this contagion, to eternize their commendable memories for euer, hauing succored the publicke in necessity: without whose couragious resolution the Cittie had easily fallen into the hands of the *English*, who watched for all occasions, and made daylie incursions from *Monte* euen vnto the gates. The Champian Countre being abandoned, wolues left the forests without feare, and hauing made their pray vpon the remainder of this miserable people, they came to the gates of Townes & euen into the streets. This horrible spectacle hath bene seene at *Paris*, in the Theater of the world, in the most populous Cittie of all others. So one miserie drewe on another, and these afflictions continued two whole yeares, vnto the yeare 1439. whilest the contention of *Antipopes* increased the fire of *Schismes* in Christendome, as we shall shewe in due place.

The Duke of
Sauoie be-
comes a
monke.

Amedee or *Amé* Duke of *Sauoie* carried himselfe as we haue sayed, during the calamities of *France*: in the ende of this yeare he shall shewe a strange alteration of humor, to the great amazement of all the world, for being in his Castell of *Thonon*, (a Towne seated vpon the Lake *Leman*) he retires with a small traine to *Ripaille*, where he had an Abbaie of Monkes of Saint *Maurice*, and hauing imparted his desire but to two of his most confident seruants, (hauing bound them to keepe him faithful company) he takes vpon him the habit of these monkes, that is, *A graye frocke, a longe cloake, a gray hood, a short cornet, and a red bonet under his hode, but vpon his gray frocke he wares a great girdle of gold, & vpon his cloake a crosse of gold.* Hauing thus changed his habit, his meaning was not to change his degree, nor to leaue the world,

but vnder the colour of this habit, his intent was to aspire higher, as the course of his life will shew. Being now retired to *Ripaille*, he calles a parliament and shewes them his intention in this newe manner of life. That being weary of the world, where there was nothing but toyle and trouble; hee would sequester himselfe, to dedicate his life wholly to the seruice of God. But to the end he might prouide for the gouernment of his estate, he declares his eldest sonne Prince of *Piedmont*, and *Claude* his yongest, Earle of *Geneue*, and he himselfe remaines Duke of *Sauoie*, although he had vowed himselfe to the order of Saint *Maurice*, and without altering of any thing, he referues to himselfe the sole and soueraigne authority of al his estats. Hauing thus published his intent, he retires with his monkes to *Ripaille*, into one quarter of the lodging the which he had built apart, accompanied with twenty of his fauorits in Monkes attire: but not liuing like vnto that profession, for leauing them their water & rootes, he qualified this solitarie life with the best cheere he could get from *Chamberie* or *Turin*. This yeare is likewise memorable by the death of three great Princesses: of *Catherine* Queene of *England* sister to *Charles* the 7. the mournfull leuanie of our long miseries: of the old Queene daughter to the King of *Nauarre* Mother to the Princes of *Brittaine*, the Duke & Countesse of the old Countesse of *Armaignac*, daughter to the Duke of *Berry* and Mother to the Duke of *Sauoie*, the Earle of *Armaignac* and the Earle of *March*. All died almost in one day, hauing seene the strange tragedies of *France*, acted during their liues and vpon their children, and in their ends, seeing no end of our miseries. As the furie of fighting grew colde, so the war was turned into trafficke. There was no Towne but the gouernor kept it for him that would giue most: and *Charles* held it more expedient to haue a Towne or place for money, then to beseege it with great charge, to the oppression of his subiects, and with a doubtfull euent. *Montargis* had cost eyther partie much money to take it and to recouer it againe: *Charles* buies it of *Francis* of *Surienne* an *Aragonais* vnder the *English* pay, for ten thousand Crownes. He bought *Dreux* (the which he could neuer yet obtayne) for eighteene thousand Crownes of *William Brouillart* of *Beaufe*, a filthy trafficke, worthy of that confused time, but vnworthy of all good order and all royall authority. The which being layed open vnto *Charles*, he resolues to vse an honorable force, & to spend more money to get more honor. So he beseegeth *Meaux* and takes it victoriously, these were the first fruits of this newe yeare. In the moneth of May *Charles* the only son of *Philip* Duke of *Bourgongne* comes to *Tours*, where King *Charles* was resident, and takes *Catherine* of *France* his daughter to wife, according to the treatie of *Arras*.

Death of
great Princesses.

Sale of places
an vnworthy
traffick.

Charles son to
Philip of
Bourgongne
marries *Catherine*
therein of
France.

Hauing conducted her through his fathets Countries to Saint *Orem* (where the duke attended him, hee solemnized the marriage with exceeding great pompe, the which did nothing increase the loue of these Princes allied, nor the happiness of the marriage, the which was of small continuance, and lesse loue betwixt the parties as the course of the historie will shew. In the meane time the *Bourguignon* hath still two strings to his bowe. Although he had renounced the alliance of *England*, yet he had not left all his intelligences, the necessity of their neighbour-hood giuing them still occasions to confer together. And as he was alwayes watchfull of his profit, so had he a good gage in *England* to settle his affaires, in rettyring *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* out of prison, being taken at the bataille of *Azincourt*. He caused *Charles* to entertaine a treatie for a truce with the *English*: the first grounds were layed by the Duchesse his wife, a cunning Princess and careful of her husbands good. The Cardinal of *Wincesire* comes to *Gravelin* to that effect, yet this was but to lay the first foundation of the worke which shalbe finished in due season. We haue made mention of *Jehn* of *Luxembourg*, who would not bee comprehended in the treaty of *Arras*. *Philip* made great shewe to be displeased with him, and *Luxembourg* like-wise to be his enemy, causing his men to be laine in great disorder. *Philip* treats with him vpon complaint of them that were wronged, and all is pacified. The cleere sighted did easily finde that this was the *Bourguignons* policie, who seemed to bee in choller against him to gratifie *Charles*, being much displeased with *Luxembourg*, who played the pette King with his maister, but he shall not carrie it long, for he died soone after, & the *Bourguignon* lost the whip he held

1439.

A ridiculous
practice to
take Calais.

ready for all events, and the children of *Luxembourg* stood in need of the Kings favour. But now the *Bourguignon* flies to another practise. He desired infinitely to be maister of *Calais*, and seeing that force could not preuaile, he meanes to trie policy. Some of his subiects perswaded him that in breaking of a dike, they should let in the sea, and so drown the Towne & Countrey about, whereby they should force them to obedience. He beleuees this imagination, and employes much paine and cost to effect it. But this fancie of a flood, vanished away like vnto the Flemish army at the first seege, whereof we haue seene the fruitlesse issue. So this fantastickall flood proued ridiculous. But the Duke to shew that he had done something, caused the bridge of *Milay* to be beaten downe, and some small dikes, which onely watered the Countrey.

The beginning of this yeare layed the foundation of great matters for the restoring of our estate, the which doth drawe on dailey by meanes not foreseene, and without the wisdom or care of *Charles*, who was chiefly interess'd. After the reduction of *Paris*, all the Townes in generall were resolu'd to free themselves by force, if the King had bene so affected, but finding his minde inclining rather to peace, they be'eech him to finde some meanes to compounde with the *English*, and not to languish longer in the ordinarie losses of a lingering and preiudiciall warre. The Duchesse of *Bourgogne* for her husbands priuate interest, layes the first stone, treating for the deliuey of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, as wee haue sayd. This first act was seconded by the request which the Prouinces of the realme made vnto the King, the which ministred occasion vnto *Charles* to call a generall Parliament at *Orleans*, whether not onely all the Citties sent their deputies, according to the custome, but all the Noblemen which came not in person sent their Agents: for the subiect was to treat of a generall peace, & if it might not be effected, to let some order for the men of warre, for the ease of the poore people, who could endure no more. The King was there in person accompanied with these Noblemen, the Earles of *Marche*, *Bourbon*, *Yendosme*, and *Richemont* Constable, and the Archbishop of *Rheims* beeing Chancellor of *France*. The Agents of the Duke of *Orleans*, of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, and of the Earle of *Armaigne* assisted with the deputies of *Paris*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, *Guienne* and other Prouinces subiect to the *French*. The Chancellor (a wise and an eloquent man) did set downe at large the miseries of war, and the inestimable good of peace: but what better commentarie then the feeling of forepast miseries, and the visible demonstration of our present calamities. It was decreed that in regard of a general peace they should make al necessarie poultur with speede. As for the ording of men of war, they should presently take some course to auoide confusion hereafter. The Lord Chancellor & the first President were chosen to negotiate this treaty with the *English*, through the meanes and fauour of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, as hauing layed the foundation: & presently a decree was made for the government of soldiars both of horse & foote, and to discharge the army of hangers on the which did but incommber, to the great oppressio of the poore people. This was the institution of the frank-archers. The first day of May was appointed by the common consent of both Kings to meete at *Saint Omer*, but the King of *England* was aduised by the Duke of *York* his vncl (who had succeeded the Duke of *Bedford* in his authority, although the name of Regent was not given him since the Kings coronation) that he should stand vpon termes, as hauing no neede of peace, but only moued with compassion of the poore people, and therefore he failed in the assignation. But there fel out an vnexpected occasion to *Charles*, which not only brake of the course of this businesse & all others, but had wel neere plounged *France* into greater miserie then before. The King was gone to *Angers*, where he had intelligence of the taking of *Saint Sulpice*, for his seruice, one of the most important places of the Countrey of *Maine*, and of his losse at the seege of *Auranches*, which was ill attempted & succeeded ill: when as stranger newes made him loose the pleasure of this gaine, & forget the bitterness of his losse. He was growne woderfull wayward & suspicious, inclining visibly into too extremities: being too familiar with some of his domestical seruants, & too seuer to his Princes & chiefe officers: either he shold not haue married his eldest son *Lewis*, *Dauphin* of *Viennois* so soone, or else he shold not haue vsed him like a child. But *Charles* lookt on him with

Charles calles
a Parliament
at Orleans to
treat of a ge-
nerall peace.

A lower countenance, as if he had bin vnder the rod. All this was done of purpose, practised by his secret counsellors, to keepe great men from attempting against him vnder the name of this yong Prince, to the preiudice of his royall authority: but what he feared chanced. The Earle of *Marche* a prince of the blood, had the charge of the yong *Dauphin*, a Prince whom *Charles* trusted, being both wise and temperate: *Lewis* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Alençon* Godfather to *Lewis* was not so familiar with *Charles* as hee was accustomed.

The Princes
of the blood
discontented.

The Duke of *Bourbon* was not altogether in so bad tearmes, yet was he not so great in the Kings fauour as he desired, greewing that such base men should haue countenance. These two Princes must lead the dance: if their desseine had succeeded, many wold haue ioyned, but now they would be lookers on only. At this time the Princes had men fit to execute their desseine, the Lords of *Chaumont*, *Bouciquant* & *Prye*, with many aduenturers, theues, and such like. *Tremouille* hauing some notice of this plot, offers himselfe vnto them, and is intertained: a matter as wisely performed by them, as rashly done of him. The proiect of these discontented Princes was, to settle the *Dauphin*, that hereafter all things might be done by his authoritie, being ruled by the aduice of the Princes of the blood, and so in effect they would haue King *Charles* gouerned by his sonne.

Make a league
to aduance
the *Dauphin*.

For the execution hereof they first seize vpon the *Dauphin*, who was an assistant himselfe, to be freed from the Earle of *Marche* his gouernour. He was lodged in the Castle of *Loches* in *Touraine*, gouerned with great respect, who seeing him of age, married, and of a liuely disposition, gaue him great liberty: hee might go abroad at his pleasure, where he found the bastard of *Bourbon*, *Anthony* of *Chabanes*, with other Captaines aduenturers, who conducted him honorably into *Bourbonnois*. The same day the Duke of *Alençon* seized vpon *Niort*, and by his commandement *John* de la *Roche* tooke *S. Maxent*. The Duke of *Bourbon* hauing the *Dauphin* in his power, (a Prince full of youthfull courage) he caused him to write to the nobility of *Auuergne*, and to the Duke of *Bourgogne* praying them to ayde him in his desseins, which was to haue more liberty to gouerne matters of state hereafter, for the better satisfiing of men of honour, whom he did see (to his great grieve) kept back by certain flatterers which possessed the King his father, to the great preiudice of the whole Realme. These newes being brought to *Charles*, he presently sends to the Duke of *Bourbon* to returne him his sonne, and to the Duke of *Alençon* to deliuer his townes of *Niort* & *S. Maxent*, & to the both to come & yeeld an accompt of these inouations: who finding by their answers that they excused themselves and fought delays, he resolues to come to the effects, and to suppress this mischief in the breeding. He was well serued at this time.

The *Dauphin* is
carried away
by the prince
with his owne
liking.The Princes
desseine.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* lets the *Dauphin* vnderstand, that all his meanes are at his commandement, so as it be not against his father, but he aduised him to go vnto him, & not to aggravate one error with an other, being most certain that the shortest errors are the best. He aduised the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alençon* not to attempt a thing of ill fame, whereby they should get neither honour nor profit, & to free themselves speedily with the most honest excuses they could deuise. The nobility of *Auuergne* protest vnto the *Dauphin* by the Lord of *Dampmartin*, that in all things that were in their power they would do him seruice, except against the King his father. The inhabitants of *S. Maxent* (seeing the Castle seized on by la *Roche*) assemble and intrench themselves in the gates and Towers of the Towne, and aduertise the King thereof, offering to do as it shold please him to command. The king was at *Poitiers*. This aduertisement was brought him as he dined: wherevpon he presently dispatcheth the Admirall of *Cottinny* and the Lord of *Varenne* Seneschall of *Poitou* to these good subiects of *S. Maxent*, and the next day he follows himselfe. The Castle was presently besieged, battered and forced, and the heades of such as were taken, paid for la *Roche*s folly, who escaped in the night, vnder colour that he would seeke counsell & succour. *Mont-richard* being taken by the Princes at the same time obeyed the King. The Earle of *Dunou* a bastard of the house of *Orleans*, who was of their faction, leaues them presently, & follows the King. This was the ende of this yeare, and shall soone be the ende of this hurly burly, ill attempted and

The Duke of
Bourgogne
answers the
*Dauphin*s letter.*S. Maxent* taken
by the
league and re-
covered a-
gaine: the act-
ors punished.

1439. worfe executed. The Princes had seduced many townes in *Auuergne*, notwithstanding A their first protestation, but for that it belonged to the Duke of *Bourbon*, it could not be, but many of his subiects and priuate seruants must make some shewe of obedience, especially in the *Daulphins* presence, and at his intreaty. *Charles* resolues to march thither with all speed. He had eight hundred men at armes, and two thousand archers, & had so provided for their lodgings as they marched without effecting any thing. And for that it was likely the *English* would make his profit of our domestical confusions (seeing the princes of the bloud presume to attempt against the head of their house, and to set the sonne against the Father) *Charles* prevented it with such dexterity, as all the frontiers against the *English*, were very well fortified. He had intelligence also that the men of warre being generally discontented for their pay, and grieved that the King B so exclaimed against their disorders, vpon his subiects complaints, would be easily drawne to the league: He therefore sent for the whom he might most suspect, & engaged them in his seruice, the Vicont of *Loumeigne*, the bastard of *Foix* and *Halezard*, valiant Captaines, and welbeloued of the aduenturing souldiers. This done, hee sendes *Pothon*, *Floques*, and *Bresay* with his troups; and followes himselfe without any stay, being accompanied with the Earle of *Marche*, the bastard of *Orleans*, the Constable of *France*, and many Noble men with a well ordered traine.

The Townes of *Chambon* and *Euon* being fortified by the Princes, were easily taken by *Pothon*. They were in danger of their liues through their resistance, but by the Constables means their peace was made for six hundred crowns of gold which then made C a hundred markes of siluer. These places being reduced to obedience, *Charles* came to *Ebryuele*, which yeelded, from thence he went to *Aigueperse* and *Curset*, the which likewise obeyed, notwithstanding the perswasion of the Princes. *Charoux* resisted & was taken at the first assault: the spoile was great, the troups remaine there 15. dayes, whilst that *Charles* takes *Esfuroles*, with 5. or 6. other forts fauouring the discontented princes. The Duke of *Bourbon* was at *S. Porcain*, where he had engaged the *Daulphin* to seize vpon the townes of *Auuergne*. *Tremouille* was there also, who had brought a hundred launces to the Princes with a thousand vaine hopes of his great meanes: but hearing that the King approached, (being armed with right and force, they aske counsell of their wounded consciences, which aduise them to flie into *Bourgongne*. So parting from *S. Porcain* D they come to *Moulins*, & from thence they take the way of *S. Desire* to passe into *Bourgongne*, but hauing intelligences that they could passe no further; and that the Duke of *Bourgongne* had prevented them, they returne amazed to *Moulins*, finding their affaires to succeed but ill. *Clermont* & *Montferraut* could neuer be drawne from the Kings seruice, notwithstanding all the perswasions of the Princes, *Rions* followed their faction and was soone reduced to the Kings obedience. *Charles* being arriued at *Clermont* calls an assembly of the Estates of *Auuergne*, shewing the importance of this action by the Bishop of *Clermont*. The whole country is presently at the Kings deuotion, offering freely to imploy their bodies and goods for his seruice.

But not reiecting mildnesse with his force, *Charles* thought it good that the Earle of E *Eu* should treat with the Princes, who in the end resolue to attend vpon the King at *Clermont*. The *Daulphin* remained at *Moulins*, & the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alençon* undertooke the voiage vnder his Maiesties safe conduct, they carried with them *Tremouille*, *Chaumont* & *Pry*, whereof *Charles* beeing aduertised, he sent to countermand them, not meaning these three should be comprehended in the passport. The Princes hauing spoken with the King, and drawne matters to some good accord, they promise to bring the *Daulphin* to *Clermont*, and to pacifie all by this enterview, but this young prince so diddained the refusall his father had made of his three seruants, as he protested hee would not go vnto him, but would rather hazard all. This humour made him to faile in the assignation, and *Charles* was resolued to vse force. He therefore sendes his vanguard, which besiegeth and takes *Vichy*, *Curset*, & *Varennnes* obey presently without contradiction, *S. An* must be forced, but in the end it obeies. So doth *Rouenne*, *Chartier*, *Perriers* & all the places of *Rouannois*. This successe did mollifie the hearts both of the *Daulphin* and

The *Daulphin* flies into *Bourgongne*.

A & Princes, to draw them vnto reason: so as hauing (by the mediation of the Earle of *Eu*) 1440. perswaded the king to like of their coming, they went to *Curset*. *Charles* was very mildly bent to haue *Tremouille*, *Chaumont* and *Prie* (his good and faithfull seruants) receyued into fauour, and boldly to say vnto him, That hee must else returne, beeing engaged in his word & honor, he sayed roughly to him: *Lewis*, the gates are open, & if they be not big enough I wil cause sixteene or twenty sadomes of the wal to be beaten dawne, to passe where you please: you are my sonne, you cannot tie your selfe to any without my leaue. but if you will go, you may depart: for by the helpe of God, we shall finde some of our bloud, which shall helpe vs better to maintaine our honor, then you haue yet done. So the accord was made with- B out comprehending of these three. The Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alençon* sweare to setue the King, and yeeld vpon *Loches*, *Corbeil*, *Bois de Vincennes*, *Sancerre*, *Sanguins*, *Erie*, *Conte-roberr* and other places which they held. The *Daulphin* remaines with his father, who changeth all his trayne, except his confessor and Cooke. But all this is but counterteite, you shal soone see other broyles. This phrensie of state bred in the Kings house against the King himselfe, was by our Ancestors called the *Frangary*. Nine moethes of this yeare being spent in these garboiles, *Charles* returnes to *Tours*, to provide for the raising of the siege at *Harfieu*, where the Earle of *Stamerset* had lien long: but it was in vaine, for the Towne was taken in the end, after a long and painfull constancie of the Inhabit- C ants, who could not be releued in time by reason of these home-bred troubles, and yet there was a second mischiefe. The Lord of *Gaucourt* gouernor of *Daulphiné* (a most profitable seruant of the King) returning from the siege, and causing some of his baggage (which was scattered from the troupe) to retire, he was surprisid by a companie of *English*, and led prisoner to *Rouen*, to the great griefe of *Charles* who loued him, hauing giuen good testymones of his loyalty in his greatest extremities.

But in exchange *Charles* takes *Canches* and *Louuers*, (Townes of importance in *Normandie*) from thence he came into *Champaigne*, to subdue a part of these aduenturing theues, who had surprized some places in this Prouince, *Musse l'Euesque*, *Montagu*, and others. The Kings army (led by the Constable) takes them, and razed them by the Kings commande, pardoning most of these theenish Captaines, the bastard of *Vergy* D and the Lord of *Commercy*, but he caused *Alexander* bastard of *John* Duke of *Orleans* to be drowned, a notable theefe, who (hauing followed the discontented Princes) had spoken vnworthilie of his maister. This execution of Iustice is memorable vpon one of so high a birth, being followed the same yeare with the exemplarie death of *Gyles de Raiz* Marshall of *France*, issued from a great and famous house, who beeing found guilty of Negromancie and Sorcerie, was condemned by the Court of Parliament of *Brittaine*, and burnt at *Nantes* with some of his seruants, culpable of the same crymes. He was honored for his valour, but neither his armes nor his bloud could stay the hand of diuine Iustice, meritoriously executed by this iust decree of the magistrat. Priuate actions worthie to be registred in the historie, to shew that the greatest cannot flie the E hand of God, after they haue long abused his patience. But the treaty of peace betwixt *France* and *England*, being discontinued aboue a yeare, was againe reuiued by the industrie of the Duchesse of *Bourgongne* a *Portugall*, but much affected to the quiet of the Realme, and a very sufficient woman, who had great credit with her husband. She followes it so wisely, as in the end two Kings sende their Ambassadors to *Calais*. On *Charles* his behalfe were the Archbishops of *Rheims*, & *Narbon*, and the Earle of *Dunois* A bastard of *Orleans*. For *Henry* King of *England*, the Cardinall of *Yorke*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, who brought with them *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, so being longe kept prisoner in *England*.

This poore Prince (after the languishing of so long a prison,) was exceeding glad to F see some meanes to returne to his house, hauing felt the aire on this side the Sea, and embraced the Earle of *Dunois*, one of the branches of his house, hee who had so faithfully serued him in his afflictions: but hee greeted to see himselfe presently carried backe into *England*, for that they could not agree vpon the foundament- tall

A memorable execution.

The Marshall de Raiz burnt for sorcerie.

A treatie betwixt the two Kings for a peace but fruitlesse.

1440. tall points, the *English* being resolute not to leaue one foote of that which they held in *France*. And although the King were content they should freely inioy what they possessed, so as they held it as they had done in times past of the Crowne of *France* by homage: yet would they not yeeld in any sort, being loath to relinquish their pretended souerainty. But he refuseth which afterwards doth sue. At this time they were enforced to retire with this resolution, That without infringing any thing of the treaty begun, euery one should go home, and consider of his affaires, to assemble againe when neede should require: the which eyther part desired. And this is al could be done for the general. They proceeded farther for the duke of *Orleans*, but as in these trafficks such as hold the possession do comonly vse policy, the stronger giuing lawe to the weaker, so in so precious matter as life, the *English* must bee sued vnto, making no hast to deliuer him, for that they drewe great profit yearly for the pension of this great Prince. Moreover *Charles* had no great care of his deliuerie: for that some malicious spirits had seasoned him with some bad impression against this poore Prince, perswading him, that his long imprisonment was not without some mistery, and that it hatched some mischief against the King and his estate. The which being miserable in so great a person, gaue all men a iust cause of compassion. But notwithstanding all these difficulties yet must this Prince (one of the goodliest plants of this Crowne) be now deliuered, to leaue a successor for the realme of *France*: and God, who would honor his race with the Crowne, had prepared an admirable meanes for his deliury, by his helpe, from whom in reason he might least hope, euen when his owne friends had abandoned him.

The Duke of
Orleans deliuered.

The diuers
afflictions of
the Duke of
Orleans.

A notable example for all men in many respects: a prison of five and twentie years, was a great affliction to a Prince borne to commande, and yet captiue to an other. The losse of all his goods gaue him a sufficient occasion to resolue to perpetual miserie, and to leaue it for an inheritance to his posterity. In the ende sclander (a most cruell sting to a generous minde, which hath honour for his assured Treason) had bene able to suppress him. But God, who governs the rodde wisely, giues him libertie, goods and honour in due season: in despite of this deuilish enuy, which seeking to afflict the afflicted, and controuling aduersitie as well as prosperity, is then corrected when it seeks to correct an other: but God doth neuer send helpes too late.

The Duke of
Bourgogne
undertakes for
the Duke of
Orleans ransom.

Philip hauing resolved to do this good turne for the Duke of *Orleans*, and to with-
draw him out of prison, compoinds for his ransom with the King of *England*, for three hundred thousand Crownes. He giues his word for it, and payes it, and so *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* being honorably conducted, comes first to *Calais*, where the mony being payed, hee comes free to *Gravelin* to the Duke of *Bourgogne* his deliuerer, who receyued him with all the good chere hee could desire. Hee was taken at *Azincourt*, in the yeare 1415. and was deliuered in 1440. the 25 of Nouember, by the meanes of his sonne that had slaine his father, and had done all hee could to ruine his house. Being come to *Philip*, (hauing thanked him for this good will, and protested to hold him for his father,) he swears a perpetuall league with him, the which is confirmed by the marriage of *Marie* of *Cleues* the niece of *Philip* with the Duke, and then he swears to the treaty of *Arras*, except the article of the murther committed on the person of *John* Duke of *Bourgogne*, wherof he was innocent: and for confirmation of this follemne league, he takes the order of the golden fleefe, from the hands of *Philip*, and is admitted into the number of his Knights. Behold two great enemies are become great friends by so memorable an occasion.

Two great
enemies be-
come great
friends.

The reason
that moued
the Duke of
Bourgogne
to do this
good turne.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* had his priuate considerations for the safety and quiet of his house, he sees himselfe raised to grearnesse. But as it is no lesse vertue to keepe then to get, and that his bloud, profit, dutie, and necessitie commanded him to hold firme for the *French* partie, as the greatest and most assured for the good of his affaires: so likewise hee considered that he should neede some trustie friend neere the King, on whome he might confidently relie. And what greater personage then the Duke of *Orleans* the first Prince of the bloud? and what greater bond then to free him from Captiui-ty: necessitie also forseeing him therunto: for it was verie apparent that this Prince

being

A being freed from prison, had the like action against *Philip*, that *Philip* had against the King: for although *Philip* had not slaine his father, yet was he son to the murtherer, and the quarell must needs be hereditarie in these great houses, where discontented and wrongs go from father to sonne. being also likely that the King discontented to haue bene forced by his subiect to aske him forgiuenesse in the viewe of al Europe, would maintaine the right of his bloud, in a Prince that had neuer wronged him, against his reconciled enemy, whose friendship he had so deere bought: wherein he noted well the Kings humor, being suspicious, zealous, and impatient of any new authority, which (being able to oppose it selfe) hee would neuer faile to crosse in all occasions. *Philip* wisely foreseeing all these difficulties) prevented them, in assuring himselfe of the Duke of *Orleans* loue, vpon so good consideration, suppressing thereby all doubt of danger, which he might hereafter feare. Herein we see a notable example: that we must neuer despaire in the greatest crosses of this life, that quarrells must be mortall, & whereas they die, friendship must be immortal. That the best meanes to vanquish an enemy is to do him all the good we can.

The honour of this good worke was not attributed to the Duke of *Bourgogne* alone, but to the Duchesse his wife, who woone as great credit in drawing her husband to this reconciliation, as her Predecessor did dishonor, by the incensing of her husband against the house of *Orleans*, whence grewe that infamy which polluted these two houses, with two tragickall murders. The wiues honour is to pacifie quarrells betwixt the kinsmen and Allies of the house whereinto she is matched, and contrariwise it is an importune ialousie to sowe dissention among kinsmen. God also blest the mediation of this worthy Princeesse in the marriage of *Marie* of *Cleues*, Neece to her husband, with the Duke of *Orleans*, by whome he had *Lewis*. 12. which shalbe King of *France*. & two daughters, the one *Eleanor* which was married into the house of *Nauarre*, of whome is issued *Joane* Queene of *Nauarre*, mother to our good & valiant King *Henry* the 4. now reigning. This yeare shalbe full of warre, and successfull for *Charles*: yet in the ende it shall minister occasion to enter into the former treatie of peace, which hauing begunne the yeares before and little aduanced, shalbe ended in the following yeares, after another manner then the *English* expected. *Charles* seeing that the King of *England* by his cold delays, sought not onely to make his conditions better (being sought vnto) but also to drawe him into some inconuenience, he resolues to armes.

The *English* had taken *Creil* vpon *Oyze* and could not bee dispossessed of *Pontoise*, a Towne of importance for the neerenesse of *Paris*. The King resolues to take them both. The Admirall of *Coytivy* beseegeth *Creil*, and forceth it in the Kings presence. Thus the way is made to *Pontoise*, the seege was memorable, being well assayed and well defended, but in the ende it was taken by *Charles* for the good of *France*. He lodgeth at the Abbie of *Maubuisson*, accompanied with his sonne the Daulphin of *Viennois*, *Charles* of *Anjou*, the Earle of *Clermont*, the Constable of *France*, the Marshalls of *Loheac* and *Seloigne*, *Lewis* of *Luxembourg* Earle of *Saint Paul* and of *Pigney*, who brought vnto the King a goodly troupe of men from the Duke of *Bourgogne*, with them of the Citie of *Tournay*, who sent a gallant squadron of their Cittizens. Thus vnite brought both *French* and *Bourguignons* vnder the same enseignes, against the common enemy of *France*. There were also the Earles of *Eu*, *Albret*, and *Vaudemont*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, the Lords of *Chastillon*, *Tancarville*, *Joigny*, *Morneil* in *Brie*, *Fueil*, *Mouy*, *la Tour*, *Angeli*, *Longueval*, *Moyencourt*, *Suze*, *Chabannes*, *Flauy*, *S. Symon*, *Mailly*, *Penefac*, *Blanchefort*, and those braue Captaines, *la Hire*, *Pothon*, and *Floquet*, with an infinit number of the Nobility, who added their valour to the number of the soldiars, which they had brought vnto the King. The City of *Paris* sent a goodlie troupe, so as *Charles* had twelue thousand fighting men.

The memo-
rable seege of
Pontoise.

At the first approach the bastion vpon the bridge next to *Maubuisson* was taken by *la Hire*, on the other side against the Abbie of *Saint Martin*, they make a bridge with a great bastion, where they lodge three thousand archers, yet the Towne was not so straightly beseegeed, but *Talbot* sent in both men and victuals.

Whilest

1441.

The Duke of
Torce goes
with an army
to releue
Pontoise.

Whilest that Charles stood discontented with this error, behold a greater brauado, for the Duke of Yorke (Lieutenant generall for Henry King of England) comes to Cerny and Hotonville, places very neere to Pontoise, with a goodly army of eight thousand men, and sends his heralds vnto Charles to offer him battaile, Charles (who by the aduice of his Councell would not commit this successfull beginning of his affaires to the hazard of a battaile) returnes them with no other answer, but that he should haue his bellie full sooner then he liked. The riuier of Oize was betwixt both armies. Charles resolues to keepe the passages from Pontoise to Beaumont, and the Duke of Yorke to passe the riuier in despite of the French, and to this ende he caused many small boats of Leather, wood & cords to be brought, with other stufie fit to make bridges. The bridge of Beaumont was garded by the French, but the English passe at an Abbie beneath the bridge, and with such danger in their artificiall boats, as ten resolute men might haue stayed a great army, but the silence of the night so fauoured their passage, as a great part of the English army was past, before our Sentinells had discovered them. Then was there no remedy but to aduertise the King, of the enemies passage.

Charles re-
uers from Pon-
toise.

The Duke of Yorke (having thus happily passed the riuier and rested his soldiars that night,) marcheth in goodly order towards Charles, meaning to charge him: Charles takes Councell of his teare couered with this resolution, not to hazard a generall battaile: but hee was likely to haue fallen into an other inconuenience, for without attending of the enemy, he puts all the waighiest of his cariages into the fort of Saint Martin, vnder the gard of Charles of Anjou, and the Admirall of Coitivy with two thousand men, & with them la Hire, Roubault, Estouteuville with other resolute Captaines: and to leaving his lodging of Maubuisson he retyers to Poissy. The Duke of Yorke takes vp his lodging at Maubuisson, being abandoned, and makes a shewe to attempt the forte of Saint Martin, but hauing tried it in vaine, he takes his way to Poissy, and lodgeth before the Towne in viewe of the King and his army. There were some skirmishes without any great successe, Charles continuing his resolution to hazard nothing, and Yorke his proicect to vittaile and saue Pontoise. So the English retyers to Mante, to send refreshings from thence to the beleeged: but this great brauado came to nothing.

The beginning was dishonorable for the King, but the end was both happie and honorable. Being retyred to Saint Denis, and hauing sent the Constable vnto Paris, he resolues to send to Pontoise, and to wine it or to die. The reason was, that this his retrait or rather flight was so infamously spoken of by the greatest in Court, and so odious to the Parisiens, (who had defrayed a great part of the charge at this sege) as it was to be feared they would make some mutiny against him, if the successe were not good. His spies did likewise assure him that the Princes of his bloud (especially since the returne of the Duke of Orleans) were resolued to make some extraordinary assemblie, and to admonish him touching the gouernment. It chanced then that the Earles of Saint Pol and Flandremont (notable partisans of the Duke of Bourgongne) left the King, when he had most neede of succours, and they of Tournay were of the same party. He had the Dauphin with him, whom he caused to watch diligently both day and night. But howe could he doubt that these tricks came not out of the Bourguignons budget? Choller banished feare, so as being resolued to repayre this error, and to prevent his enemies practices, he runnes to Pontoise (for he was but ten dayes away) and giuing the Duke of Yorke no leasure to releue the beleeged, he resolues to take it by force. This indignation succeeded happily. He caused three assaults to bee giuen on three parts, and at the first he woone our Ladies Church which is without the Towne whereby he might greatly annoy the beleeged. He tooke this quarter for him selfe, accompanied with the Earles of Marehe, Albret, and Tancarville. The Dauphin was at the Port Franche ioyning to the riuier of Oize, with the Earle of Maine, the Admirall and the great maister of the Crosbowes. On the other side of the batterie was the Constable, the Marshall of Loheac, the Lords of Monty, Touars, Saze, Serran, Sanzay and the vidame of Chartres.

The Canon being planted of all sides, and a reasonable breach made, the French

A enter furiously, and the King with the first: (of such force is resolution in a great Prince,) to animate a whole army, as the head doth the whole bodie. The English were consumed like to strawe in the fire, five hundred were slaine at this entrie, and fower hundred taken prisoners. The Inhabitants were spared (by the careful command of Charles) who acknowledging the happinesse of this victorie to come from God, goes to giue him thanks, offering him the first fruits of this victorie: for without doubt if he had failed, his enemies were readie to conspire against him.

He calles together all the Princes, Noblemen and Captaines of the armie, hee thanks them for the good and faithfull seruice they had done him, in this notable occasion. He makes the Lord of Salonges Marshall of France, and many Knights. He called for him that first entred the breach, commends his valour, and rewards him with an honorable pension. But why hath the Historie concealed this honest mans name, his reward had beene immortal? Such was the issue of the sege of Pontoise remarkable for many circumstances, but then very considerable for the Kings affaires, who had an honorable reuenge of the English brauadoe. But as one good happe followes another when it pleaseth God, so Charles receiued many good aduertisements at the same instant.

The English drewe together many garrisons in the Country of Maine, from Mans, Fresnoy and Mahinne la Iubez, and had sackt Saint Denis in Anjou. The French which were in Sable, Laual and Saint Susanne, led by the Lord of Bueil, meete them laden with spoile, and very ioyfull; they charge them, defeat and kill them, leauing fower hundred vpon the place. Peter of Breze issues out of Conches and surpriseth the English at Beaumont le Roger, sleeping without feare, hee awaks them with the sword, kills them and takes the Towne.

John Floquet doth likewise about the same time take Eureux (a Towne of verie great importance in Normandie,) The meanes is memorable, a fisherman makes a hoale in the wall, whereby he enters in the night, and becomes maister of the Towne. But in exchange they receiue a check. The Captaines and soldiars which had taken many prisoners at Pontoise, had compounded with an English Captaine for their ranfome, who had taken the debt vpon him. The prisoners were kept at Cornil'e, a Castell neere vnto Chartres. While they expected money, this mediator hauing free liberty to go and come, obserues all the passages so well, as he soone finds meanes to pay all these ranfomes, for one morning he surpriseth the place, frees the prisoners, and takes all them that had them in gard.

The Parisiens honor Charles at his returne, whome they were readie to deuoure, if the successe of Pontoise had not beene good. The Duke of Bourgongne sends his wife vnto him for many respects, who returned with no great satisfaction: and Charles Duke of Orleans (who had not yet seene him since his returne from prison) comes vnto him with a goodly traine: the King receiues him verie graciously, and allowed well the excuses of his long delay, and to crosse the Duke of Bourgongne, hee giues his Cousin of Orleans towards the payement of his ranfome, a hundred and fiftie thousand frankes: a very great some in those dayes, the which was not giuen for nothing in so great a necessity of the Kings affaires. Lewis of Luxembourg and the widowe of John of Luxembourg, partisans to the Bourguignon, do homage to Charles, and yeeld the Towne of Marle vnto him: these be fruits, no doubt of the victorie at Pontoise. In the meane time the Princes assemblie at Neuers, the Dukes of Bourgongne, Bourbon and Alencon, with the Earle of Vendosme. The Duke of Brittain sent his Ambassador, not able to come him selfe, for that he was not yet in the Kings good fauour.

There were for the most part priuate discontents, tending to euery mans priuate interest. As not to be maintayned in their degrees, to be called to Councelles, respected in their aduises, honored in their charges, payed their pensions, and eased in their lands. But the zeale of the publike good shadowed all, with a shewe of Iustice, peace, order and releefe of the people. That it was fit the King should proceede more speedily in the treaty of peace with the English, the which had beene too coldly followed. That he should supply

The Princes
admonitions
to the King
and their de-
mands.

1441 *supplie his Parliaments with good and sufficient men, and thereby provide for the offices and not for the persons, that by their faithfull diligence suites might be shortned, and speedie justice administered without delay, or respect of eyther of the parties. That he should provide for the ease of the subiect overcharged, rule the soldiers, prevent robberies, ransomings, and ex-tortions, the which were daylie committed vnder too apparent an excuse, that the soldiers were not payed. That he should giue honors without respect of forepassed diuisions, and declare all his subiects capable of Offices and dignities indifferently, not remembring what was past. That he should haue a competent number of graue men in his great Councell worthy of that charge, & not to commit the government of the affaires of the Realme to two or three, as had bene done in former times.* These are the chiefe points of their demands, drawn word by word out of the Originall.

Charles was nothing pleased with these Assemblies, made both in his absence and without his priuie, whereby many inconueniences must ensue, all being done without his authority. But being taught by his owne experience, he digested this kinde of affront quietly, being loath to alter any thing at such a season, when as he had no neede of newe enemies: and hauing eyther excused what had bene done, or contented eery priuate person, he proceeded to the principall, which was the establishment of the affaires of the Realme. The disorders of men of warre were insupportable, the which must be reformed, but that which troubled the King was the sege of *Tartas*, remarkable by this circumstance.

Tartas is a Towne in *Gascogne* belonging to the house of *Albret*. This Towne was besieged by *Captall de Buch*, a great Nobleman of that Countie, and of the *English* faction. It was concluded for the extreame necessitie of the Countie that there should be a surceasse of armes, and libertie of free trafficke in that *Province*, vntill midsummer following, vpon condition that if the King did not succour the Towne by that day, it should yeeld to the *English*, or else the *French* should remayne in free possession without any controuersie. And for assurance of this treaty, the eldest sonne of the Lord of *Albret* should remayne in hostage. The matter was of great waight, being not onely a question of the losse of a place of great importance, but of the Kings reputation, who leauing his subiects, was in danger to be abandoned by them, & so to loose all *Gascogne*, where the *English* had gotten many partisans. Charles prouiding carefully for his safaires, giues two blowes with one stone, wherewith he strooke both the theues and the *English*. He armed with exceeding speede, hauing drawn together foure thousand horse, eight thousand archers, and eight thousand other foote. An infinit number of great personages and voluntarie Noblemen posted to this iourney, as to a solemne assignation whereon depended the quiet and honour of *France*. The *Daulphin* did accompany him in this voiage, Charles of *Anjou* Earle of *Maine*, the Constable of *France*, the Earles of *Marche*, *Eu*, *Castres*, *Foix*, & *Lomaigne* the eldest son of the Lord of *Armagnac*, the Lords of *Albert*, *Gaure*, *Cominge*, *Estrac*, *Tartas*, *Tancarville*, and *Montguyon* the eldest son to the Earle of *Boulougne* & *Anuergne*, & *Philip* of *Culant* Admiral of *France* with an infinit number of gallant Nobility. Thus Charles parting from *Paris* comes first to *Saumur*, whither *John* Duke of *Brittaine* sent his Ambassadors, to offer him homage and men. Shame, to haue so often left him in all his extremities, would not suffer him to see the King, although the Constable were a good mediator for him. He restored to the King the forts of *Essers* & *Palluau* which annoyed al the Countie of *Poitou*, and Charles gaue them in gard to the Constable: from thence he passed into *Poitou*, and prouids that *Marueil*, and *Saint Herme*, should no more trouble the people: he then comes into *Xaintonge*, which had bene much troubled by the Lord of *Tons*, who humbled himselfe vnto the King, promising to liue in peace. *Taillebourg* was taken by force, and the theues punished. *Bretueil* was taken and razed. Thus Charles spent this year against theues who had surprised some Townes. The next year was happily employd against the *English* our open enemies, making a great breach in *Gascogne* and thereabouts, where the *English* had gotten deepest footings, by the ancient and lawfull possession of his Ancestors. In the end by this breach the whole *Province* remained

remained his: but the prouidence of God imparts his blessings by degrees. Hauing thus pacified *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, he comes to *Limoges*, and so to *Tholouse*, which was the *Rendez-nous* of all his troupes. Being arrived, hee giues notice to them of *Tartas*, that they should continue firme, and that they should be releued by the prefixed day, but as he labors on the one side to settle his affaires, so the *English* on the other side seeke to overthrowe them.

Behold *Talbot* comes out of *England* into *Normandie* with two thousand men, and the Duke of *Yorke* leuied men in the Countie it selfe and places of their obedience, goes to field with foure thousand men. With these forces hee thinks to take all that Charles held in that *Province*, where he had left the Earle of *Dunois* and the Vidame of *Chartres* for the gard of those places: but this enterprise had small successe. *Talbot* beseegeth *Couches*, and at the same instant the Earle of *Dunois* *Galardon*, (a place holding for the *English*) to cause a diuersion. *Talbot* hauing taken *Couches*, the Earle leaues *Galardon*, hauing no reason to hazard his small troupe against so great forces, and puts them into garrison, making a defensue warre; attending the successe of *Tartas*. *Talbot* fearing least *Galardon* should be surprised by the *French*, doth raze it, and this was all.

Let vs now returne to *Tholouse*, to conduct Charles from thence to *Tartas*, for there lies the waight of his affaires. Assignation is giuen, it must be held. To conclude, the King comes at the appointed time, with a goodly and mighty army: the condition is performed, he demands his hostages, and the effect of accord. So young *Albret* is deliuered, *Tartas* continues vnder his obedience, the day honorably kept, and all the *Province* in quiet. *Tartas* thus victoriously assured, Charles resolues both to hut band the occasion with his forces, and to proceed farther. *Saint Seuer* was held by *Thomas Ramelton* with a hundred men at armes, and foueteene hundred Cros bowes, and fortified what might be in those dayes. Charles takes it by force, slewe the greatest part of the *English*, and takes the Commander prisoner. *Acqs* hauing endured a sege of fixe weekes is yeilded by composition. The Earle of *Foix* was with the King, and employed both his person, men, and meanes to do him seruice, but the impatience of the *French* thrust them vpon his Countie, where they committed many insolencies. The *Bearnois* discontented with the *French*, assembles his forces and chargeth them as enemies; but they had their reuenge, for they fell vpon this ill armed multitude, and slue seven hundred, to the great griefe of Charles, fearing that this escape might alter his affaires: but the Earles discretion couered this excess and Charles continued his course. *Agou* held for him, from thence he summons *Tonens*, *Marmande* & *Port Saint Marie*, which yeeld him obedience, *Reole* being obstinate, was besieged, and assailed with difficulty, but in the end it was taken.

The sharpe winter (hindring the course of *Garonne*, for the vitteling of the army) made the sege both long and difficult, and gaue the *English* meanes to recouer *Saint Seuer* and *Acqs*, not very well garded: but the Earle of *Foix* winnes *Saint Seuer* againe, and the Earle of *Lomaigne* *Acqs*. A great number of the Nobility of the Countie (forced to make a good shew during the *English* force,) submit themselves to the King, as the Lords of *Fuils*, *Ranson*, *Roquetaillade* and *Pelagru*. Thus Charles hauing made the Lord of *Cotiny* Seneschall of *Guienne*, gouernor of that conquered Countie, he makes his returne into *France*. Being at *Montauban* he lost those two great Captaines so famous in his raigne, *Pothon* and *la Hire*, more rich in vertue & honor then in substance: yet *Pothon* was master of the Kings horse, and his sonne was *Marshall*. *La Hire* left for his chiefe welth the immortall memorie of his loyaltie and valour, the which hee happily employed in the greatest necessitie of this Crowne. Names in truth most worthy to be consecrated to the perpetuall memorie of posterity, for a president to such as manage armes, and make so great profession of honour, with what title were these most honored, for their vertues or for their Castles. A happie exchange, to change perishing gold, which oftentimes makes him hatefull that loues it, with the pleasing smell of immortall praise. An vnreprouable ambition amidst the reproches of this golden age, which ouerth gold more then honour. So *Montauban* was a tombe for their bodies,

1442. and the whole world the Epitaph of their praises. At that instant and in the same place, Charles ended the controuersie for the Earldome of *Cominge*. *Ioane* daughter to the Earle of *Cominge* and *Boulogne*, (married at the first to *John Duke of Berry*, *Ioane* to King *John*), was after his deceale married to *Mathew Earle of Castel-bon*, of the house of *Foix*. She had one daughter by this *Mathew*, but for that there was no good agreement betwixt them, she makes a will to bridle her husband, that by vertue of the authority of a father, he should not enjoy her luying, instituting King *Charles* the 7. her heire, in case her daughter died without lawfull heires. In disdain of this testament, *Mathew* much younger then she, and who had not taken her but for her Crowne, kept her prisoner, an aged woman of foure score years.

The Daughter of *Ioane* of *Cominge* being dead, the Earldome belonged vnto the King as lawfull heire, by the donation of *Ioane* the lawful heire. So *Charles* was bound by a double bonde to defend the gray haire of this old woman, against the insolence of her cruel husband, who finding himselfe supported by the fauour of the Earle of *Foix* and *Armagnac* his Cousin (hauing already seized vpon some Townes of *Cominge*, and playing the pettie King, during the confusion of times and the neighbourhood of the *English*) thought all things to be lawfull. The King adiournes them both to appeere at *Tolouse*, (wheras then he established a Parliament for all the Countreies of *Languedoc*, *Foix*, *Cominge*, *Gauze*, *Quercy*, *Armagnac*, *Elzac*, *Lemoigne*, *Mcgnac*, *Rigorre* and *Rouergue*.) *Mathew* deliuerd *Ioane* his wife into the Kings hands, and it was decreed by the Court of Parliament (the which they noate to be the first of this solemn assembly,) that *Ioane* should liue in free libertie out of *Mathew*'s power, and should enjoy the moiety of the reuenues of *Cominge*, and the rest should goe to the Kings cofers. The Earle of *Foix* and *Armagnac* yeelded vp the Townes of *Cominges* which he had vsurped, and was adiourned vnto *Paris*, to yeeld an account of many rebellions whereto he was accused, especially for that he set in his titles, *Fernand* by the grace of God Earle &c. A marke fit for soueraintie, the which appertaines not to Seigneuries subiect to this Crowne.

Thus *Charles* remembers Lawes in the heat of warre, but it requires an other Commissioner to execute this decree by force of armes, after the death of *Ioane*, who being conducted to *Poitiers*, liued not long in this libertie. *Charles* being returned to *Poitiers* about the moneth of March, resolues to imploy his sonne *Lewis*, both to fashion him to affaires, and to drawe him from such as would seduce him. He giues him the gouernment of those Countreies which lyes betwixt the riues of *Suze* and *Seine*. For the well imploying of this newe authority, there were two goodly occasions presented one vpon an other. *Depe* was reduced to the Kings obedience, this was a great annoyance to *Rouen*: for the freeing wherof the Duke of *York* doth beseege it, raising forts to keepe them from all releefe. This seege had continued nine monethes, verry tedious to the beseege, when as behold the *Daulphin* accompanied with the Earles of *Dunois* and *Saint Pol* and the Lord of *Gaucourt*, assailes these forts and forceth them, kills three hundred *English* and many *Normans*, either by the sword or water, and so frees *Depe*.

This occasion, was followed by an other, which chanced in a manner at the same instant. *Ioane* Countesse of *Cominge* dies at *Poitiers*, soone after she had tasted the aire of libertie, and the good cheere which *Charles* made her. Vpon the report of her death *Bernard* Earle of *Armagnac* seizeth vpon the Townes of *Cominges*, *Duret*, *Lile* in *Deuon*, *Samathan* and *Lombres*, and preparing to warre, he leues troupes in *Arragon* by *Salazar* a Captaine of that Countreie, causing *John* of *Lescun* a bastard of *Armagnac* to invade the Kings territories. This excesse might haue proued verie preiudiciall, when as *Charles* sends *Lewis* his sonne into *Languedoc*, with a thousand horse, to quench this mischiefe in the breeding. Being arrived at *Rouergue*, all yeelds vnto him. Euerie thing is opposite to the Earle of *Armagnac*. The Earles of *Perdriac* and *la Marche*, the chiefe supporters of his insolence leaue him in the plaine field. *Salazar* doth likewise abandon him: of such force is a royall maister against a bad cause.

The

A The Earle of *Amagnac* (seeing himselfe thus abandoned) shuts himselfe into *Lisle Jordan*, to dispute his pretensions with more aduantage, but he thrust himselfe into the toyle, for he was taken by *Lewis*, and led prisoner to *Carcaffone*. These happy exploiters did greatly recommend the *Daulphins* iudgement and valour, whom all men held worthy of a great commande. *Charles* hauing commended him for so well doing, would haue sent him backe against the Earle of *Somerset*, who had raised a great armie on the frontiers of *Normandy* & *Brittain*, the which was like vnto a fire of straw, for hauing taken *la Guertche* by force, he left it as soone for money, & so retired with his army without any other exploit. The heate of the *English* grewe more temperate touching the chiefe points of their affaires. They stood vpon teames in the two first fruitlesse assemblies made for peace: but now they seeke the King. The Earle of *Suffolke* writes vnto him that he hath commandement from the King his Master, not onely to renew the treaty of peace discontinued, but also to finde means to marry him in *France*: he receiues a fauourable answer from *Charles*, and vnder his safe conduct comes to him to *Tours*. *Charles* continued still in an humor to loue peace, and to seeke it, but the Earle of *Suffolke*, & the Lord *Rosse* had no charge but to treat of a generall truce, the which they concluded for a yeere & a halfe: but this shall be a goodly occasion to send home the *English*. After a shower comes a sun-shine, and euen experience teacheth, that after a great raine comes a long drought. Now we shall see nothing but truces, one after another, marriages and alliances during fower yeares, which is a preparatiue to a ciuill peace for about a hundred yeares.

This truce being made, they must now seeke warres else where: so fruitfull is our vanity of change, so as we cannot liue without suffering or doing harme to others: when as they treated of this truce, it was demanded by the Ambassadors of both Kings what their men of warre should do? This truce (say they) will be more chargeable vnto vs then warre, for they must liue: They haue not bene accustomed to work, and yet they will make good cheere, neither can the poore people endure any more. Moreover if they haue no worke, they will fight with themselves: we must therefore calme this storme, and send them to such as loue vs not. This was the cause of the war in *Switzerland*, whereof *Lewis* was General, leading both *French* and *English* vnder the same Ensignes. *Matago* was Collonell of the *English* forces, for the King of *England* vnder the *Daulphins* command. He entred with his armie into the territory of *Basill* & the country of *Elzas*, betwixt *Basill* and *Strasbourg*, one of the goodliest and most fertill prouinces of *Germany*, they terrified *Metz*, tooke *Montbeliard*, & filled all those countries with feare and combustion. The motives of this extraordinary enterprise, may well be obserued by that which I haue said: but these causes were farre fetcht, and not to be embraced by two Kings, who but euen now tormented one another, especially by *Charles* who hauing suffred so many crosses, should haue horror to cause others to feele the like without constraint, yet he found a pin for all these holes. *Charles* would haue his sonne take *Montbeliard*, to be reuenged of the Gouverneur, for the wrong hee had done him, spoiling his country as farre as *Langres* in his greatest necessity. He assayed the *Suisses* (and namely them of *Basill*) being fauourers of *Eugenius* against *Felix* his competitor, that is to say against that *Amedee* Duke of *Sauoy*, who had so crossed him in his affaires, whom he could neuer loue what shewe soeuer he made in pollicy. And for that *Germany*, & that quarter nere vnto *Switzerland* supported *Felix* against *Eugenius*, he therfore hated the. And to gratifie *René* King of *Sicile*, who had a priuate quarrell against the city of *Metz*, he turned his forces against it. But what meaning soeuer *Charles* had herein, he embraced this voluntary warre with an incredible affection, as if it had bin to defend the hart of his Realme. He himselfe came to *Espinall*, & hauing sent his army before to *Metz*, he continued the siege fower moneths, vntill the Cittizens had paid two hundred thousand crownes for the charges of the warre, and acquitted King *René* of a hundred thousand florins of gold, which they had lent him in his necessity. *Lewis* the *Daulphin* parting from *Montbeliard* ruines *Portentru*, in disdain of the Bishop a great solicitor against *Eugenius*, & from thence he enters into the territories of *Basill* with

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The Parliament of Tolouse erected.

The Daulphin's happy exploits.

The Earle of Armagnac seizeth vpon the County of Cominges.

The motives of this war in Switzerland.

The French & English sent to warre in Switzerland.

The French impatient of self.

A generall truce.

1443. The Earle of Armagnac taken by the Daulphin.

1444. with this goodly and flourishing army, tyed together with so many strings, hee encountered fourethousand Swisses, being resolute to defend their COUNTRY. The greatest part of them were cut in peeces, but they sold their liues deere, for the *German* histories report, that we lost aboue fise thousand men, although we had the victorie. The Emperour *Frederic* the 3. (a Prince which otherwise loued peace) vpon the complaints of the Citties lying alongest the *Rhin*, caused them to arme as *Lewis* returned into *Lorraine* fearing to be too faringaged in an enemies COUNTRY, whome he had incensed against reason: yet *Frederic* sent his Ambassadors to *Charles*, to renew their ancient alliance. So this cloude of people-eaters passed, falling vpon diuers quarters like a shower of haile in a field of ripe come, leauing nothing memorabile but a notable example of rashnesse, making a warre which was neither necessarie nor iust, afflicting quiet & peaceable people without any occasion. Whilest that *France & England* made *Switzerland* to weep, *Henry* the 6. King of *England*, married with *Marguerite* of *Aniow*, daughter to *René* Duke of *Aniow*, and of *Lorraine*, and King of *Sicilie* and *Naples*. The Earle of *Suffolk* fetched her fro *Nancy*, where *Charles* was resident, whilest that his army afflicted these poore people. He feasted & conducted this Princess as his own daughter, even with tears of ioy: but this ioy was sodenly couerted into heauines, by the death of the *Dauphins* wife his daughter in Lawe, whom he loued deere for her vertues, which made her amiable to all *France*. She was one of the chiefest in this great solemnity, from the which she went to the bed of death: her death was the sepulchre of her Mother, the widowe of *James* King of *Scotts*, who was come to see her: and whilest her funeralles were making, her Sisters ariue from *Scotland* to attend on her, nay rather to descend with her into the graue, if the humanity of *Charles* had not requiued them, giuing them honest meanes to maintaine their estats in *France*. Thus passeth the Ocean of this miserable life, in the which there is more cause of mourning then of ioy, both in great and small. The marriage likewise of *England*, wherein were so great shewes of ioy, shall end with a lamentable Tragedie, as we shall see hereafter. The truce was so pleasing to both Realmes, that before it was expired, the Kings of *France* and *England* renewe it for five years more, in hope of a perfect peace, promising by their seuerall writings published generally, to meete together within six monethes in some convenient place, to confirme this peace so generally desired of all their subiects. And to confirme the assurance of their promises, the *English* deliuer *Mans* to *Charles* with all that he held in the Countie of *Maine*: but all is put into the hands of King *René* his father in lawe. *Francis* Duke of *Brittain* doth homage to the King for the Duchie of *Brittain* and the Earldome of *Montfort*. This was at *Chinon*, but some monethes after there chanced a tragicall defaite in that house. *Francis* suspecting that *Gyles* his brother would deal treacherously with him, by the too familiar correspondency he had with the *English*, caused him to be put in prison, by the Councell and care of *Charles*, who had sent him foure hundred lances, vnder the comand of the Admirall *Coitivy*. But they dealt worse with him, causing him to die in prison for hungar. The history of *Brittain* describes this accident very plausibly, but it is true that *Gyles* died beeing prisoner with his brother *Peter*, who liued him not long after, hauing a great remorse for this tragicke accident. In the rest of this yeare, and the three following, there is nothing memorabile, but the pursuits which *Charles* made for the reunion of the Church. But not to breake off the course of our history, which is properly to treat of that which concerns our Estate, we reserve it for a more convenient place. A worke in truth not onely worthy of a great Monarke, but of a peaceable time, that in the peace of the State, we may see the peace of the Church. The soldiars insolencie was nothing abated by this voiage of *Germany*. They returne more fiesht then before against the poore laborer. *Charles* made new orders to restrain them, causing them to be duly obserued: but the ouerweening violence of the *English* increased daylie, not onely by the negligence, but by the command of such as had the charge.

The Duke of *Yorke* being called home into *England*, the duke of *Somerfet* succeeded him, a proud man, who thinking to do better then the rest, did absolutely ruine the

English affaires in *France*. Hee dispenced with his soldiars in all their villaines, and kept them ready to breake the truce, vpon any profitable occasion. In the meane time the Souldiers ordinarie practise was to stand in Sentinell, to surprise some good house in the countie, being ill garded: to robbe it, spoile it, and carry away the prisoners by vnkowne wayes. To this end they had their spies, their guides, and their retreats. The fields were full of robberies, by men disguised in strange and fearfull habits, being masked when they espied their pray: and therefore they called them counterfeit faces. But to draw men into danger, they marched like passengers, expecting the commodity to surprize them. There is heard nothing but complaints and repulses. All the pursuits which were made to reparaire the breaches of truce, did but increase the paine and charges of the interested. But of these small disorders committed by the Souldiers, there grew so great an inconuenience, as in the end it filled vp the measure against the *English*, being hated and detested of all the *French*, for their pride and insolencie.

Fougeres a Towne of *Brittain* vpon the confines of *Normandie*, then very riche and populous, being without garde vnder the assurance of the truce, was easily surprized by *Francis* of *Surienne*, called the *Arragonois*, a Knight of the order of the Garter, and a great Captaine vpon the marches of *France*, obeying the *English*. The Towne being surprized by him, (being accompanied with six or seuen hundred souldiers) suffered all the miseries that might be. They kill, spoile and sack, rauish women, robbe Churches, take prisoners, and from thence they runne into *Brittain*, and fill all full of feare and combustion. The *Britton* appeals to the King, and both complaine to *Henry* King of *England*, and to the Duke of *Somerfet* his Lieutenant in *France*: they presse them to reparaire so notable a breach, else they would seeke a meanes of reuenge. But they receiue nothing but words, disauowed by mouth, and aduowed in effect: for *Somerfet* causeth *S. James* of *Beueron* to be fortified, contrary to the treatie. *Charles* receiuing these bare answers from *England*, sees which way the chance would fall, and that the game would not passe without blowes, yet he restrained his men with great modestie, holding it for a maxime, that he must vse no force: But when as moderate remedies can take no place with men not capable of reason; then to oppose force against the iniurious passion of his enemy. I read with ioy in the Originall, that *Charles* contemned himselfe, and was forced to this last warre. To haue God on his side and the wrong on his enemy. To conclude, this moderate proceeding did so iustifie the good cause of *Charles*, as it was continued with a happy euent: not onely to abate the pride of the *English*, but to expell them out of the whole realme: as the iust iudgement of God pursued their arrogancie in this attempt, by the breach of publike faith, the vndoubted ruine of humane societie, which hath no certaine foundation but in perfect faith. Here endeth the yeare, but the controuersie shall begin more hotly by iust armes, accompanied with a victorious sentence, the which the Iudge of the world shall pronounce against the pretender of this estate.

Normandie reduced to the Kings obedience.



He Duke of *Brittain* first interested by the *English*, begins first to resist him: But *Charles* is drawne to force by constraint. The Ambassadors of *France* and *England*, were assembled at *Louuiers*, to redresse the breach at *Fougeres*, when as behold *Pont de l'Arche* (a Towne vpon the riuer of *Seine*, foure leagues from *Rouen*) is surprized by the Lord of *Breze*, for the Duke of *Brittain*. This troubled *Somerfet*, who presently sends to make complaint vnto the assemblee. *Charles* makes him answer, that it is a requittall: but if he will render vp *Fougeres*, and the goods that were stolne, valued at sixteene hundred thousand Crownes, he should haue *Pont de l'Arche* againe. The which being disdaine fully refused by *Somerfet*, *Charles* protests by

1449.

Charles and
the Duke of
Brittain com-
bine aginst
the English.

his Ambassadors in open assemblie, *That if warre followed* (which God forbid) *the fault should not be his*, causing an autentike acte to be taken by certain Apostolike & Imperiall Notaries, for his discharge, and iustification. Seeing therefore that this inde courte was scorned by his stout enemy, hee resolues to haue his reuenge by force of armes. To this end he combines with *Francis Duke of Brittain*, to make warre against the English their common enemy, vpon condition the Britton should not treat with him without his leaue. A very needefull restraint, hauing often failed, as we haue scene. All prepare to warre, in euery place where the English had any footing, in *Gascogne*, in *Normandie*, and in all other parts where there was any remainder of their ancient Conquests.

The exploits
of the King
in Gascogne &
Normandie.

Guierne shall begin the game: but it shall ende in *Normandie*, to make perfect the French obedience, whereof it offers these first fruits to *Charles* in the beginning of this yeare, as to their lawfull King. *Cognac*, was surprised for him by *Verdun* & *Gascogne*, but the manner was notable. *Mondot* an English Captaine was gouernor of the place, he was absent when the Towne was taken. *Verdun* keeps the gates carefully, that no intelligence might be giuen vnto him, so as he comes to the gates without knowledge of anything, but he found somewhich added him vnto their prise, being taken prisoner, whereas before he was a gouernor. The same day *Saint Maigrin* was taken by *Alliac* likewise a *Gascogne*. The newes of *Cognac* and *S. Maigrin* were scarce brought to *Charles*, when as the Lord of *Mouy* giues him intelligence, that he had taken *Gerberond*, and the Bailiffe of *Eureux Conches*, with great slaughter of the English. Complaints are presently made by the English, *Talbot* is the messenger: *Charles* lettes them know, that they are in the fault, seeing they began first: Yet he offers to yeeld all that had bin taken by his commandement, according to the lawe of reprisalles, so as they would deliuer what they had taken, and suffer his friends and *Allies* to liue in peace. *Talbot* answering, that he had no such charge: *Charles* lettes him vnderstand, that he would redresse it by lawfull force: that he did vnwillingly enter into warre, yet would he soone shewe the English, that his myldnesse had a sting, and so he goes to field with a goodly army. There were three chiefe dens for the cues, the *Rendez-vous* of all the English robberies in those parts, *Verneuil*, *Mante* and *Loigny*. *Verneuil* an infamous place for our defeat was first taken: a Miller gaue them entry by a hoale in the Towne wall, by the which the water did run to his mill ioyning to the wal. The Towne began, and the Castel followed: a strong Tower deuided from the Castel held our some daies, but it yeelded when as *Charles* arriued. *Mante* yeelded in viewe of the army. *Loigny* was surprised by escalado, but the English intrenched in the bafe Court, fought it out resolutely, & lost both liues and goods. *Vernon* a Towne vpon *Seine* yeelded of it selfe, by the voluntary obedience of the Inhabitants. *Pontenoumer* was forced by the Earles of *Eu* and *S. Pol*, whereas many English men were lost. But *Lizieux* by the graue aduice of their Bishop yeelds voluntary obedience, and auoids the miseries of the vanquished. *Louuiers* did the like, & *Gournay* was sold by an English Captaine that held it. *Effy* was taken by a gentle stratagem of the Duke of *Alencons*. The Captaine accompanied with the soldiars of his garrison, was gon forth to fish a poole, while he seeks for fish he is taken himselfe, and his Lieutenant deliuers vp the Castel to the Kings seruice. *Fescampe* is taken by the Abbot, hauing intelligence with the Monks: & at the same instant a ship arriues out off *England*, being ignorant of this losse: the French suffer them to land and take them all prisoners. *Harcourt* makes shewe to resist, but yeelds by composition after the siege of eight daies. The army marcheth against *Neschatell* of *Nicourt*, & takes the Towne by force, the Castel yeelds by composition. The Earle of *Clermont* was desirous to recouer his chiefe house wherof he carried the name: his subiects gaue him entry into the Towne, and so by the Towne he wins the Castel. *S. Loo*, at the sight of the army demands and obtaines a good composition, with all the neighbour Castells. *Carenten* yeelds after three daies, and *Pont d'On* is taken by assault. *Constances* and *Gauray* by composition. *Alenfon* freed it selfe from the English & yeelds to the mild command of their good Prince the Duke of *Alenfon*, who shewed his mercie euen to the English being vanquished, to whom he gaue both life and goods.

Townes in
Normandie
yeeld vnto
the King.

La Rochequien was yeelded vp by the Captaine of the Castell, who of an English man becomes French, by the perswasions of his wife, who was a French woman. *Chesneau* gaillard a Fort of importance vpon the Riuer of *Seine*, endured a siege of six weekes, but the pience and good fortune of *Charles*, made him master of the place. *Gisors*, so famous for the English quarrels, was yeelded to the King by the Captaine, who likewise came to the Kings seruice, and in the end *Valonges*, a place of importance, the which hereafter shall come in question by a famous accident.

As the Kings armie made this progresse in *Normandie*, to it increased daily by these new conquests. *René* King of *Sicile*, and the Duke of *Brittanie*, arriue with goodly voluntarie couples, and some townes newly reduced to the Kings obedience, with an infinite number of warlike people: but aboue all, the Court was goodly, by the multitude of Noblemen, who went not onely to honour the Kings good fortune, but carried by an inward instinct of his right well gouerned, (as it were by a celestiall guide) did runne to an assured victorie, and to the possession of an heires lawfull right. The Dukes of *Bourbon*, *Alenfon*, and *Brittanie* were there, with the Earles of *Richemont*, *Constable* of *France*, of *Maine*, *Eu*, *Saint Pol*, *Dunois*, *Castres*, *Tancarville*, and *Dampmartin*. The Duke of *Lorraine* and *John* his brother, augmented the traine of King *René*. *John* Inuencall of *Esjins* Baron of *Treignel*, and Chancellor of *France* was there, hauing succeeded *Renard* of *Chartres* Arche-bishop of *Rheims*, being lately deceased. The Lords of *Culant*, *Eueil*, *Montgascou*, *Blainville*, *Preigny*, *Briou*, *Prally*, *la Bouffiere*, *Montet*, *Aigreuille*, *Malicornes*, and *Han*, with an infinite number of the Nobilitie.

Charles resolu'd to imbrace these goodly occasions, finding (by the obedience of so many countie Townes) the way laied open to *Rouen*, the capitall Cittie of that Prouince: he determines to besiege it, and all with one consent, aime at this goodly make, as the chiefe of the Kings affaires. But it chanced through the prouidence of God, that where as there seemed greatest difficultie, there it proued most easie, by the loyaltie of the French, who cannot denie their Prince. The combate was ciuill, managed more by counsell then by force. The Cittie was much at the Kings deuotion, yet were they kept in awe by the English forces, being maisters of the strongest Fortes within the Cittie. The Duke of *Somerset* was there present with authoritie. *Talbot* must imploy all his valour: but neither force, fortes, authoritie, nor valour were of any force, for that God hauing determined to restore this estate, by the meanes of *Charles* the 7. inclined both hands and hearts to his decree, the which no mortall man can preuent.

The King being at *Pont l'Arche*, had certaine intelligence from the best Cittizens of *Rouen*, that the whole Cittie was resolu'd to obey him: desiring only to be supported by his pience and forces: vpon this aduise he causeth the Earle of *Dunois* to march, and to shew himselfe vnto the Cittizens: who sends a Herauld to summon them to yeeld their obedience vnto the King, whom the English were like to haue totine in peeces. No Cittizen dares shew himselfe vpon the walles: all is filled with eninies. The English had seized vpon the walles, so as no man within the Towne durst approach. Hauing thus marched about the Towne in good order, fearing no lesse the lightnesse of the peoples humour, then the Winter which approached (being then October) he resolues to retire. *Charles* and his counsell distrust these popular humors, as not able to draw the Cittie to yeeld: he therefore thinkes it best to lodge his armie about it, and to seize vpon the passages of the Cittizens chiefe houses, being the best meanes to draw them to reason. The which was speedily put in practise. The troupes were scarce lodged in their quarters, when as *Charles* lying at *Pont l'Arche*, had intelligence that his seruants had seized vpon two Towers, by meanes wherof they had a quarter of the Cittie. Wherevpon the Earle of *Dunois* shewes himselfe presently with the Armie before the Cittie, and vnder his troupes according to their quarters. The brute of those forces is great vpon their approach: they haue aduice to march, the which they do resolutely, being set in order, full of generous resolution, as in the Kings presence. The Ladders are set to the wall, as they begin to mount, all prepare to follow, fortie of our men gette vp the wall, when as Lord *Talbot* arriues with three hundred desperate English, who hauing

The King
sends his ar-
my: to *Rouen*.

cut the Cittizens in peeces, charge our men that were ingaged, some they kill, the rest
 1449. The French attempt by Scaladoc and repulied. leape from the walles, and fewe recouer the place from whence they were mounted. The King holding the Cittie wonne, comes to Darnetall, when as the Earle of Dunois returns to aduertise him of the hard successe of this popular brag, so as all held it for winde and smoake.

In the meane time the Cittizens slept not, the litle bloud of some that were slaine set all the rest of the Cittizens on fire, who resolued to vnmake themselves, and to speake plainly to the *English*. The whole Cittie is incensed by meanes of the magistrates, every man prepares his armes against these strangers. The Archebishop of *Rouen* (a name which the historie owes to the truth and honor of the *French* loyalty) was a good seruant to the King, & had great credit with the Cittizens: so as the whole Cittie assembles with him, and by a common consent all resolue to returne to the Crowne of *France* as to their first beginning: *Somerfet* and *Talbot* runne thether with fiftie men, but what is that against a multitude? The Archebishop acquaints them with the Cittizens resolution, who in their presence depute the Officiall to go vnto the King.

The Cittizens resolue to reuel and send their deputies to the King.

The Summe of his Ambassage was, that his Maistie should graunt vnto the Cittizens of *Rouen* a generall abolition of all that was past, and leaue for the *English* and allothers of their humor to retire without danger, offering him their obedience as to their lawfull King: that he should come when he pleased, where he should finde the gates as open as their hearts. This resolution deliuered boldlie in the presence of *Somerfet* and *Talbot*, amazed them much, their courages were daunted. And what could their weake authority do against the whole body of a Cittie, fortified with the Kings approach, his army, and his right? Thus the Cittie of *Rouen*, sends deputies vnto the King, and obtaine all they demande, who being returned with this good answer, all are satisfied, but the *English*, who keepe the walles, Towers, bridge, Castell and Pallace: all this must be fought for. They prepare for force, the people do the like, all the streetes are filled with armed men to force the walles.

The Cittizens send againe vnto the King, beseeching him to approach with his army with all speede, to take absolute possession of his Cittie of *Rouen*. Attending the Kings answer, the Cittizens do happily winne the walles, the Towers and the gates: all that belongs to the Cittie obeyes the King, the *English* with great difficultie recouer the bridge, Castell and Pallace. But they inioye not these forts long, for the Cittizens beseege the bridge and wanne it, and now the army comes downe the hill. The Cittizens at the sight thereof ie *God saue the King*, all breake out into ioy and triumph. The armie enters the Cittie, to the peoples exceding ioy, attending the King. In the meane time Saint *Katherins* fort is beseegeed and yeilded to the Earle of *Dunois*: *Charles* lodgeth there whilest the Cittie is freed from strangers: The Castell yeields, the Pallace onely remains: *Somerfet* and *Talbot* are there, they are men of action, who had where with all to fight for their liues. but how can they hold out, all being disposed to an accord?

Rouen yeilded vnto the King, and the *English* beseege'd in their forts.

The Earle of *Somerfet* and *Talbot* yeeld and come to King *Charles*.

The Conditions granted to the *English* at *Rouen*.

Charles enters *Rouen*.

Charles being wholie inclined to *Clementie*, doth willingly see *Somerfet* and *Talbot* at Saint *Katherins* fort, who receiue a lawe from his victorious hands, yet would he not admit them with conditions like vnto the Cittizens: but he giues them leaue to retire with their liues and goods vpon these conditions: That they should leaue their prisoners and artillerie, deliuer vp *Arques Caudebecq*, *Tancarville*, *Lislebonne*, *Honnefleu*, and *Monsteuille*, they should pay fiftie thousand Crownes presently, and discharge their priuate debts in the Cittie before they departed: for assurance whereof they should leaue *Talbot* (the flower of all their men) with fivie other hostages such as the King should demande. So *Talbot* remaines for a pledge. After ten dayes/all articles agreed vpon being performed, except *Honnefleu* all the hostages haue leaue to depart, except *Talbot*, who stayes vntill *Honnefleu* is deliuered. But *Talbot* must haue more time to taste the bountie & clemencie of our King, and the fruits of *French* courtesy. Thus *Charles* enters *Rouen* with great pompe, but the peoples ioye excedded the stardelincse of his

traine,

traine. Their shewes drowne the Trumpets and Clarons, all crie *God saue the King*. This poore people (greedie to see their Prince, after so long and cruell a seruitude,) weepe for ioy, men and women, young and olde, all runne, many bonfires are made, but the fire of publike deuotion burnt more cleare. This was the tenth of Nouember in the yeate 1449. a notable date for so singular a deliuerance. There yet remained some Townes in *Normandie* to conquer. *Charles* loth to lose any opportunitie, or to giue the enemy any leisure to bethinke himselfe, would scarce allow of any time for the publike ioy and content of his good subiects, but goes presently to field with his armie.

Honnefleu would not obey the Duke of *Somerfet*, the which he must deliuer vp according to the treatie: there were fiftene hundred *English*, resolue to defend the place, but after fiftene dayes siege they yeilded, vpon honourable termes, their goods and liues being saued. *Charles* for an increase of the good cheere he had made vnto *Talbot* during his imprisonment, giues him his libertie without ransome, with meanes to retire himselfe into *England* with great gifts: but he shall make him no due requitall of this good and honourable entertainment. *Fougeris* the subiect of this last warre, and the chiefe cause of this good successe, returnes to the obedience of the Crowne, through the valour of the Duke of *Brittanie*: and *Belesme* with the Castell of *Fresnay*, by that of the Duke of *Alencon*. As all things succeeded happily for our *Charles*, so all went crosse in *England*. The Earle of *Suffolke* gouerned King *Henry* the 6. quietly, being a young man, and of a weake spirit. As all the affaires of *England* depended vpon this Earle, so did the

King *Charles* deales honourable with *Talbot*.

The estate of *England*.

C reproches. The Duke of *Somerfet* (a Prince of the *English* bloud) very ialous of his credit and reputation, and ashamed to be blemished with these losses in *France*, layes the chiefe fault vpon *Suffolke*, and others that had the gouernment, and so incensed the people of *London*, against them, as the *Londoners* transported with choller for so great a losse, meaning to punish the offenders, fall vpon the Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord Keeper of the priue Seale, and kill him in a mutinie: they intend the like to *Suffolke*, (by the fauour of some of his friends) he had not bene put into the Tower of *London*, to yeeld an account of his actions. *Henry* (who loued him deere) takes him forth, and sent him into *France*, for his better safetie. But it chanced that *Suffolke* seeking to auoide one danger fell into another, where he made his last shipwack: for being met by *Somerfet*s people, being his capital enemy, he was taken and beheaded, his head & body were sent to *London*, & those cruell spoiles set vp to publike view, in places most frequented.

The *Londoners* mutinie, and kill the Lord Keeper.

The *English* Chronicle reports quite contrary.

In the meane time, all *England* troubled for the losse of *Rouen*, and the greatest part of the Prouince, resolues to hazard all, to saue the rest of their conquests in *France*. They had yet in *Normandie* the Townes of *Caen*, *Vire*, *Auranches*, *S. Sauueur le Vicont*, *Falaise*, *Damfront*, *Cherebourg*, with the strong places of *Tombelaine* & *Briquebec*, and a great part of *Guienne*. With this remainder the *English* imagin to recouer the possession of what they had lost. So *Henry* sends speedily 4000. men, vnder the command of *Thomas Tires*, one of his most renowned Captaines. Being landed at *Cherebourg*, without any losse of time, he besiegeth *Valonges*, a strong place, and of importance. At the brute of these forces, all the *English* garrisons assemble, to augment his armie, and to fortifie the siege, so as being together, they make about 8000. men. Our armie was lodged in diuers places, to refresh themselves since the siege of *Honnefleu*, the season being wonderfull moist in the thawe of the spring, when as newes came to *Charles* of the landing of the *English*, and the imminent danger of the besieged, the losse whereof were a foule blemish to his victorie. To preuent this, he presently sends the Earle of *Clermont* with sixteene hundred Lances, whereof the Earle of *Castres*, the Admirall of *Raiz*, the Senehall of *Poitou*, and the Lords of *Montgison*, *Couuran*, and *Rouhault* were the commanders. The *English* armie was lodged at *Fourmigny*, a village betwixt *Carentan* and *Bayeux*, in a place of advantage, to keepe themselves free from such forces as they might doubt should be sent from the King, being then in the country. *Matago* an old *English* Captaine, came vnto him with a thousand Archers. The *English* being thus fortified, set their backs to a Riuer, being flanked with diuers Orchards and Gardines, before them they make trenches to stoppe their approche, and in this fort they attend the enemy.

The

New forces sent out of *England* into *France*.

1450.

The neereneffe of *Charles* made them to imagine our *French* to be more in number then they were; for this troupe did not exceed fixe hundred fighting men, whereof a hundred onely, commanded by *Geoffray of Couran*, and *Joachim of Rouault*, charged the *Englysh* vangard, & hauing slaine three or foure hundred, put the rest of their armie in disorder: yet the Earle of *Clermont* seeing the danger he was in with his troupe, if the enemie had discovered his aduantage, hauing so great an army against his small troupe, sends presently to *Charles* for speedy succours. By good hap as the messenger came vnto the King, the Constable of *Richmont* arriues from *Brittaine*, who marcheth presently, not giuing his souldiers any leasure to breath, exhorting them to go courageously to an assured victorie. His coming strack the stroake, and I wayed the victory. He had 240. Lances, and 800. Archers, and with him *James of Luxembourg*, the Cont of *Laaill*, and the Lord of *Loheac* Marshall of *France*, with the good fortune of *Charles*. He arriues euen when as the Earle of *Clermont* was farre engaged in the fight, the *Englysh* had taken two Culuerins from him, and in despight had passed *S. Clements-forde*, preparing to discharge these Culuerins: when as behold the Constable comes with his troupe with a victorious countenance, who at his first approche winnes the bridge vpon the riuier. The *Englysh* are amazed, especially when they see *Matago* (who was somewhat retired from the body of their armie to succour at all euents) take the way to *Bayeux*. The Constable makes his profit of this flight, who without pursuing them, chargeth their dismayed Armie.

The victorie
of *Fourmigny*
against the
Englysh.

The number
of the dead.

Thomas Tirrell puts himselfe in defence with the fauour of the riuier, the Orchards & Gardens: but the Constable commands some of his horsemen to leaue their heiffes. The Earle of *Clermont* inuiours the enemie on the other side, the *Englysh* being charged of all sides, feeling the waight of their blowes, giue way, leaue their armes, and suffer themselues to be slaine, and taken to mercy. The courtesie of the *French* spared many in this ouerthrow: there were more taken prisoners then were slaine. They buried in three pits 3774. carcases, by the report of the Herald, priests, and good men that were there. This losse did likewise bury all the conquests which the *Englysh* had made in *Normandy*. The commanders of the armie were prisoners, *Tirrell*, *Norbery*, *Drient*, *Kirgich*, *Warberton*, *Apel*, *Alergour*, *Vaquier*, *Calenille*, and a great number of *Englysh* Nobilitie, armed with coates of armes: all are lead to *Charles* with their Ensignes. An honorable spoile to his triumph, but a perpetuall ignominie both to the runners away that saved themselves, and to the cowards that were taken prisoners. This absolute victorie cost *France* but eight men, to the end they might doe homage to the great God of armes and victories, who by this memorable ouerthrow made the way for the restauration. I read with ioy the warrant of the Originall. And therefore wise men do say, that the grace of God was the cause of the *Frenchmens* victorie and so by his diuine power the *Englysh* were ouercome. This victory was giuen vs from heauen, the 19. of Aprill in the yeare 1450. and thankes were giuen vnto God throughout the realme. A solemne procession was made at *Paris* of foureteene thousand young children, from the age of seuen to ten yeares, carefully chosen out, to the great content of the people, going from *S. Innocents* to our Ladies Church. This notable victorie of *Fourmigny*, did soone after cause the rest of *Normandie* to yeeld: *Vire* yeelds by composition, the which was granted to 400. Lances, who might well haue contended for their liues.

All *Normandie*
yeelds to
Charles.

Auranches stood the longer vpon termes, through the resolution of fixe hundred voluntaries, but in the end they departed with their liues onely, and a white wand in their hands. The strong Castell of *Tombelaine* garded by a hundred *Englysh*, yeelded two daies after. *Bayeux* resolues to fight it out, all prepare to armes. After the ordinance had made a great breach, and the mine ready to play, *Charles* fearing the sacke of his subjects, as well as of his enemies, would not suffer his men to attempt so dangerous a matter, and the souldiers on the other side crye out to be led vnto the breach. But in the end they march without command, and are twice repulsed, yet *Matago* (being amazed at the furie of these desperate men,) demands a parle, the which is granted by *Charles*, but he obtained life onely, and a white wand for euery Souldier: to some Gentle-

A gentlemen of marke a horse, and to poore families some carts to carry them. Ap- 1450.
pointing spectacle, to see foure hundred women carrying their children cyther in their
armes or in their cradels, leauing all their goods and mouables behind them, and hard-
ly carrying a poore clout for their greatest neede. So Misery comes to him that spoiles,
for hee shall be spoiled, that makes an other weeper, for hee shall haue time to weepe. Yet *Charles*
could this troupe of 900. men being disarmed to be safely conducted with the rest
to *Cherbourg*, a place which they had demanded for their retreat. *Bayeux* being thus
yeelded, the Kings army marcheth to *Saint Sauueur le Viconte*, the which yeelds with-
out batterie. They had a good composition for the number of men of waite that were
not being fixe or six hundred: they grant them their liues and goods, retyring to *Cher-
bourg*. *Charles* was loath to loose his men vnconstrayned, for that there remained yet
some places of strength.

Caen (a goodly and populous Citty) was besieged with great preparation, but to
what ende should I consume time in the priuate report of assaults, seeing we hast to the
victory? A great peece of the wall being beaten downe, and our men burning with de-
sire to rume to this honorable breach, *Robert de Vere* being gouernor, demands a par-
le, he held the Castell (being one of the goodlyest peeces in *France*) with foure thou-
sand souldiers. So by the commandement of *Charles*, the Earle of *Dunois* yeelded them
an honorable composition, to depart with bag and baggage and their armes, except
the armour the prisoners were set at libertie, and all that the Citizens might owe
vnto the *Englysh* was discharged, to the benefit of the debtor. All depart the first of Iu-
ly and are conducted in safety according to the accord, and the King makes his en-
tre two dayes after.

The composi-
tion at *Caen*.

Falaise is besieged in the meane time and yeelds the one and twentieth of the same
moneth. Fiftene hundred *Englysh* of their best souldiers, obtaigned a good composition
to depart with bag and baggage. *Domsfront* garded by foureteene hundred franke ar-
chers yeelds vpon the like composition, the second of August following. *Cherbourg*
(one of the strongest places of *Europe* in those dayes) was the conclusion of that ac-
count and the crowning of this happie worke. It was garded by 2000. desperat
adventurers, who (wonderfully greued with so many misfortunes) would be buried in
the ashes of this last losse: but *Thomas Gamel* gouernor of the place preuailed more
in their obstinate resolution, shewing that they had discharged their duties to their
Countrie in being the last to fight. But nature swayd most with *Gamel*, for hauing
his concept soner with the King, he would not loose himselfe with his sonne. The ac-
cord was made absolute for his souldiers and his sonne, and vpon this accord he leaues
the Towne, and retires last into *England*, to admonish *Henry* to prouide for *Guienne*,
where the whole burthen of the warre would fall.

So the 12 of August in the yeare. 1450. *Normandie* (one of the goodlyest and
richest provinces belonging to this Crowne) was reduced to the Kings obedience, in
aueue and six dayes, hauing remayned in the possession of the *Englysh* thirty yeares, and
lost by them, as it is a miraculous worke of God they were so easily disposed of.
Restoring *Normandie*, let vs come to *Guienne*, to finish the restoring of this Estate.

Guienne returns to the Crowne of France.



Guienne had begon her last seats of armes by the taking of *Cognac* and
Saint Margrin, as we haue sayed, whereas the wane continued cold-
ly during that of *Normandie*. But *Charles* after the happie conquest
of this Province, bends all his forces to drue the *Englysh* out of *England* had
Guienne, the which hee had inioyed by a lawfull title aboue a hun-
dred yeares. *Charles* assembles his great Councell with the chiefe
of

The King of
England had
a lawfull
title to *Guie-
enne*.

1451. of his Prouinces at *Tours*, for the performance of this voiage of *Guienne*, and to finde A
meanes how to maintayne his army. This done, he giues the gouernment of *Norman-*
die to his Constable, and setled *Peter of Brezay* at *Rouen*, for the well preseruing of that
which he had happily gotten. And to bee the neerer to his affaires, he resolues to re-
maine at *Tailbourg* for all occurrents. He had then a small army in *Guienne*, vnder the
commande of the Earle of *Foix*, who had not onely kept the enemy in breath during
the warres of *Normandie*, but also had wonne part of the Country, by the taking of
Mauleon in *Sole*, and *Guifans*.

Three
French ar-
mies in *Gui-*
cane.

Charles giues the commande of the army to the Earle of *Dunois* and *Longueville* a
bastard of *Orleans*, but the Earle of *Ponthieure* and *Perigort*, haue an other part, to mo-
lest the *English* in diuers quartres, yet these three armies shall make but one bodie vnder
this lieutenant general to his Maister, when the necessity of his seruice shall winne them
all in one. The Earle of *Ponthieure* did happily begin the conquest of *Guienne*, in ta-
king of *Bergerac*, the which was well defended, and then *Genfac*, *Saint Poy* and *Mon-*
ferrand, with their dependances, by the terror of his victorious armes. Our braue *Cas-*
cons did no lesse on their side. About the same time *Amalon d'Albret* Lord of *Oruill* was
in garrison at *Tartas* a Towne of good presage, being the beginning of many blessings
which God gaue vnto *France*. Hee had scarce six hundred men at armes, and some
good footemen of the Countie: but he was well accompanied with *Tolereffe*, *Robin*
and *Epinaffe*, wife and valiant Captaines, and with his generous resolution, the heredi-
tary ornament of his noble house. He shewed by the effects, that we must not num- C
ber the men, but weigh their valour, for with this small troupe he presumes to braue
Bourdeaux euen at their gates, and giues a Lawe vnto the Country of *Medoc*, making
not onely the whole Country to contribute, but also to bring their commodities to
Tartas.

The *Bourdellois* (to free themselves, not onely from these brauadoes, but from their
ordinarie toyle and charge, thrust on by the authority and commande of the *Engl*
(who were then their superiors) leaue eight thousand men vnder their Maiors com-
mande. The Cittizens promise themselves an assured victorie, but this troupe en-
counters them, defeats them, kills and takes them prisoners. The neere retreat re-
serued many, but there remayned two thousand vpon the place, and the victor led D
two thousand two hundred prisoners to *Tartas*, the which were taken like slaves in a
net, from whom he drew great ransomes, with the honor to haue vanquished a
great multitude with few men. This onely was memorable during that yea.

1452.

The next shall bring vs in an absolute victorie of all that held in *Guienne* for the *Eng-*
lish. *Charles* hauing giuen some respite to his Nobility and men of warre, appoints the
first day of May to go to field. The army was verie faire: the Earle of *Dunois* had the
chiefe commande, (as we haue sayd) the which did not hinder *John* Earle of *Angoul-*
me, (brother to the Duke of *Orleans*) from ioyning with the army, with a goodly troupe
of the Nobility: as the Lords of *Taillebourg*, *Pons*, *Rocheaucault*, *Rochechouard* and *St-*
terre. Duke *Charles* was then in *Italie* for his priuate affaires, whence he shall returne E
with an other traine when he shall be King. *Philip* Duke of *Bourgonie* was much trou-
bled, in pacifying a mutinie of *Gantois*, who molested him, when he had most neede to
succour *France*, in the conquest of the two Prouinces, whereof we nowe speake. To-
wardes ted counsell in the priuate relating of all these sieges, the Kings army did first
attempt *Montguyn* and takes it: then the Earle of *Ponthieure* arrives with his troupe,
and ioynes with the Earle of *Dunois* the generall, and to the army (being increased
both in men and courage) beseegeth *Blais*, one of the goodliest fortresses of *Guienne*, a
Towne seated at the mouth of *Dordonne*, and enriched with a goodly haue of the sea,
the which was well assayed and well defended, but in the ende the Towne is taken by
force, and the Castell by composition, although the Cittizens of *Bourdeaux* labored to
releue it with a flect of five armed shippes.

Blais taken.

Bourg and

Liborne yeld. summoned to yeld vnto the King) obeyes without any contradiction. But their chiefe
for

A force was prepared against *Fronsac* and in the meane time the Earle of *Ponthieure* be-
seegeth *Castillon*, a Towne in *Perigort*, seated vpon *Dordone*, (the which shall be famous
in the warres of our time) and takes it by composition. Saint *Million* by their example
yields obedience. In the meane time all march to *Fronsac* (a place renowned since
Charlemagne, and one of the strongest forts of *Europe*) being beleaguered of all sides: as
all prepare for some great force they within demanded a parle. Their request was to
haue a truce vntill Midsummer, if they were not succored by that day they would yeld
the place and submit themselves to the Kings seruice and imploy all their meanes to
draw *Burdeaux* to obedience. These offers pleased the Princes and the Earle of
Dunois being generall. The daie being come, no succors appeere, and so *Fronsac* is
B yielded vnto the King, to the incredible content of the whole armie, which expected
great resistance from this inuincible fort.

Fronsac besee-
ged demands
a truce.

It yields,

If the Earle of *Dunois* preuailed wel on this side the riuer of *Garonne*, on the other side
the Earles of *Foix* and of *Armagnac* failed in no point of their duties: hauing taken
Rion, they ioyntly beseege *Acqs* a towne of importance in that Countie. Their happy
exploits performed in lesse then two monethes, did as much incourage the *French* as
it did daunt the *English*, who could not keepe the Townes (which yet held for them)
from affecting of the *French*, and much more in the champion Countie hauing more
libertie. So as the Nobilitie, together with the Townes, resolute to expell the rest
of the *English*, that the King might bee wholly obeyed. Onely *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne* C
remained: the most important Townes of that Prouince, whether the whole force
of this royall army doth march, but the Cittizens of *Burdeaux* (loth to bee forced)
resolute to obey. Beeing thus affected, they treat and make a profitable accord,
as it is set downe at large in the Originall Their fredomes and priuileges were confir-
med vnto them by *John* *Luenall* of *Vrjins*, Chancellor of *France*; they brought their
keyes to the Earle of *Dunois*, (as Lieutenant generall to the King in his armie) and re-
ceyued the *French* into their Cittie with exceeding ioy the first day of *August*, to the
great greece of the *English*, who see themselves expelled out of the whole realme, but
they shall yet make a new attempt.

Burdeaux
makes a com-
position and
yields.

The oathe of fealtie was autentically made to *Charles* the, 7. both by the Cittizens
D of *Burdeaux* and by all the Estates of *Burdellois* to their naturall King and lawfull
Prince, renouncing the *English*. The Nobilitie held vp their hands first in this oath, &
namely the Lords of *Esparre*, *Montferrand*, *Duras*, *Rosan*, *Pugeols*, *Lansac*, *List*, & *Anglade*
amongst the which how many proued treachers? The Archebithop also did take the
same oath of homage and fealtie to the King, with *Gaston de Foix*: only *Captall de Buch*
would not take the oath for his person, but he submitted all his Lands to the obedience
of the Crowne, an error which shall be preiudiciall to the whole Prouince. Thus all
Guienne was made subiect to the Kings obedience, except *Bayonne*: for the reduction of
which Towne, (being needlesse to keepe together so great an armie,) euery Noble-
man, was commanded to returne to his howse, and that the Earle of *Dunois* should
E continue there to imploye the forces of the Country at this siege. So the Princes of the
bloud depart, accompanied with twenty thousand men, whom they dismiss euery one
into his Countie.

Bayonne yields
vpon hard
condicions.

The Earle of *Foix* ioynd with the earle of *Dunois*, & they beseege *Bayonne*: the siege
was long, painefull and dangerous: the which might haue bene more easie and spedie
by means of the armie which was redie. But in truth the nigard spends more then the
bountifull man in euery degree: yet in the end *Bayonne* submits to the obedience of the
Crowne vpon these conditions, That the tounesmen of *Bayonne* should deliuer *John* of
Beaumont their Captaine into the Kings hands, with their own persons and their goods
to be at the Kings wil & discretion: and to reparaire their disobedience & to purchase
F the Kings fauour they should pay fortie thousand Crownes, whereto they are referred
by the earle of *Foix*, generall of the army. This accord was confirmed by the entrie of the
said Earle into the Towne, who tooke a sollemne othe in the Kings name. *Charles* tor-
gues the inhabitants halfe their fine, and confirms halfe their priuiledges. The three
Estates of the Country of *Burdellois* send their deputies vnto the King, who was then at
S f *Taille-*

1453.

All Guienne
reduced to
obedience.Talbot enters
Bordeaux
with new
English
troupes.Many townes
yeld to the
English.The motives
of the revolt
in Guienne.The King of
Navarre an
enemie to
King Charles.

Taillebourg, to confirme their othes, and homages already taken by his Chancellor: and the King likewise doth ratifie their priuileges, and receyues them into fauour, so as *Guienne* seemed to be reduced to the Kings obedience, to the incredible content of the whole realme, and so this yeare ended with an vniuersall ioy.

But seven or eight moneths were scarce spent in this publike ioy, such as the *French* might haue in euery corner of their country, enioying peace, the which they had not tasted these hundred yeares, and which in outward appearance there was no hope to recouer, the *English* and *Bouguignons* hauing taken such firme footing in all parts, when as behold, a great surge which seemed to expose *France* to the mercie of a more horrible and dangerous storme. For *Talbot* comes to the gates of *Bordeaux*, with goodly troupes of *English*, where he was receiued, and tooke the Seneschall of *Guienne* prisoner, being gouernour of the Towne, and *Jehan de Foux* depuie Maior of *Bordeaux*, and in a mane, the same day, the Nobilitie which had giuen their faith vnto the King, (noted before by their speciall names,) deliuered all the chiefe places of the countie to the *English*. *Fronsac*, *Colonnues*, *Castillon*, *Chasteauneuf* in *Damedee*, *Cadillac*, *Langon*, *S. Matie*, *Liborne* and *Saint Millon*. And after *Talbot* (who came but to discouer) there arrived the next day in safetie, foure thousand fighting men from *England*, with foure score ships laden with Meale and Salt meates, to victuall the Towne. The amazement of this losse was as great, as the ioy had bene of gaine. *Charles* was then at *Tours*: the Earle of *Clermont* (sonne to *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*) was gouernour of *Guienne*. He commands him to haue a care to the preseruacion of the rest of *Guienne*, and presently he sends six hundred men at armes, vnder the command of three Marshalls of *France*, and the Lords of *Orual* and *Rouhaul*, who were then neere the King, and sends for the rest of his forces with all speed. But whilest that all prepare to repaire this losse, may we not examine the motive of this great and sodaine change? Some new writers accuse the ill usage of the *French* to this people newly conquered, which made them to wish for the *English*, being more milde and temperate Lords: others blamed the negligence of our *French*, yf to keepe that which they had so valiantly gotten. But who is he that can finde this first cause truly noted, hearing the whole History speake, and representing the discontent of the *French* nation, against the gouernment of the *English*. And why did the King dismisle his armie, but to ease his people, euen with the preiudice of his owne affaires?

As for our negligence in keeping of that which we haue gotten with much paine, it is too well knownne by memorable examples: but seeing the affection of the people of *Bordeaux*, had bin confirmed by many prootes, in this voluntary obedience, to what end had it serued to put them in fetters, as a people vanquished by armes, and force them to obedience? But to find out the causes, we must examine the effects. *L'Esparre*, *Montferrand*, *Duras*, *Anglade*, *Rofans*, and others specified in the register of the oath, will bee found straight waies revolted in these places. *Capitall de Buche* protested openly that he was not the Kings seruant, so as he might without reproch carrie armes against him for the King of *England* his maister. He might remaine peaceable within the country, inioying his houses, being vnder the Kings protection, and to make his traffick for the *English* at his pleasure. *Jehan* King of *Navarre* an *Arragonois* both by birth and humour, was an enemy to *Charles* for two respects, as hauing married the heire of *Navarre*, and with that marriage the quarrells & hatred of that *Charles* which was Grandfather to his wife, who had so much troubled the reignes of *Jehan* and *Charles* the 1. and as an *Arragonois* by reason of the quarrells of *Naples*, against the house of *Aniou*. These were two instruments to moue many mens mindes. It could not otherwise be, but the authoritie and command of two hundred yeares, had purchased *England* many seruants, and such as had alwayes held the *English* party against *France*, and were not reclaimed to the Kings obediences, but by force, could not beleue that they had any such part in the Kings fauour, hauing brought nothing to his seruice but necessitie and constraint. These men being wonne, doe animate, or rather force the people, making themselves the strongest, in places where there was no gards, whereof they were not onely wearied, but were plunged in the trust and assurance of a profound peace. Who seeth not then, but this made the way more easie for these disloyall treachers, to surprize those Townes which

they

A they had deliuered to the *English*: but from whence soeuer the mischief came, this was the remedie.

Talbot was the Kings prisoner, as we haue said at the taking of *Rouen*; *Charles* had shewed him all the fauour a man might hope for of so great a Monarche: he gaue him his libertie without ransom, and had honoured him with goodly presents: yet he is become head of the *English* armie, which were esteemed eight thousand fighting men, and marcheth directly against the Kings armie, which made hast to recouer what had bene lost, and to preferue what remained. *Castillon* was become *English*. The Earle of *Ponthieure*, with the Admirall and Marshalls of *France*, besiege it, attending the King, who came posting to quench this fire. *Talbot* makes hast from *Bordeaux* with the choicest of his men, bearing an assured victory, in his conceit, and being ignorant that he went to seeke death. At the first charge our men begin to wauer, vpon the braue arriual of *Talbot*, but they gather themselves together againe, with great resolution, to stay the course of this streame. *Talbot* on the other side, encourageth his men as going to a banquet, and not to a battaile, he beates out the heads of pipes of Wine, to make his men drinke, himselfe being drunke with presumption, and making his Souldiers drunke with the vaine hope of victorie; being mounted vpon a little Nagge, but followed by six or seven thousand men, they come to fight.

The combat was fierce, but the *English* are repulsed, scattered and ouerthrowne. Therewere two thousand slaine vpon the place, and amongst the rest, *Talbot* was ouerthrowne from his horse and slaine, with his Sonne. The Earle of *Candal* (sonne to *Capitall de Buche*), *Montferrand* and *Anglade* are taken prisoners: *Esparre* escapes for an other time. In the end *Castillon* yeelds at discretion. *Saint Millon* and *Liborne* returne to the Kings obedience, to the great content of the inhabitants, being surprized to their griefe. *Charles* did also warrant them from all losse in this reprise. *Cadillac*, *Langon*, *Villandras*, and *S. Maquaire*, shake off the *English* yoke at one instant, and open their gates with their hearts. The Kings armie goes from thence to *Bordeaux*, being full of *Englishmen*, but fuller of feare, seeing the *English* lothe to buy it so deare as *Talbot* had done: so as they suffer the *French* to wander at their pleasure vp and downe the country of *Medoc*. This victory was due to the presence of *Charles*, who being arriued at *Fronsac*, (the which was held a place inuincible by force) it yeelds as vanquished. The *English* haue their liues granted them, with a white wand, through the bounty of *Charles*. He doth not so intreate the revolted *French*, for the Captaine of *Cadillac* being taken, is beheaded for an exemplarie punishment.

From thence he comes to *Bordeaux*, (the which was the chiefe place of his affaires) but the multitude that came vnto his seruice was admirable, they came from all parts, (knowing that the King was present,) so willingly do the *French* obey their Prince. Therewere foure thousand *English* remaining in the Towne, and as many of their factious, being drawne together from diuers parts of the country: the siege continued two moneths. *Charles* had built vp Bulwarkes to stop the entrie, and to incounter the *English* defences, but there were no memorable assaults. The sicknesse which increased in the Kings armie, hastened the composition for the City, the which he might haue forced, but that he desired to spare the blood of his subiects. The composition was thus made. That all the *English* should passe into *England* with their goods: that the Citizens of *Bordeaux* should be all in the Kings protection, taking a new oath, neuer to rebell against him their Soueraigne Lord. And for that some of the country, and of the City of *Bordeaux*, had drawne in the King of *England*, contrary to their oath, the King (pardoning the greatest number) he should chofe twenty at his pleasure, to banish them out of the Realme, their goods remaining forfeited to the Crowne: of this number were *Capitall de Buche*, and *Candal* his sonne, *Duras*, *Anglade*, *Rofan* and *Esparre*, who in the end lost his head, being found guiltie of a new treason, a yeare after this pardon. The Citizens of *Bordeaux* renew their oath of fidelitie with teares, and receiue a great garnison to preuent all surprises: they build two strong Castels to that end: one towards the Sea, called *Castell Trompette*, an other towards the maine, named *Castell du Ha*. The

SC 2

Earle

The English
defeated, and
Talbot slaine.Charles put
to death the
French Cap-
taines that
revolted.Bordeaux was
besieged.And yeilded
by composi-
tion.

1454. Earle of *Clermont*, gouernour of *Guienne*, remains in the Citty, to settle the Kings authority. *Charles* carried this true commendation in the recouery of his losse, to haue doubled his army by the good order which he caused to be carefully obserued, and by his victorie, in vanquishing his enemies, not onely by force, but by clemencie, & his subiects by loue and mildnesse. So as both the treachery of these disloyals, and the rashnesse of his enemies with their new attempts, were parts due to his victory, so much the more admirable, for that he doth vanquish, when as he seemed vanquished: he winnes, when as in shew he was lost: and forced as it were to warre for the desire he had of peace, he reaped the fruites both of warre and peace, in fighting valiantly, and vsing the victorie modestlie, to the eternall memorie of posteritie.

The fruites of
Charles his
victorie.

Troubles in
England.

Charles returns from *Bordeaux* to *Tours*, hauing happily finished so doubtfull an action. But oh the inconstancie of this world: *England* which had so much troubled vs, takes occasion to trouble it selfe, for the losses which they supposed to haue made of that which they had taken from vs: and as affection is wayward and often blind, so it sowes dissention vpon strange subiects. The Dukes of *Yorke*, *Somerſet*, and *Gloucester*, accuse one another, and make factions within the realme. *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* (being of a branche of the blood royall) pretended the Crowne to belong more iustly vnto him, then vnto *Henry* the 6. then reigning; but contemned, by reason of his great losses, and of his naturall defects, *Somerſet* being fauoured by the King (as the ringleader of his faction) was pursued by *Yorke*, and so cunningly, as the Londoners (hating him as the cause of all the losses in *France*) put him in prison; but in the end he was freed by the Kings authoritie.

This diuision burst into open warre, vnder the names of two factions, *Lancaster* from whence King *Henry* was descended, and they wore the redde Rose for a mark: and *Clarence* from whence the Duke of *Yorke* tooke his beginning, bearing the white Rose for a distinction. This rancor of parties hath bathed all *England* with the blood of her subiects: two yeares shall not passe, after this losse, but *Somerſet* shall dye in a battaile, and King *Henry* the 6. (who had carryed himselfe as King of *France*) shall be prisoner: and whereas he sought to ioyne the Crowne of *France* to that of *England*, he shall loose that of *England*, both for him and his: teaching vs that we must neuer thinke to doe harme to another, but we shall receiue our share againe, and not to dispaire in our greatest afflictions. The beginning of this raigne did represent vnto vs a ruined realme, and this end restores it to her first beautie. Thus was this realme restored; from the which the *English* were quite expelled, except from *Calais*, and the heyre recouered the possession of his right, the which his successors enioye vnto this day.

The meanes of this singular deliuerance, is worthy to be obserued, vnder the conduct of the first mouer, the which the wise acknowledge to be in the prouidence of God, the Soueraigne of Soueraignes, and the preseruer of States, whereby he maintaines the societie of mankind. Truelie in the course of these ordinarie meanes, which we seeke after: *Charles* holds the first place, being both capable of Councell, and full of resolution to put in execution. He was assisted by great personages in the gouernment of his affaires, and for the warres. He was furnished with two Constables, which serued him faithfully, the Earle of *Bouquain* in his aduersitie, and the Earle of *Richemont* in his prosperitie: of two Chancellors, worthy men, and fitte for the time: Of *Renald* of *Chartres* Archb. shop of *Rheims*, and *John Iuuenall* of *Vrjins*, Baron of *Trignel*, the one for the beginning, the other for the end of his affaires? And for watrours, he had as resolute and happy commanders, as might be found in any raigns, of whom he had great need. But from all this we must ascend vnto the foueraigne cause, who hath shewed vs the rodde, and cast it into the fire, when as it pleased him, that by the example of our Ancestors, we may more perfectly obserue the causes and remedies of our difficulties.

Now we drawe neere vnto the end of this raigne: but before we conclude, we must obserue the estate of the Church, & finish the discourse of the Schisme, whereof we haue

shewed

shewed the beginning and proceeding. We haue made relation of this inexcusable confusion vntil the councell of *Pisa*, which (supposing to reforme the scandalous disorders of two Popes being enemies, *Gregorie* and *Benedict*) aduanced a third, which was *John* the 23, so as at one time there were three Popes. *John*, at *Boulogne*, *Gregorie* at *Rimini* (not able to be resident at Rome, and *Benedict* at *Auignon*).

This multiplicitie of Popes bred disorder, to the great scandale and preiudice of all Christians. So as *Sigismund* (not able to cure this infirmity of the mind, by force) he resolved to haue recourse vnto the authoritie of the church: & to that end he passed through *France*, *England*, *Spain* and *Italie*, perswading all Kings, Princes and Potentates to hold a Councell at *Constance*, (whether the Emperours of constantinople & *Trepisonde*, with the churches of *Greece* sent their Ambassadors, and all Christian nations assisted, to the end this councell might be oeconomically and vniuersall. In this Councell, *John* the 23, (being accused and found guilty of greuous crimes) was first deposed and then imprisoned. *Gregory* the 12. and *Benedict* the 13. were likewise deprived, & *Otho Colonne* a Romaine gentleman, was chosen Pope by the Councell, & is called *Martin* the 15.

This decree of the councell, was accompanied with great and generall complaints, by reason of the corrupted estate of the Church, the which had exceeded farre in some places. *Saint Bernard* had begun in *France*, as doth appeere by diuers places of his writings, and by books written vpon this subiect. But many of his disciples had followed him in great numbers, *Gabriel de Roquetaillade*, *Tomas Coeuet*, and *Nicholas Clemangis* had filled all *France* with these complaints. But in *England* *John Wiclef*, and in *Bohemia* *John Hus* had perswaded men with greater vehemencie: for *Bohemia* was ready to disclaime the Popes authoritie. *John Hus* teaching them not only to leaue the abuse of manners, but the doctrine it selfe: as is conteyned at large in acts of the councell of *Constance*. It shalbe sufficient to coat them, my stile not permitting me to set them downe at large. The reader that is carefull to see the grounds of this controuersie, may go vnto the Originall, and I will obserue the effect according vnto the dutie of the historie.

Wiclef doctrine was condemned. *John Hus* and *Ierome* of *Prague* came to *Constance*, (hauing a passport from the Emperour *Sigismund* and the Councell,) but they were condemned and burnt as heretiks. *Hus* in the *Bohemian* tong signifies a goose. *John Hus* when as the Iudges had pronounced this sentence that he should be burnt, he said vnto them. *I appeale from you vnto the soueraigne Iudge and preseruer of all truth, who a hundred yeares hence, shall raise out of my ashes a Goose which shall not suffer him selfe to be roasted.* So as *John Hus* was burnt in the yeare. 1417. and *Martin Luther* began to shew him selfe in the yeare, 1517.

There were great complaints against the abuses of the Church, made by *Peter d'Alliae* a Cardinal & *John Gerson* Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of *Paris* & deputie of the *French* Church. The Colledge of *Sorbon* had giuen him great instructions vpon this subiect, but nothing was effected. They only make the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, to suppress the Popes authoritie. *Gerson* returning from *Basil* died for greefe at *Lions*. But this Councell did not end those two difficulties for the which it had bene called. for *Peter de la Lune*, called *Benedict* 13, being deposed by the councell and retired into *Arragon*, had so incensed *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*, as he supported him with all violence, against *Martin* the new Pope. And the *Bohemians* were so moued with the death of these two personages (whom they reuerenced) as they tooke armes vnder the comand of *Xifca* a very famous Captaine, and did much annoy the Emperour *Sigismund*. *Peter de la Lune*, called *Benedict* 13, held his court apart, doing at *Laniscoule* a Towne in *Arragon*, as *Martin* did at Rome: but this humour brought him to his graue.

After his death the colledge made choise of *Giles Munion*, who was called *Clement* the 8. *Martin* dies in the other feare, and his Colledge doth choose a Venetian of the familie of *Condolme*, and calls him *Eugene*, 4. who finds the means to cause the Antipope *Clement* 8. to relinquish. But the *Bohemian* action was of more difficulty, for they spake boldly being in armes: and *Sigismund* the Emperour prest to haue audience for them, hauing receiued great reproches, for that (to please the Pope) he had violated the publicke faith,

S f 3

and

1454.

Councell of
Constance.

Great complaints
against
the abuses of
the Romish
Church.

John Hus and
Ierome of
Prague con-
demned
and burnt.

The *Bohemians*
take
arms for the
death of *John*
Hus.

1454

The Council
of Basill decrees
against the
Popes authori-
ty.

The Council
of Basill sum-
mons the
Pope to ap-
peare.

The Duke of
Savoy made
Pope.

All Princes
oppose against
his election.

and suffered the breach of his passport. These causes made *Martin* the 5. to call a Councell at *Basill*, whether the *Bohemians* had free libertie to come: but the Emperour gave them hostages for their suerty; trusting his word no more, the which he had broken in the death of their Countmen. There were likewise many other besides the *Bohemians*, which desired some redresse for these visible confusions: so as it was there freely disputed of the necessity to reforme the Church, being fit to begin first with the Pope, and not suffer the forepassed disorders, to the great scandall of all Christians: and that (to auoide a future inconuenience, by the generall discontent of all men,) it was reasonable he should submit himselfe to the censure of the Councell, whereunto hee was subiect. As the fathers of the Councell, with a generall consent, had thus concluded, and had drawn articles, *That the authoritie of the Councell was above the Pope: Eugenius* (foreseeing the preiudiciall consequence of this decree) reuokes the Councell assembled at *Basill*, for certaine great considerations which he sayed proceeded from the holy ghost, & transported it to *Bologne*, to the exceeding discontent both of the fathers & the Emperour. They resolute to oppose themselves against this brauado of *Eugenius*, and to withstand him by the like authority of the Church, wherby he sought to ruine them. By the authority of the general Councell lawfully assembled, they giue him an assignation to appeere before them, and in case he disobeyes, they declare him degraded and excommunicate. *Eugenius* (to calme this storme) makes shew to yeeld vnto this decree, & promitteth to obey, yet seeking meanes vnder hand to crosse them, relying vpon our *Charles* the 7. who followed his party. It chanced also (as *Eugenius* desired) that the Emperour *Sigismund* (who was the chiefe opposer to his desires) died during these disorders: Yet the Councell of *Basill* was not dissolved, but were resolved to continue firme. *Albert* of *Austria* is chosen Emperour after *Sigismund*, and succedes him both in his desire to continue the Councell at *Basill*, and in the Imperiall dignity.

Matters grewe then more violent, our *Charles* the 7. (being loath to yeeld in any thing to the Emperour, hauing made a generall truce with the King of *England*, as we haue sayed, the *English* likewise holding with *Eugenius*) sends his son *Lewis* neere vnto *Basill*, with an army compounded of *French* & *English* vnto, to nourish this notable dissension, the issue whereof was as we haue said. The Councell of *Basill* incensed by these bitter and violent courses practised by *Eugenius*, in the end they resolute to degrade him, and in his place they choose this *Amedee* Duke of *Sauoy*, (of whom we haue spoken in diuers places) hauing made himselfe a monke of purpose, to be chosen Pope amongst so many which aspired to this dignity, and was called *Felix*.

But this cured not the disease: for at this new election of a Duke of *Sauoy* to the Pontificall dignity, all Kings, Princes, & Potentats were moued (*France*, *England*, *Italy* and *Spain*) at so strange a proceeding, and disauowe *Felix*. In the meane time the college of Cardinals at *Rome*, choose *Thomas Sarzan* Pope, & name him *Nicholas* the 5. a man commended in histories, fit to suppress this *Schisme* & to reduce the Church to vniou, being wise, modest, learned and quiet: all Kings and Christian Princes allowed of him by a generall consent. *Felix* was supported by the *Germains*, (for *Albert* fauored him) but hee dies soone. *Frederic* the 3. succeeding in the Empire, a wise and a modest Prince, who (not to contradict the *Germains* at the first) followed their humour in fauoring of *Amedee*: but in the end ouerruled by a generall consent of all Christendome, he vtieth his authority with *Amedee*, to make him renounce his Popedom. Our *Charles* doth likewise interpose his authority, and sends *John Inuencall* of *Vrsins* his Chancellor vnto him, being well accompanied: who finds him at *Lozanne*, where he had made his Pontificall feat with a stately college of Cardinals. He feared the King more then any man lyuing, whom in his conscience he had moued to a iust dislike of him, when as he made a good shew and yet betrayed him in his greatest afflictions, (crosses which wounde euen the verie heart of a generous minde). Moreover *Charles* was both strong and neere at hand, to comproule him, if hee should continue obstinate. *Felix* stands vpon tearmes, but in the ende (whereas the Kings Ambassadors spake vnto him of force,) he grew more milde, and treated thus busines

A by the Kings authority, protesting that for his loue hee did willingly resigne his right. Thus all obey *Nicholas*: and *Amedee* had a Cardinals hat, with the title of Saint *Sabine*, and was Legat ouer his countries, and of some part of *Germanie*. This was the end of that feuer which so much tormented all Christendome: the raine of *Charles* being honored with this blessing of God; to haue bene a sollemne theater both of the restoring of the realme, and the reunion of the Church.

But alas, during these cruell confusions of the westerne Church, the Christians of the East (who had endured much) were now vtterly ruined. We left them in very poore estate vnder the raigne of *Charles* the 6. in the yeare 1396. In fifty yeares (during the scandall of this miserable *Schisme* and the willfull warres of *France* and *England*) there happened a greater alteration. Our Kings and Princes had labored long in vaine to recouer the holy land, consuming an infinite number of men and money, and preuailed nothing. But *Constantinople* the head of the Easterne Empire remayned stil in state, with *Greece*, *Macedonie*, *Thessalie* and the neighbour countries, *Sclauonia*, *Valachia*, *Russia*, *Serua*, *Bulgaria*, and a part of *Natolia*, whereof *Trepisonde* was the chiefe of that Empire. In this weaknes which drew nere to a totall ruine, the Christians vanitie was so great as to make two Empires, the one in *Europe* and the other in *Asia*, and then euery Empire being diuided into diuers parcels, held by sundrie *Despotes* or soueraine Lords, that among so many maisters there should be none at all. These confusions did bring in, fortifie, & wholly settle the *Turkes*, who were the horrible instruments of *Mahomet* and enemies to all Christendome. I enter not into the particular discours of this Easterne historie: it belongs not to my subiect. I onlie obserue the continuance of time, to shew the estate of the Church, and the Empire, with our Monarchie.

After our *French* had abandoned (as we haue said) this imagined Empire of the East, the *Paleologues* seised thereon, and gouerned it diuersly, according to their passions: *Michael*, *Andronic*, *John* & *Manuel*, hauing brought vpon the stage, both in diuers occurrents & with diuers successe, the most horrible tragedies which impiety could deuise: to the great dishonor of the Christian name. In the end *Constantine Paleologus* giues the last acquitance of the annient possession of the Empire, to make a new bond in fauour of the *Turkes*, that his name might be answerable to his miserie. Wee haue shewed what a breach *Baiazet* had made in *Hongary*, making so great a slaughter of the french when as he tooke *John* Duke of *Bourgonne* prisoner. This beginning of a victorie had in shew proceeded farther and ruined *Constantinople*, the which he besieged, but that God (who would suffer the Christians to breath for their amendment) suppressed this tyrant by an other tyrant: for *Baiazet* being taken by *Tamberlane*, did then suffer for his cruelty, but he left the conquest of the great Cittie to his posteritie, at such time as the wise & iust prouidence of God had decreed it: the which was 50. yeares after for the battaile wherein *Baiazet* was vanquished, after he had ouerthrowen our Christians, was giuen in the yeare 1395. and *Constantinople* was taken the yeare, 1453. the 29. of May, by *Mahomet* the 2. grand-child to *Baiazet*, a fit instrument to punish the impietie, cruelty, and all other kindes of execrable dissolution which then reigned among the Christians, & euen among those which had the cheefe command.

This *Mahomet* was the sonne of *Amurath*, borne of a Christian, the Daughter of the *Despot* of *Serua*, and instructed by his mother in the Christian religion: to be the more fit to chastise the Christians, who (confessing God in their mouthes and denying him their deeds), could not be ruined by a fitter instrument and more answerable to the crime whereof they were guilty, then a tyrant Atheist, who hauing tasted the true religion, had spued it out, hauing no religion, and mocking at all that carried the name of religion. This *Mahomet* (seeking to settle his Empire as the eldest of his house, being loth to haue any companion) caused his two brethren to be slaine. *Turjin* and *Calepin*: the one he drowned in a basen, the other he caused to be strangled. Hauing murdered his two brethren by two of his Basnaes, *Moyse* and *Huly*; he puts these murderers to death for his bretherens blood, shedding their blood who had bene the instruments of their murders,

1454.
He recou-
ereth his title.

The miserie-
ble state of
the East.

Mahomet
cruelle
against his
brethren.

1454.

Having thus fetled his Empire by these solemnities, he applies all his wit to ruine A the Christians, being diuided of themselves by strange partialities, and as it were inviting him to their ruine. He seizeth vpon the Empire by degrees, being called in by the Christians to decide their quarrells, and fortifying the weaker of purpose against the strongest. A politick man, painfull, active and imperious, getting authority by his fearefull tyranny.

Constantinople beleeged.

Being seized vpon the Country, hauing incombred the Christians affaires, and diuided their mindes by sundrie intelligences, it was easie for him to beseege *Constantinople* for who should succor it? The greatest enemies the Christians had within the Country, were the Christians themselves. The *Paleologues* (with the Churches of the East) had had recourse to the Pope, Emperour and King of *France*, & by their fauour to the Councells of *Pisa*, *Constance* & *Basil*, one after another: but they returned with nothing but winde, dispaire & mockery. Thus *Mahomet* (well assured of his enemies estate) beseegeth *Constantinople*, the which was now but the shadow of the Empire, a great masse of building, testifying, that the beauty of the Empire was decayed. The Emperour *Constantin Paleologus* (who resigned his authority vnto *Mahomet*) had only a few succors from *Genoa* and *Venice*. *Mahomet* had two hundred and fiftie shippes of war, and two hundred thousand fighting men: amongst the which the most warlike were leui- C ed in those Countries which made profession of the Christian religion. The beleeged seeing their estate desperate, fought to sel their liues deere. But what could they do? their walles being battered downe by the horrible thunder of the Turkish artillery, their port forced by their armed shippes, and they themselves oppressed by so infinit a multitude. So as a generall assault being giuen, *Constantinople* is taken by force. The Citie thus forced on the one side: as *Constantine* and many of his troupe fought to saue themselves by a gate that was free, they were furiously pursued by the victorious *Turkes*, & the port being stoppt by the multitude, many were smothered, among the which *Constantine* was found dead.

Constantinople taken by the Turkes.

Constantine the Emperour smothered.

The *Turke* incensed for the losse of so many his men, glutted himselfe with the slaughter of the poore Inhabitants of *Constantinople*, killing all indifferently, without respect of age or sexe, yong and old, women & maidens, with such exceeding cruelty, as no man can write it without terror, nor reade it without teares. When we shall be D fore our eyes this goodly Country of the East, this capitall Citie of the Empire, where the voice of the gospell had founded in the sacred mouthes of so many holy personages, & famous doctors of the Church which haue serued happily in their times, to become now the dongeon of Impiety, the fortresse of error, the *Rendezvous* of al barbarisme and iniquity: where *Mahomet* raiseth himselfe aboue the Kings of the earth & threatens Christendome proudly, hauing an Empire not onely fashioned, but also fortified with the force & power of so many kingdoms. But alas what speake we of *Constantinople* the last of our losses in the East? When we begin by *Ierusalem*, the chiefe *Rendezvous* of the Elders of the house of God, from whence the Gospell flowed, where the holy mouth of the son of God and of his Apostles haue founded out: when we continue by *E Iury* a land which hath so long nourished the true church, & bin the gard of the doctrine of helth: when we crosse ouer this great country of *Asia*, & fro thence passe into those goodly Prouinces of Europe, *Greece*, *Macedonie* & the neighbour Nations: when we cast our eyes beyond the sea and behold from our windowes the heauen vnder which *Africke* lies, heretofore replenished with so many goodly churches, and enriched with so many excellent Doctors, & yet all these great & large Countries are at this day the receptacles of *Mahomet*, where he vomits forth his blasphemies, & spoiles the miserable remaynders of the poore Christian Church: where he takes the tithe of sons and daughters to giue them to *Molue*, forcing the to leaue the truth: where he hath ouerthrowen al libertie, to plant his absolute Tyranny, banished all learning & euery thing that may F put man in minde that he is a man, what may wee say in comparing our selues with them? are wee better then so many that haue lyued in those desolate places, making profession of the same Christian religion, and the same hope of eternall life? Are our Prouinces

A Prouinces more stronger, fertill and richer then theirs, & our Townes stronger and better peopled? O Christians, if he be wise that takes warning by an other, how well should these examples serue vs? The same way which the capitall enemy of the Church hath made to *Mahomet* to inuest him in the Empire of the East, is it not open by our common dissensions? A miserable date: the end of the warres betwixt *France* and *England* was the confirmation of the *Ottomans* at *Constantinople*, and the beginning of many miseries to many nations, as wee shall see in the following raignes.

1454. An excellent aduertisement to all Christians.

But as misery is good for something, may rather as the prouidence of God is admirable, who can drawe light from darknesse: by the ruines of the Easterne Churches, those of the West haue bene enriched. The ignorance of all learning was very great throughout all the Westerne Prouinces, since the rule of the *Gothes*. The knowledge of learning and sciences being banished out of the East by the *Turke*, came into the West, so as by a singular miracle, the West is now become East, this goodly Lampe hauing lightned the Prouinces to be a herbinge to the gospell. But this planting of the Muses is due to the raigne of *Francis* the 1. as well King of the Muses as of the *Frenche*. The shipwarke of *Constantinople* did cast these great personages into *Italie*, the which haue giuen a beginning of solide and perfect knowledge to our nations, *Emanuel Chrysoloras* an *Athenien*, *George Trapezondæ* or of *Trebizonde*: *Theodorus Gaza* a *Macedonien*, *Ierosme Spartiate*, *Gregorie Tiphernas*, *Iohn Argypole* C of *Constantinople*, *Laonicus Charcondil* an *Athenien*, *Marcus Musurus* a *Candiot*, and *Iohn Lascaris*. These haue begun, but our men haue so followed, as they haue surmounted them in the knowledge of those goodly professions.

Learned men came into Europe.

Almost about the same time the arte of Printing had his beginning. Some attribute it to the yeare 1440. to *Iohn Guttemberg* borne at *Strausbourg*, others to *Iohn Fausse* at *Mayence*, in the yeare 1452. Doubtlesse it is an excellent inuention D to increase knowledge, although the vanity and malice of men makes it often times their baude, to the preiudice of the truth and all good manners. But hauing wandered ouer so many strange Countries; Let vs returne to *France*, from whence hauing expelled the *English* and restored this Monarchie to her auncient beautie, by the meanes of our *Charles*, wee must now see the last act of his raigne and life.

Printing inuened.

The last act of the raigne and

life of *Charles* the 7. conteyned
in seauen yeares.

From the yeare 1454.
vnto 61.



E His last act of the life of *Charles*, conteyns a notable president of the vanity of this world. *Charles* had passed a languishing youth, borne in the weakenesse of his father, and bred vp in the cruelties of his mother: he began his life with pouerty, the which was continued in the despaire of his affaires, and yet he purchased peace to his realme; but now he cannot inioy it, banding against his owne bloud, & luying in so wilfull a waywardnesse, as in the end he brought himselfe vnto the graue after a terrible and tragick manner. The whole Realme being in quiet after a long and tedious warre, behold a newe storme ariseth in the Kings house. *Lewis* the eldest sonne of *Charles* and *Dauphin* of *Piennois*, was not well satisfied with his father, and his father lesse with him. The occasions are rather probable then true, as they are obserued by writers. Forto what ende should *Lewis* bee so discontented with his father, for that hee was giuen to the loue of Ladies? It is more likely that the

1455.
1456.
1457.
1458.
1459.
1460.
Observations for the discours.

King Charles and the Dauphin discontented one with another.

Charles giues
him his life.

ning to proceed at what price soeuer,) names certaine Noblemen that should supplie A
their places that were absent in this action, that nothing might want of all necessar.e
solemnities to iustifie the condemnation. To conclude, according to the forme let
downe in this processe; John Duke of *Alanson* was found guiltie of high treason, prac
tising to bring the *English* into the realme, the ancient enemy of this Crowne: witnes
ses are produced, Letters auerred, and the confession of the accused: what more? Sen
tence was iudicially giuen, that he should loose his head, and forfeit all his goods, ali be
ing at the Kings goods pleasure: the which neither President nor Councillor durst con
tradict: yet *Charles* giues him his life, condemning him to perpetuall prison, and his
goods to his wife and children, where he continued but two yeares, for *Lewis* being
King, he freed him from prison, and restored him to his dignitie.

Passion makes
Princes pri
soners.

It is a hard law, when force is ioyned to a Kings command. How soeuer it were, the
cleere sighted did iudge, that the Kings ieaousie was the true cause of the condemna
tion of this poore Prince, who had alwayes serued the King faithfully, and the King had
loued him aboute all the Princes of his blood, honouring him so much as to make him
his gossip, carrying his eldest Sonne *Lewis* to the Font. This his familiaritie with his
Godson, and the credit the *Daulphin* gaue vnto his counsels, was held to be a dangerous
testimonie against him. Were it then iustly or vniustly that this Prince was thus intrea
ted; who seeth not heere a great prooffe of the inconstancie of this world, of great
friends they become capitall enemies: neither blood, nor the gages of loue in so holy a
thing as the badge of our Christianitie, can subdue the violence of passion, the which C
hath no restraint: yea euen that which should be of most force to vnite loue, hath most
power to breed and increase ieaousies. A notable president in two so great persona
ges, Passion makes these two great Princes prisoners, borne of one blood; the one a
King, the other capable of a kingdome. The one is prisoner at *Loches* with his gard, the
other at *Vendosme* or at *Tours*, in the greatnesse of his Court. This is the difference, the
one endures paine forceably, the other voluntarily. But he that commits a sinne, is hee
not a slaue to sinne?

Charles his
waywardnes.

After this condemnation *Charles* seemed alwaies grieued both in minde and coun
tenance, the ieaousie which he thought to quench, in suppressing him whom he suspect
ed, so increased, as in the end it was the cause of his death. He turniued little about
two yeares after this Tragedie, the which happened the 10. of October, in the yeare
1458. and the King dyed the 22. of Iuly, in the yeare 61. which time was vnto him a
languishing prison, or rather a pining death. Doublelesse he that serues God doth rage, and
he that serues vice is but a slaue: the Crownes and Scepters of Kings haue no ex
ception in this. The quiet of a good conscience is true libertie. And who can haue a
good conscience, but in doing well? How farre better and more honourable had it
beene for *Charles*, to haue beene beloued and respected by his sonne *Lewis*, who being
growne great, and hauing giuen many testimonies of his iudgement and valour, might
well haue eased him in his greatest affaires, as *Robert* did *Hugh Capet*, being associate in
the same raigne: to be honoured and serued by the Princes of his blood, especially of
this his trustie friend, who had giuen him so many prooffes of his loyalty in his greatest
affaires, and receiued likewise from him such firme gages of his loue, and to scape the
fruits of this so much desired peace with his subiects, the which he had not had for
all his subiects. But if he afflicts others, he hath a good share himselfe. He makes his
Sonne to flie, and to beg his bread in a strange countrey: he causeth a poore Prince of
his blood to languish in prison: and he himselfe feelles in his soule a continuall torment
of griefe, a fier of choller, and a torture of ieaousie, trusting no man, but liuing in con
tinuall feare, and was this man at rest? A strange torment, he hath brought peace to all
men, and cannot inioy it himselfe, he hath bread and cannot eate it.

His loues.

But what read I in the Originall of the manners of our *Charles*? This King *Charles*
(saith *Monstrelet*) after his reconilement with Philip Duke of Bourgoingne, was of a good
life and deuoute, but when he had recovered his realme, he changed his manners, and polluted
his life, in maintaining dishonest women in his Court, leauing the companie of a good and lawfull
wife,

A wife, suffering more honour and reuerence to be done to those women, by the greatest of his
Court, then to the Queene: they being more richly attired then the Queene herselfe, the which
was an ill president in such a person: yet he gouerned his realme very nobly and wisely, & was
indued with goodly vertues, maintaining iustice throughout his whole realme. *Monstrelet*
and the historie of *S. Denis*, excuse the loue of faire *Agnes*, and here they accuse *Charles*.
My dutie is to coate euey part faithfully in this my Inuentorie, in the which there is
nothing of mine owne but the bare report, whereby it appeares, that vertues are mixt
with vices: and that it is more easie to beare aduersitie then prosperitie. Let the exam
ple of *David* be confronted with this: Wine causeth drunkennesse, and water tem
pers. Sometimes age is more weake and imperfect then youth, to the end the whole ho
nour of any good that is in man, may be ascribed to God, who is the Author thereof.
B Joy and griefe, ieaousie and loue, be they not contrary affections? and yet behold they
are both in one subiect, distracting him diuersly. Inconstant nature of man, who is a
slaue to sinne, by the meanes of sinne, which receives the motions of diuers windes,
from North, South, East and West, both soure and sweete.

It will be now time after all this, to shew the end of our *Charles*: but we may not o
mit some notable things which chanced in this season, during the ebbing and flowing
of these feuen variable yeares. *Lewis* the *Daulphin* was resident at *Geneppe* in *Brabant*,
and married with the daughter of *Sauoy*, by whom he had a sonne. The Duke of *Sauoy*
with his wife (who was daughter to the King of *Cypres*) came to visit *Charles*, and to
C pacifie him, with hope that he should soone see his sonne, with this new gage of loue,
but all this did but ease and not cure *Charles* his infirmite. We haue said before, that
Henry the sixt King of *England*, was put in prison by the Duke of *Yorke*, who pretended
the Crowne to appertaine vnto him by a iuster title then vnto *Henry*. He makes an ac
cord with the Duke of *Yorke*, to free himselfe from this captiuitie, That *Henry* should
inioy the Crowne during his life, but after his decease it should come to the Duke of
Yorke, and to his heires after him: and so the Prince of *Wales*, sonne to King *Henry*,
should be excluded from the succession of *England*. By this accord *Henry* was released,
but *Toland* his wife (daughter to King *Rent* of *Sicile*) shewes her selfe more resolute
then her husband, who (hauing provided for her affaires) disauowes this accord, as
D prejudiciall to her sonne, and against the lawes, which allow of no forced contract
made by a prisoner: and so she armes to maintaine her sonne the lawfull heire of the
Crowne. The Duke of *Yorke* likewise leuies an army to frustrate the Queenes deffines.
At that time the Queene did winne both the victorie, and the heads of the Duke of
Yorke, of his second sonne, and of the Earle of *Salisbury* his chiefe partisan, whom she
tooke prisoners in the battaile, and caused to be beheaded, but she shall haue her turne.

Troubles in
England.

In the meane time these troubles ministred an occasion vnto *Charles* to attempt
against the *English*: although (transported with these home-bred discontents) he had a
troublesome enemy within himselfe, without seeking one beyond the seas. This was
done by the counsell and aduice of the Constable of *Richmont*, who fearing the Kings
humour, and loth to deale in these discontents, laboured to diuert him: giuing him a
better subiect to exercise his spirit. It was also happy for the Constable, that he was
to re off, being likely that ieaousie would haue brought him first in question, whom
Charles loued nor much, for the crosses he had receiued by him in the beginning. The
cause which had drawne *Richmont* from Court, was honourable for him: for by the
death of *Peter* Duke of *Brittanie* his Nephew, he was called to the Duchie. Being
Duke he would not leaue the office of Constable, notwithstanding all the intreaties of
his subiects, being desirous to honour that charge in his age, the which had honoured
him in his youth: although he inioyed the Dukedome but three yeares, dying with the
good opinion of all *France*, hauing assisted it much both with his counsell and valour.

I This aduise to attempt against *England*, giuen by the Constable, was executed by the
Normans, vnder the command of *Peter* of *Brezeay*, Seneschall of *Normandie*, accompa
nied with a good number of the Nobilitie of *Normandie*, and foure thousand fighting
men: these might do some great exploit in a countrey diuided and troubled: but God
hath

Enterprise a
gainst Eng
land.

bath appointed the limits of Kingdomes; and that great ditch of the sea is sufficient to distinguish these two Monarchies, who haue inough to content them without attempting against their neighbour. To conclude, this armie lands in *England*, and takes *Antwerp*, the which they presently spoile & leaue, and so returne to *Honnesteu*, from whence they imbarked, carrying away store of prisoners and spoile. Their speedie returne was chieftie to saue their liues and goods, which had beene in great danger, if they had engaged themselves farther, for any rich spoile.

A strange death in the midst of roy.

Charles was intreated by *Ladislaus* King of *Hongarie*, (sonne to that great *Iohn Huniades*, one of the strongest Champions against the *Turke*) to graunt him *Magdick* in his daughter to wife, the which he did. As he prepared for this voyage, and a stately traine for his daughter, which might equall or surmount the Ambassage sent from *Ladislaus*, newes comes of the death of *Ladislaus*, (a young man of twenty yeares of age, and of a generous hope) who was poisoned at *Prague*: Whose death was the cause of many miseries, as we shall hereafter shew. Their ioy in *France* was changed to mourning, and the wedding to a funerall, to the great griefe of *Charles*. But to put him in minde of necessary causes, amidst these voluntarie afflictions, It chanced that the mother of *Isabe* the Virgin (to purge the blot of infamie in the death of her daughter, being condemned as a Sorceresse by the Bishop of *Beauuais*, to please the *English*) obtaines a reuocation of this sentence from the Pope, and *Charles* confirms it, causing it to be solemnlie published to the content of all *Frenchmen*, to whom the remembrance of this genetous spirit shall be for euer pleasing.

The tragick death of Charles.

In the meane time, this ielousie which was grauen in the heart of *Charles*, is fed by the dayly whisperings of his household flatterers. And now behold a strange accident: A Captaine (in whom he had great confidence) aspires him that they ment to poison him: he beleues it, and plants this apprehension so firmly in his heart, as he resolues neither to eate nor drinke, not knowing whom to trust. He continued obstinately for seauen dayes in this strange resolution, the which in the end brought him to his graue: for being obdurate in this humour (not to eate, notwithstanding all the perswasions of his Physicians and seruants,) the passages were so shrunk, as when he would haue eaten, it was then too late: and feeling his forces to decay, he provided for his last will, and dyed the 22. of Iuly at *Meun* vpon *Yeure* in *Berry*, in the yeare 1461. hauing liued 59. yeares, and reigned 39. leauing two sonnes, *Lewis* and *Charles*: the first shall raigee after his father, and the second shall be the cause of new troubles in *France*, but not such as haue raigned vnder our *Charles* the 7.

His disposition.

A Prince who hath as much aduanced the *French* Monarchie, as any King that euer commanded: for finding the realme ruined, he hath restored it: his Predecessors had planted the *English* in the bowels of the Estate, he expelled them, bringing in a gentle peace after an intestine warre of a hundred yeares. A friend to Iustice, good order and the people, resolute in great affaires, capable of counsell, wise, couragious, happy in the execution of good counsels, and happy in seruants that haue faithfully serued him to the end of the worke of restauration, wherevnto God had appointed him. But these great and heroike vertues were blemished by some vices, which were more visible in his prosperitie, then in his aduersitie: for affliction restrained him, but his happy successe pufft him vp, and gaue scope to his humours, making him suspicious and amorous, to the preiudice of his affaires, and dishonour of his person. On the one side, vngoverned liue to stragewomen, making him to forget the lawfull loue of his wife, and to loose both time and iudgment, whereby he blemished his reputation, both with subjects and strangers. On the other side, presumption of his good successe, made him vnpleasing to his best seruants, yea euen to his owne blood: and this sroward humour causing him to discontent such as hee should haue trusted, fetled so with ill and pecuish a ielousie in his heart, as hauing troubled all his house, in the end it brought him to his graue, after a most fearefull and tragicke manner, leauing in his vertues, an example to bee followed, and in his vices to bee auoided, with a visible prooffe in his happy successe, That God vseth the weake instruments, to the end

And that he might be knowne the Author of the good worke they haue in hand, that his grace seeming strong in their weaknesse, the homage and honour of all good might be giuen to him: for whosoeuer glories, let him glory in the Lord.

Charles had no sooner closed his eyes, but Poasts fle to *Geneppe* in *Brabant* vnto *Lewis*, to aduertise him of his death. The originall notes it for exceeding speed, that through the diligence of *Charles* of *Aniou*, father in law to *Charles*, *Lewis* was aduertised of the death of his father, the very same day he dyed. This Poast was speedy, yet slowe in regarde of the desire *Lewis* had to returne into *France*, and to take possession of this goodly Crowne, which attended him.

Lewis the eleuenth, the 55. King of France.



As it not then likely, that this so happy a Catastrophe of the latter raigee of *Charles*, should haue purchased *Lewis* as happy and peacefull a Crowne, as his fathers had beene painfull and full of crosses? But the heires of worldly possessions (which we call the goods of Fortune, and of the body) doe not alwayes inherit the same humors and complexions of their Predecessors. *Charles* was of a courteous disposition, affable, a friend to Iustice, and capable of counsel: he leaues *Lewis* his eldest sonne,

a Prince in truth humble in words and shew, wise in aduersitie, painfull, a free entertainer of men of merit, curious to know all men, of a good capacity, perfect in iudgement, and very continent. But these vertues were blemished with many vices: ill tongue, revengefull, cruell, full of fraud, dissembling, distrustfull, variable, a friend to base people, and an enemy to great persons, yet willing to repaire the wrongs he had done to many. But *Lewis* impute this alteration to the multitude of his forraigne & homebred foes, who had greatly altered the good seeds which nature had planted in him. That which plun-

The disposition of Lewis the 11.

ged him in a labyrinth of troubles & afflictions during all the course of his life, was that A
at his first comming to the Crowne, he discountenanced most of the Princes & Noble-
men, whom *Charles* had fauoured, preferring meane men to their places, changed (in a
manner) all the ancient officers of the crowne, & cashiered & discharged the old compa-
nies of men at armes, whereby such as hated him, did take him as an enemy to al valour
& vertue. *Lewis* the *Dauphin* at the age of eleuen yeares, was rashly engaged by some
His wisest
Noblemen & others of the realme, in the war called the Praguery, against *Charles* his
father, who speedily suppressed it by his resolution, as we haue seene. Being come
to the age of man, he married with *Marguerit* daughter to the King of *Scots*: and as hee fell
rashly in loue, so he reaped nothing but repentance. After her death (not able to beare
the vnpleasing waywardnes of his father) he retires into *Dauphiné*, and takes to his se-
cond wife *Charlotte*, daughter to the Duke of *Sauoy*, by who he had *Joachim*, who dyed
His children.
young, *Anne* married to *Peter* of *Bourbon*, *Joane* the wife of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, & af-
ter King of *France*, the 12. of that name, *Charles* his successor, and *Francis* who died like
wife in his infancy. In the end *Charles* going to suppress the practises of his sonne in
Dauphiné, and the neighbour Prouinces, *Lewis* abandons the country, and retires to
Philip Duke of *Bourgogne*, at whose charge he was entertained six yeares.

Charles being deceased, *Philip* of *Bourgogne* (to perfect this good office of hospitali-
ty to *Lewis*) accompanied with *Charles* Earle of *Charolois* his sonne, *James* of *Bourgon-
gne* Earle of *Estampes*, *Adolfe* Duke of *Cleues*, the Lord of *Raueslin* his brother, nephewes
to the said *Philip*, the Earles of *Nassau* and *S. Pol*, and with many other Noblemen of the C
lowe countries, conducted him into *France*, with foure thousand horse well appointed,
chosen among a hundred thousand fighting men, the which *Philip* had leauied vpon
a brute that some Noblemen of the country would aduance *Charles* the younger bro-
ther of *Lewis* to the Crowne. *John* Duke of *Bourbon* (the Duke of *Orleans* as well for his
old age, as for that he mourned for King *Charles* deceased, came not from *Paris*) *Peter*
and *James* of *Bourbon* brethren, the Earles of *Armaignac*, *Eufendosme*, *Dunois*, *Grâpé*,
Philip of *Sauoy*, with the greatest part of the Princes, Noblemen and Officers of the
Crowne, go to meete him, and conduct him to *Rheims*, where he is solemnly annointed
& crowned by *John* *Tuennall* of *Visis* Archibishop of that place, assisted by the Cardinal
of *Sanctae*, the Patriarke of *Antioch*, the Popes Legat, 4. Archbishops, 17. Bishops & D
6. Abots, the 15. of August 1461. being about 38. yeares of age. Two daies after *Philip*
did him homage for his Duchy of *Bourgogne*, as Peere, and Deane of the Peeres of
France: for the Earledom of *Flanders* as a peere of *France*: and for the county of *Artois*
& all other lands he held of the crowne. The made he a sumptuous & stately entry into
Paris, with very ioyfull acclamations of the people, as you may see at large in the Ori-
ginals. After many sports, tourneies & publike feasts, *Philip* taking leaue of the King, ex-
horts him to lay aside all hatred and spleene conceiued against some of his fathers an-
cient seruants, from whom he should draw as many good seruices, as they had giue testi-
monies of their loialties to their lawfull Master: to liue in loue and vnity with his bro-
ther *Charles*, and to aduance him according to the degree he held within the realme. *L
E*
Lewis was no sooner installed, but the Inhabitants of *Rheims* minister an occasiō to im-
ploy the first fruits of his forces. About *S. Remy* the collectors of imposts were slaine &
their contracts burnt in open street. The King sends thither many souldiers dis-
guised like marchants & laboreis, who entering secretly, & at diuers gates, become the strōger
and are presently followed by some troupes led by the Lord of *Mouy*, who seize vpon
the towne, takes 80. or a 100. of the most culpable, puts the to death & suppresseth the
mutinie. About the end of the yeare *Lewis* made a progresse into *Touraine*, where the
Earle of *Charolois* coming to the pilgrimage of *S. Claude*, did visit him, & the King (in
regard of the kindnes he had receiued frō *Philip*) giues him the gouernment of *Norman-
dy*, with 36000. franks yearly pensiō: for the nonpaiment wherof there wil soone grow
great dissentiōs & ciuill wars. In sooth the words of a prince shold be held for Oracles,
neither shold he be lesse iudicious, then constant in his promises. The Duke of *Alençon*
was set at liberty, who *Charles* the 7. had restrained. But oh the vanity of man, we shall
see him

He leaue ad-
monitions of
Philip to
Lewis.

Euery French
is worth two
frillings.
The Duke of
Alençon inlar-
ged.

A him hereafter a prisoner, & condemned vnder his authoritie, who now giues him both 1462
life and libertie. Then the King gaue to his brother the Dukedome of *Berry* for his por-
tion, and assigned the Queene his Mothers dowrie (who shall not long enioy it, but dies
in the year 1463.) in the Countie of *Xaintonge*, with the towne and gouernment of *Ro-
chell*, *Chinon*, *Pezenas*, and other places. Then he went in pilgrimage to *S. Sauuour* of *Re-
don* in *Brittanie*, where the Duke did homage for this said Duchie, the Countie of *Mon-
fort*, and other places, he held of the Crowne. But deuotion did not so much draw *Lewis*
into *Brittanie*, as a desire to discover the Dukes affection, his country, and his forces,
whom he held in ieaousie, the which shall easily draw the Duke into the vnion of mal-
contents, as we shall soone see; which will fall out happily for him, to disappoint the
King of the prey he haunted after in *Brittanie*.

Lewis in the meane time, carelesse of *Philips* aduise, not able well to endure the sight
of his fathers spies (whom he accused as the motives of his disgrace) changeth the go-
uernours of Prouinces, and most of the Officers both for Iustice and warre: he placeth
new being chosen out of those that had beene companions of his fortune, the which
(to agrauate) they called a banishment, imputing it to them that were displaced. More-
ouer, he prohibited all Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen, the sport of Hawking and
Hunting, vnder great and odious punishments, no further then he should permit: a se-
cond fire-brand of the following combustions. Now the King of *Arragon* (seeking to
reduce his rebellious subiects to their duties by force) ingageth the Coun-
tie of *Roussillon* to *Lewis*, for three hundred thousand Crownes, whereof he receiued
fiftie thousand presently, being followed with a goodly and mighty armie, to succour
the said King, vnder the command of *James* of *Armaignac* Duke of *Nemours*. *Henry*
King of *Castill*, complains by his Ambassadors of these succours giuen to his aduer-
sarie, which was a breach of the League betwixt *France* and *Castill*. The King (as well to
end this quarrell, as that which *Blande*, the onely daughter and heire of the King of *Na-
uarre*, wife to the said King of *Arragon*, had with the King of *Castill*, by reason of some
places in *Navarre*) he goes to *Bordeaux*, and there concludes the mariage of *Magda-
leine* of *France* his sister, with *Gaston* the eldest sonne to the Earle of *Foix*, and presumpti-
ue heire of *Navarre*, who lay hurt at *Libourne* with a Lance at a Tourney, whereof he
D dyed, leauing a sonne and a daughter: *Francis* *Phabus* his succellour, who reigned but
one yeare; and *Katherine* who succeeded him, and was married to *John* of *Albret*: then
he goes to *Bayonne*, where the King of *Castill* comes vnto him, and ends all controuer-
sies. A dangerous and fatall enteruiue: for these two great Princes, the most strictly al-
lied of all Christendom, of ancient from King to King, from realme to realme, and man
to man, bound by great curses to maintaine this necessarie league, the which neuer yet
had any breach, and they now conceiued a contempt & disdain one of another. The
Trench of the *Castillians* sumptuousnesse and pride, in their words, countenance & appa-
rell: the *Castillians* of the plainnesse of the *French* attire, for *Lewis* had short garments, &
of bad stoffe, the which the *Spanish* nation did impute to miserableness, wherewith he
E was neuer blemished. So as from that day, these Kings did neuer loue; but both nations
conceiued such a mutuall hatred one against another, as they haue left it hereditarie to
their posteritie: and we haue felt the bitterness of this old leuaine in our late and more
then vnciuill tumult. So perillous shall the enteruiue be of our *Lewis*, with *Charles* of
Bourgogne (who shall hereafter come often in place) at *Peronne*, as we shall see.

Lewis being returned to *Paris*, as by the purchase of *Roussillon* he had fortified his
realme towards *Spaine*: so desired he to assure it on the other side, redeeming the
townes lying vpon *Somme*, the which had beene engaged by the treatie of *Arras*, to *Phi-
lip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, for foure hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, with this con-
dition, that the King should maintaine all the officers aduanced by the Duke in the said
T Townes: a promise without performance: for after the oath taken to serue him against
all persons, at the first he tooke away the Captainship of *Amiens*, of *Arras*, & of *Dourlens*
from *Sauaise*: that of *Mortaigne* from *Haut-bourdin* a bastard of *Bourgogne*: and the
Baillwike of *Amiens* from the Lord of *Creuaceur* (whose lands he did confiscate soone
after,

1463. after) aduancing to these offices *Launoy* the Nephew of *Croy*, whereby he did greatly A discontent the Duke, and the Earle of *Charolois* his sonne more, who in despite of the said redemption, did afterwards chase away the Lord of *Croy*, with his whole family, and confiscate their goods, they beeing the meanes thereof. Beeing retyred in to *France*, *Lewis* gaue him the county of *Gwynes*, with the office of Lord Steward of his house. A discontent which shall hasten the *Charolois* to arme against our *France*. Moreouer *Lewis*, to tye the Pope vnto him, (by the meanes of *Iohn Balue* Bishop of *Arras*, (who since was made Cardinall, in recompence of so good a seruice done to the court of *Rome*) sends *Godfrie* Bishop of *Albi* Cardinall of *Abbeville* vnto him, to renounce all rights of the pragmaticall sanction. So doing, the Pope promised to send a *Legat* into *France*, that should giue all benefices: to the ende that all the money which should be raised thereby might remaine within the Realme, and be no more transported to *Rome*. But the Pope beeing seized vpon the charter of the said Sanction, made no accompt to performe his promise: and to please the *Romans*, he caused it to be dragged through the streetes. So as *Lewis* being thus deceiued, did forbid to carry any more money to *Rome*, nor to bring any Bulls from thence. He made *Sforce* Duke of *Milan* his vassall, giuing him *Sauonne* which the *French* held, (a heauy motiue of lamentable warres, which followed) and receiued his homage. But whilest he labours to purchase friends abroad, he procures himselfe insensiblie mighty enemies at home. The princes and Noblemen to whom the first places in court, and offices of the crowne did appertaine, seeing themselves with great indignity supplanted by these mustromes growne vp in one night, & put from the Kings fauour: they found one another, both by mouth, writings, and by diuers messengers: being assured of their mutuall loues, they open their mindes, discover their conceptions and conclude, To defend and maintaine their dignities. For (say they) to what end do we suffer the indignities and braueries of these new vpstarts? we should shew want of couragenot to apprehend the wrong the King doth vs. Wee haue armes, men, friends & money to force him to reason, seeing we are debarrd his prefere by these base people that possesse him. The cheefe were *Charles* Duke of *Berry* the kings brother, *Iohn* Duke of *Bourbon* who had married *Charlotte* the kings sister, *Francis* duke of *Brittaine*, *Iohn* Earle of *Dunois*, bastard brother to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Earle of *Armaignat*, and the Lord of *Albret*. The Duke of *Berry* was easily D drawne into this league, discontented to haue no better portion then *Berry*. The Duke of *Bourbon* had not yet receiued his marriage money. The *Britton* could not digest foure hard conditiōs, the which *Lewis*, (hauing an army ready in case he refused) required of him: That he should no more intitle himselfe, By the grace of God Duke of *Brittaine*, That he should coyne no more money without his permission, That from thenceforth the King should leaue taxes and subsidies in *Brittaine*, and not the Duke. And that all that were beneficed within the Dukedome, should acknowledge him immediately for Patron & foueraigne. Priuileges which till then had bin alwayes expressly referued to all the Dukes his predecessors, in the homages they did to the crowne. The Earle of *Dunois* had alwaies bin of the chiefe of the army & Lieutenant generall to *Charles* the 7. and now is deprived of all his offices and dignities by *Lewis* his sonne. So euery one pretended diuers causes of complaint.

The League of the common weale.

The chiefe of the league.

Charles of *Berry* must carry the bable, a young Prince & credulous, an age which doth easily make men bold & rash: for they would vse him as the reuenging instrument of their passions. But it is the means to draw him from Court without ialousie: Behold an occasion is offered. After that *Lewis* had visited the Townes of *Picardy* lately redeemed, hauing crossed *Normandie* and *Touraine*, he passeth to *Poitiers*, leading *Charles* his brother with him. *Lewis* is going one day to his deuotion, *Iohn* of *Rommillé* & *Tannequy* of *Chastel* (Nephew to that *Tannequy* that was charged for the death of the Duke of *Bourgongne*) agents for the *Britton* in this action, vnder colour to carry *Charles* Duke of *Berry* to the hunting, they lead him into *Brittaine*. *Tannequy* was discontented, for that hauing disbursed fifty thousand franckes at the funeralls of *Charles* the 7. in the absence of *Lewis*, he had neither recompence, nor any thankes of the king, and was not satisfied for the space of ten yeares.

There

There remayned nothing but to be assured of *Philip* Duke of *Bourgongne*, who euen 1464. then had great cause of discontent: for during the partialities of *England*; betwixt the houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, *Lewis* supported *Henry* against *Edward*, (he being of *Lancaster* and this of *York*) for that *Henry* had married the daughter of *René* King of *Sicile*, and by consequence was neere kinsman to *Lewis*. In fauour therfore of this Queene, he makes a proclamation in the territories of the Duke of *Bourgongne*, forbidding them to aide or assist *Edward*, terming himselfe King of *England*. And for a greater disgrace, King *Lewis* would impose a custome vpon the Salt in the Duchie of *Bourgongne*.

The *Bourguignon* opposeth: he protests that *Edward* King of *England* is his allie, and B that he could not deny him succors being required. As for the custome he shewes forth the ancient priuileges of *Bourgongne*, and intreats the King to forbear in the execution of this charge. Behold a sharpe touch, which might easily open the Dukes eares, to harken to these malcontents: yet would he not enter; but suffers the Earle his sonne to vse all his meanes for this effect, beeing discontented for the gouernment of *Normandie* taken from him, and his pension not payed, for the redeeming the Townes vpon *Somme*, and the aduancement of *Croy* in *France*. And although the passing and re-passing of the Agents and factors of these Princes were very secretly performed by men disguised like religious men, pilgrims & beggars, yet could they not worke so secretly, but the King had intelligence, that the *Britton* had sent to practise the loue and association of the King of *England*, & that by *Iohn* of *Rommillé*, vice-chancellor of *Brittanie*, he had made a strict allyance with the Earle of *Charolois*, a violent & valiant Prince. Thus the King sends the bastard of *Rubempré*, a sea Captaine, to surprise such as he should finde passing out of *Brittanie* into *England*, or from the *Bourguignon* to the *Britton*. This bastard lands at *la Haye* in *Holland*, hee enters the Towne (with three in his company) where then the Earle was resident. Being examined of his quality, and of the cause of his landing, he makes some difficultie to discouer himselfe. He is put in prison, as a pirate, sent (saied they) by *Lewis* to surprise the Earle treacherously, and so to preuaile more easily with the Duke his father. This brute was disperfed through the Countrie, and made the King odious. At the first report of these newes, *Philip* being at *Hedin*, D dislodgeth, without taking his leaue, although he had promised not to depart without speaking againe to the King.

Lewis (aduertised of the bastards detention), sends the Earle of *Eu*, the Chancellor *Morulliers*, and the Archbishop of *Narbonne*, to *Philip* beeing at *Lisle*: they accuse his son of treachery and infidelitie, for that he had made a League with the Duke of *Brittanie*, a friend and confederate with the *Englishe*. he complains of the restraint of *Rubempré* his seruant: and demands amends for words blowen & giuen out against the Kings honour: that the prisoner should be enlarged, and for expiation of the crime, that the authors of this slander should be deliuered into the Kings hands (especiallie *Oliuer de la Marche*, one of the chiefe in the Dukes Court) to bee exemplarily punished. The E Chancellor who deliuered the speech, being but a blunt man, made it as bitter as he could, and omitted nothing that might make the fact odious and criminall (for the which he shall in time and place, bee disauowed by the King and loose his office) adding moreouer that he could not conceyue the cause of the Earles discontent, if it were not for the pension and gouernment which the King had giuen him, and since taken away.

Philip answers, that *Rubempré* being charged with many crimes, was iustly taken, and in a Countrie where *Lewis* had no right. If the informations did acquit him, he would send him to the King. That *la Marche* was of the Countie, & therfore the King not to be his copetent Iudge: yet if he had done or sayed any thing against the honor of his maiestie, he would punish him to his liking. *Morullier* insists, vrging that *Philip* should not deny the King, and that he should command his sonne, not to entertaine any bad conceite of his Maiestie, nor beleue the scanders imposed vpon *Rubempré*.

The Duke replies: That till then hee had neuer denyed the King anie thing: and

It 4

contrari-

Ambassadors from Lewis to Philip.

Philip answers to the Ambassadors.

1465. contrariwise the King had failed of his promise, in that contrary to their transaction he had fortified the Townes redeemed, with great garrisons, the which he should haue inioyed during his life; taking an oathe of the Nobility, to carrie armes indifferently against all he should command. That if his sonne were ielous and distrustfull, heeooke it of his mother, who had often suspected him to go to other Ladies: & not from him, who suspected no man.

The Earle of *Charolois* toucht with the Chancellers speech, would haue taken the defence of his honor and the Duke of *Brittaines*. but *Philip* fearing least choller should transport him beyond reason, commands him to prepare for the next day. The night brings Counsel. The Earle hauing considered well of his plea, answers very respectfully: yet he maintaynes, that the proces of *Rubempre* would shew, that his imprisonment was both iust and duly made. That hee had made an allyance and strict league with the Duke of *Brittain*, being brothers in armes, but their association did nothing preiudice the Kings seruice, nor the good of his realme: but rather their common forces should be alwayes ready for the preservation of his crowne and the publicke good. As for the losse of his gouernment and pension, (whereof he had neuer receyued but one quarter) hee was nothing displeased: that as for any welth and honours, the fauour of the Duke his Lord and father did suffice him.

Thus the Ambassadors returne nothing to *Lewis*, but threats from the Earle: who charged the Archebishop of *Narbonne* particularly with this speech. That within one yeare he would make the King repent the iniurious words he had caused his Chancel-ler to giue him, in the presence of the Duke his father. And hauing speedily assembled a great armie out of *Artois*, *Hennault*, *Boullen*, *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Brabant*, consisting of foure thousand men at armes, and eight or ninthousand archers, vnder the en- seignes of *Lewis* of *Luxembourg* Earle of *Saint Paul*, and afterwards *Constable* of *France*, the Lord of *Raueslin* brother to the Duke of *Cleues*, *Anthony* bastard of *Bour-gongne*, *Haut-bourdin* bastard brother to the Earle of *Saint Pol*, *Contai* and *Lalun* va- liant and wise knights, with many other Noblemen and gentlemen, and great store of artillery and carriages: hee enters into *Picardie* as Lieutenant generall to the Duke of *Perry*, taking armes to releue (sayes he) the people furcharged with taxes and sub- sidies, and to recouer their ancient freedoms and liberties; to restore the Nobilitie D to their honors and ancient dignities, and to giue vnto the Clergie their rights and pre- heminences. In truth these were goodly shewes, able to perswade the credulous, and to supplant the affections of the simple.

For the first fruits of his forces, he takes *Nesle*, a little Castell neere vnto *Noyon*, in the which there was a garrison of *Roie*, *Montdidier*, *Beaulieu* and *Pont Saint Maxence*; then ha- uing passed the riuers of *Somme* & *Oise*, he comes with little spoile of the Country, to *S. Denis*, where all the confederats should meete, but they failed of their appointment. Hauing presented himselfe before *Paris*, and skirmished at the gates with some losse to the Inhabitants, supported onely by the companies of men at armes of *Charles* of *Me- lun* Baylife of *Sens*, of the Marshall *Joachim Rouault*, and the Lord of *Nantouillet*, after- wards great Master: he seized vpon *Saint Cloud*, where his army passed the *Saine*, to drawe towards *Esiampes*, and to ioyne with his confederats, whome the Kings army stayed in their march. In the meane time the Duke of *Bourbon* seizeth vpon the Kings reuenues and treasure, & of the chiefe officers, from whom he might draw any money. Then did *Anthony* of *Chabannes* Earle of *Dampmartin* escape out of the *Bastille* at *Pa- ris*, whom *Lewis* held prisoner, for that he had made warre against him in *Dauphine*, by the command of *Charles* the 7. vntill he had provided such caution as he demanded for the performance of the condition for the which he had giuen him his life: That hee should passe the remainder of his life an Exile at *Rhodes*. Who going through *Gajinois*, rooke & spoiled the Castells of *S. Forgeau* & *S. Maurice*, and carried away the captaine F prisoner, *Jeffroy* the son of *James Cœur*: he seized vpon *S. Pourcain*, & being aduertised that the King sent to beseege him by the *Faylifs* of *Sens*, & *Melun*, he retyred himselfe to the Duke of *Bourbon*. This flight did sodenly drawe the King vpon Duke *Lewis*. The places

The warres of
the Common
weale.

The Earle of
Charolois en-
ters *Picardie*.

Hee takes *Nesle*
Roie and
Montdidier.

Bourbonais were in a maner all taken & assured: hauing intelligence that the Duke of 1465.
Nemours with the Earles of *Albret* & *Armagnac* did march, & that succors came to the Duke of *Bourbon* out of *Bourgonne*, leuied by the Earle of *Beaune* and the Cardinall of *Bourbon* brethren to the said Duke (the which were of more shew the profit) he willingly harkens to an accord with these Princes, wrought by his sister being wife to the Duke of *Bourbon*, that they should beare armes for the King, & labor to win their confederats vnto him. A couention ill obserued, by means whereof *Lewis* had caused the siege of *Ri- onin* *Auvergne* to be raised, the which was at their deuotiō: this done, he goes towards *Angers*, to trie if by mildenes & good meanes he might reclaine his brother being in *Brittain*. Not able to effect it, & hearing the Earle of *Charolois* approached with great ex- pedition to *Paris*, he leaues *René* King of *Sicile* and Duke of *Anion*, & *Charles* Earle of *Maine* his Vncles by the mother side vpon the frontiers of *Brittain*, to hinder these great forces from ioyning with the *Bourguignons*. And lest the *Parisians* (abused with this goodly shew of the comon weale) should receiue them, he being so far from them, he makes his Vncles to go forward, who dislodging alwayes before the *Britton*, did greatly annoy him for want of victualles, and hindred his march, and he himselfe posts to *Or- leans* with speed, and from thence to *Chartres* vnder *Montlebery*, with no intent to fight vntill he had visited *Paris*, and gathered a greater power. but necessitie forceth him vnto it. The Earle of *Charolois* hearing of the Kings approach, marcheth towards him, & goes forward with the Bastard of *Bourbon*: commanding the rereward, to ioyne with the Earle of *Saint Pol*, who led the foreward: and takes his place of battaile in the plaine of *Montlebery*, where they appeere at the breake of day the 27 of Iuly. Hauing discouered the Kings army led by the Lord of *Breze* great Seneschall of *Normandie*, hee com- mands all his archers and the greatest part of his men at armes to leaue their horses, and every man to plant a stake before him in the formost ranks, to withstand the furie of the horse: behind he compasseth himselfe in with his carriages, and on the flank he fortifies himselfe with a forest adioyning, hauing resolved to fight on foote in a place of aduantage for the foote, before that all *Lewis* his troupes were ioyned. *Lewis* had about two thousand two hundred well appointed Lances, besides the Nobility of *Dauphine* and some gentlemen of *Sauoie* and *Bresse*, a great number of Archers, and o- ther men of warre; but not equall to the *Bourguignons*. God, who disposeth of battailes, would now chastise our King, but not to his ruine.

The battaile
of *Montlebery*.

The Earle *Charolois* like a great commander in warre used a good stratagem, seeing the *French* army could not descend into the valley of *Tourfau*, but by small troupes: for while as the foreward appeered, they were not aboue 400. Lances, yet hee gaue respite to the re- ward, whilest the two armies spend the time in light skirmishes and Canonshots. Hauing past some foure houres, the Earle aduertised that the *Parisians* being sent for by the King might come and compass him in behind, he aduerteth first: our foreward doth likewise march, but he beats them backe vnto the village, and to (dislodge them from thence) hee fiers certaine houses, so as the winde carries the flame and smoake into our archers faces, who did likewise fight on foot: hee cometh then to abandon the place and to recouer their horses. The *Bourguignons* do dismount & gallop after our runn-awayes, but they had recouered a long & large ditch: which they found by chance in the field with a strong quickset hedge, behind the which they breathed whilest the enemy labored in the pursute: but issuing at cyther end a troop vpon the *Bourgonngons*, they charge them so resolutely, as they turne their backs, ouerthrowing their owne archers in the flight: some recouer their carriages, and some the foremost amongst others the Earle of *S. Paul* & his bretheren, the Lords of *Raueslin*, *Haplaincourt*, & *Armities*, & *Inchi*, *Rabodenges*, & many others. The nobility of *Dau- phine*, *Sauoie* & *Bresse* had the chiefe honor of this defeate. The archers thus broken, re- mained at the mercy of the *French*. But being pestred with the baggage, some *Bourguig- nons* rallied together, turne their carts, compass them in, & beat them downe with great battles of lead. And to increase the losse, *Charolois* fighting on the right hand towards the Castell, had an easie victory ouer our men, chasing the backe aboue a thousand paces. But hauing intelligence that they were ioyned againe, & that if he passed but two arrow

shoots

1465. shoots farther he should be taken, he returned soderly, & scincounters an amazed troupe A of footemen flying in the village. He chargeth them, but no man turnes head, saving one lie one soldier who strooke him on the brest with a borespeare, but the foote man lost his life with some fewe others who could not in time recouer the gradens & orchards. As he passed against the Castell, he met by chance with a troupe of men at armes, which saved them selves from the route at the cariages: one of them in the charge gives him a dangerous wound in the throat with his sword, by reason of his beaver that was fallen. *Jefferie* of Saint *Belain*, called *la Hire*, Baylife of *Chaumont*, and *Gilbert* of *Grassy* knewe him, they presse him to yeeld and not to be slaine: but behold the sonne of a Physician of *Paris*, called *John Cadet*, the historie in truth owes his name for so worthy an act, being big and mighty of body, mounted on a horse of the same proportion, B rushes through them, & diuides them that held him. Then happilie arriues the bastard of *Bourgongne*, and the Earles garde, by means whereof the *French* retire themselves to their ditch, where they had beene in the morning. During the which, a false brute of the Kings death had almost ouerthrowne all, for euery one began to faint. The Earle of *Maine*, the Admirall of *Montauban*, and the Lord of *Borde* embracing this common beleefe, fle with al the reward. *Lewis* aduertised of this amazement, takes off his helmet, shewes him selfe to his soldiars, and so assures them that he is aliue. On the other side, the *Bourguignon* rallies his men disperfed and wearied, readie to fle if they had bin charged. At the same instant the Count *Saint Paul*, goes to the field and gathers together vnder his enseigne about eight hundred men at armes, and but fewe foote. C

Charles of Bourgongne taken and released.

A famous bataille for running away.

Charles Earle of Charolais muste of the place of Battaille.

The number the dead.

Success come to the Earle of Charolais.

Behold the two armies ranked one against an other, not like vnto tired men, but hauing vewed one another, and mutuallie discharged their Canon. The night approached, which ended the bataille: an incounter, where the notable flying on either side did wonderfully moderate the furie of the fight. The which being thus ended, the King was conducted by the *Scottes* to the Castell of *Montlehery*, hauing neither catenar nor dronke all that day, and then he retyres to *Corbeil*. The Earle keeps the field, poile the dead, and therefore holds himselfe a Conqueror. Amongest the Kings men were, knowne *Jefferie* of Saint *Belain*, the great Steward of *Normandy*, Captaine *Flee*, and Baylife of *Eureux*, with many gentlemen, to the number of foure hundred horse and but fewe of foote men. Our *Bourguignons*, the Lords of *Lalain*, *Hames*, *Gagnie*, *Varenne*, and almost all the Earles Archers: *Haplainonurt*, *Aimeries*, *Inchy* and many others, were taken flying, and brought prisoners to *Paris*: of footemen there were more slaine, then of the Kings part. A'l which were esteemed by some, at two thousand of both sides, others be'd the three thousand six hundred, but al assure constantly, that there were more *Bourguignons* then *French*, although *Lewis* lost more horsemen.

In truth, the firme resolution, the constant labour, the dangerous hazards manfully passed by the King, were sufficient motives to encourage his men to honor; and if he had beene well and courageously followed, notwithstanding his small number, and want of artillery, the Earle of *Charolais* soldiars had digged their graues at *Montlehery*. Three daies after the bataille, the Earle of *Charolais* being aduertised that his confederates approached, went to receiue them at *Eslampes*, The Dukes of *Berry* & *Brittaine*, the Earle of *Dunois*, and *Dammartin*, the Lords of *Loheac* Marshall of *France*, of *Buel* *Chaumont* and *Charles* of *Amboise* his sonne, all disgraced by *Lewis*, and put from their offices, although they had well serued the King his father. They brought with them (saith the historie) eight hundred good men at armes, most *Brittains*, who had newly left the companies, euery one pretending some discontent. Of Archers and other men of war resolute & wel appointed, six thousand on horsebacke, all of the *Brittains* charge, who (assured by some me at armes that fled vp o the Kings death, promifeth to himselfe much good in conceit, in case the Duke of *Berry* come to the Crowne. And if at that instant they would haue guen him credit, they should haue suppressed the *Bourguignons*, or at the least dismissed them, verifing, That there is small loyaltie, and lesse pity in men of warre.

On the other side, the Duke of *Berry* began to loath these broyles, for in open Council, (hauing

hauing vewed seven or eight hundred hurte men wandering vp and downe the Towne, he said: how much more glad would I haue beene, if this warre had neuer begon, then to purchase my selfe riches and honor which the price of so much blood. A speech worthy of a milde Prince and not bloudie: but ill digested by the *Bourguignon*, supposing that *Charles* would easely make his peace vpon the least motion made by *Lewis*. And to assure him selfe as wel without as within the realme, he sends *William* of *Cluni* (afterwards Bishop of *Poitiers*, to *Edward* King of *England*, although he had alwayes supported the house of *Lancaster*, from whence he was issued by his mother, against that of *Torke*.

Hauing refreshed their troups they all dislodge from *Eslampes*, and take the way to Saint *Mathurin* of *Laroham*, and *Moret* in *Castinois*, and hauing an intents to passe the riuer of *Scine*, the Earle employes many coopers to make pipes, hauing brought great store of stufte for that purpose, whereon a bidge was made (for want of convenient boats) through the fauour of the Canon, which the Earle had planted in an *Island* in the midst of the riuer.

There ioynes with them *John* Duke of *Calabria* the onelic sonne of *René* King of *Sicile*, the Prince of *Orange*, *Thibault* of *Neuf-chastel* Marshall of *Bourgongne*, and *Montagu* his brother, the *Marquis* of *Rotelin*, the Lords of *Argueil* and *Thoulongeon*, with many others, leading nine hundred men at armes of the Duchie and Countie of *Bourgongne*, six score men at armes barded *Italians* commanded by *Galeot* and *Campo-bisso*, foure hundred *German* crosse-bowes sent by the *Cont Palatin*: and five hundred *Suisses* (the which were the first that came to our warres. A farall and lameurable alliance for the *Bourguignon*, as we shall see in his place) of other footemen very fewe.

All this great torrent of a hundred thousand men, inuiron *Paris*: they seize vpon *S. Maur* on the ditches *Pont Charenton*, *Conslans*, *S. Denis*, and other Places thereabouts, they tyre the inhabytants with contynuall skirmishes, euen at their gates: and shakes their affections by practises and deuises. The Duke of *Berry* writes to the Clergie, to the Court of *Parlement*, to the vniuersitie (which then was in great credit in *Paris*) and to the *Bourgeses* to euery one a part, shewing them that all these forces tend not but to the peoples ease and profit: and requires them to depute men of iudgement and learning to vnderstand more at large the causes of this their great assemblie.

Ten Deputies heare their complaints, being led by *William Chartier* Bishop of *Paris*, they report it to the Counsell of the Cittie, who answers: That the Cittie shalbe free for the Princes to enter into at their pleasure, they and theirs abstaining from violence and paying their expences. Surely this would haue beene a Conquest of the cittie of *Paris*. But the great Maister of *Nantouillet*, the Marshal *Joachim*, and other Capitaines take a vew of their forces, and by this meanes retayne the *Parisiers* who changing their minds, are fully confirmed by the arriual of *John* of *Rohan* Lord of *Montauban* Admirall of *France*, with great troups of men. O light and inconstant people, how easly is it to moue thy affections, and to make thee in an instant to applaud that partie which euen now thou diddest abhorre. But let vs leaue them in this good humour, and see what remedy the King had for these garboyles attending, the succors the Duke of *Milan* sent him.

Lewis being (after the battayle) retyred from *Corbeil* to *Paris*, flatters the peoples humours, treats popularly with them, erects a priuie Counsell, of six Counsellors of the Court, sixe Doctors of the Vniuersitie, and sixe Burgesies, to gouerne his affaires according to their aduice and direction: he leaues sixe hundred Lances in *Paris*, vnder the command of the bastard of *Armaignac*, Earle of *Cominge*, of Maister *Gilles* of *Saint Simon* Bayliffe of *Senlis*, *la Barde*, *Craon*, *Charles* of *Mares*, and *Charles* of *Melan* his Lieutenant in the said towne. Then he goes into *Normandy*, to assemblie al the Nobility and men of warre he could: from whence he sent the Earle of *Eu* to haue the

1465.
Duke Berry loathes the effusion of blood.

Other succors come to the confederate Princes.

Paris beleagard.

1465. the commande of the war and of the Cittie, followed with two hundred archers well in order. The Earle being arriued, he sends the Lord of *Rambure* to the *Leaguers*, offering to bee a mediator for their discontents vnto his maiestie, but it was without effect.

Meane to pacifie a people that wauer.

Lewis his proceeding at Paris. Newe succors to both parties.

A Politick aduice.

A bridge of boats at *Charenton*.

The King hauing intelligence of the confederats trafficke with the *Parisians*, knowing that this people dorth easily change their affections with the successe: and foreseeing that this baite of the commonweale, would soone bewitch them, displeased also that the Bishop had without his knowledge treated of an accord, he hastens his returne, accompanied with the Earles of *Maine* and *Ponthieure*, and the forces of *Normandie*. And for the first fruits of loue to his subiects hee confirmed all the priuileges they enjoyed in his fathers life: he abolished all new impositions, and retayned none but the ancient and ordinary farmes of marchandise that is sold by great: then did hee punish, eyther with banishment or death, such as had yielded to the reception of the heads of the League into the Cittie. Hedoth sharply blame the Bishop, (and at the instigation of the Cardinall of *Albi*, who haue bene a dealer in his absence for his enemies with an inconstant and ill-advised people: and hauing provided for the surety of the Cittie, hee prepares to offend and defend. The *Bourguignons* likewise vse all force, great and daylie skirmishes with the *Parisians*, sometimes chasing and sometimes chased. And therevpon comes newe supplies to the *Leaguers*, the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Nemours*, the Earle of *Armaignac*, and the Lord of *Albret* (notwithstanding the former treaty) with about six thousand men.

On the other side, the King receiued from *Francis Sforze* Duke of *Milan*, six hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote, commanded by *Caleas* his eldest son, with this Counsell of State: *That to diuide this company, hee should yeeld to all conditions, and only preferue his men.* An aduice which *Lewis* shall cunningly put in practise speedily. These *Milanois* were employed in *Bourbonois*, vntill newes of the peace shall come. The Earle thus fortified, offers battaile, but the King would not hazard any thing, desiring to disperse this misse cloud without effusion of blood. And to annoyne them of *Conflans* & *Charenton*, he sends foure thousand frank-archers, & about foure hundred pioneers, supported by the Nobility of *Normandie*, and some at armes, who plant themselves vpon riuers side right against *Conflans*, at the *English* port, where they make a large and a long trench vnto the Cittie, with a bulwark of wood and earth, whereon they plant many peeces of artillery, the which at the first driues the Duke of *Calabria* out of *Charenton*, with great losse of his men, and an extreame terror to the Earle of *Charolois*, who lodged at *Conflans* in a house belonging to his Father. Two Cannon shor passed through his Camber being at dinner, and slewe his trompetor, carrying a dish to his table. This amazement makes him go downe with speed: he fortifies his lodging, pierceth the walles, and plants a Cannon for a counterbatterie.

But they must dislodge these frank-archers, & preuent the losse they receyued from the other side of the water. For the effecting of this, he obtaines a truce for two dayes, in which time he made a bridge of boats. The bridge almost finished, the frank-archers leaue their trenches, carrie away their artillery, and retire to the suburbs into the Carthusians cloister. A part of the *Bourguignons* army passeth the water: they enter the suburbs of *Saint Marceau*, and skirmish, but with little losse on cyther side. Herevpon our Captaines resolute to assaile the enemy in diuers parts. A page sent by night, giues them intelligence. At the breake of day some horsemen charge home to the artillery and kil a Canoniere. This was in shewe the effect of the pages aduertisement. All arme: they make barricadoes and stand firme. The artillery thunders: the Kings answers them. They send forth two hundred horse to discover: who see a troupe issuing forth the Cittie to learne the cause of this tumult, and moreouer a great number of Lances in conceit: and so they report that all are come forth in battaile, but the daye breaking they proue but thistells. So this alarme turnes to laughter. In the meane time they treat of peace, but the demands of the Confederats were excessive. The Duke of *Berry* demands *Normandie* for his portion.

The

The Earle of *Charolois*, the Townes of *Somme* lately redeemed. For the better effecting hereof, the two commanders conclude of an enteruiew. The King mounts vp the water right against the *Bourguignons* armie, accompanied with the Lords of *Montauban*, Admirall, *Namouillet*, *Du Lau*, and few others. The Earles of *Charolois* and *S. Paul*, come to receiue him. He then offers to giue his Brother the Prouinces of *Frie* and *Champaigne*, excepting *Meaux*, *Melun* and *Montereau*: the which he would not accept. He graunts the *Charolois* his desire, disauowes *Moruilliers* in certaine speeches, wherein he saith he had exceeded his charge: and for the Earles sake he promifeth to giue the office of Constable to the Earle of *S. Paul*.

These entercourses of either side proue lamentable for the King: for besides that the Princes doe daily suborne more of his men then he can draw from them, behold *Pontoise* is deliuered to the *Britton* by *Sorbier*, commanding there vnder the Marshall *Lorraine*; and to finish so notable a treacherie, he marcheth towards *Meulan* to the same intent, but the inhabitants being aduertised, he returnes without effect. There growes an other vprore in *Paris*: the Souldiers vaunt insolently, that the Cittizens goods are at their free disposition: that they will take the Keyes of their houses from them, and for a need will pull the cheines out of their streetes. Herevpon the Prouost of Marchants calles the Captaines of the quarters, and chiefe of the Cittie to counsell: he commands them in the night to make fires at all the corners of the streets, and to watch in armes, euery man in his quarter. The people stands vpon their garde, ready to attempt some great action. The King himselfe goes the round, he findes the gate of the *Rajule* towards the fields open, and the artillerie cloyed. But oh the prouidence of God, misfortune is good for some thing. These v unexpected fires disappoint the conspirators practises, they hinder the approach and entry of the enemy, and saue the Cittie. Moreover *Gisors* is beleagard, & the garrison abandons it. But that which imports more, the widow of the great Senehall of *Brezeai*, (gouerned by the Bishop of *Bayeux*,) then resident at *Rouan*, with some other Partisans, giues *Iohn* Duke of *Bourbon* entrie into the Caste, and so into the Cittie. The Cittie desiring long to haue a Duke remaining in the country, consents to this change, and sweares to the said Duke, for the Duke of *Berry*. In a manner, all the Townes and places of the Prouince follow the example of their capitall Cittie.

The *Bourguignons* armie was now reduced to extreame necessitie of victuals and money, so as all the Noblemen dreamed onely of a retreat. And yet (an admirable thing) the price of victuals was not risen in the Cittie. So many stormes caused *Lewis* to demand a second enteruiew, before that the yeelding vp of *Rouan* should be knowne to the Earle. He grants the Duchie of *Normandie* to his Brother: restores the Townes vpon *Somme* to the Earle: to the *Britton* his Countie of *Montfort*, with promise to discharge his charges: he giues the office of Constable to the Earle of *S. Paul*: he promifeth vnto *Iohn* Duke of *Calabria*, men and money to recouer his realme of *Naples*. to pay what had bene promised for the marriage of his Sister to the Duke of *Bourbon*, with the execution of other clauses contained in the contract: to restore vnto all others the goods, offices and dignities, which they had enjoyed vnder his father *Charles*. He stands vnto the Princes, that not any one should be bound to come in person at his summons, but should discharge their homage and duties, in sending such forces as they were bound to furnish at need. To conclude, all the publick good is turned to priuate interest. The Earle of *Charolois* accepts these conditions so willingly, as discoursing with the King the vehement desire he had to see the execution of this treatie, carries him into the trench of the Bulwarke of frank-archers, by the which they entred the Cittie. The *Bourguignons* hauing lost him, crie out that he was stayed. The chiefe assemblie together, they tremble, they condemne their Earle of rashnesse, alleaging the inconuenience happened to his grandfather at *Montereau*, in the presence of *Charles* the 7. and they begin to talke of their safetie: but as they walked into the field on horse-back, behold they discover about fiftie of the Kings horse, conducting the Earle to his quarter. So euery one renewed his spirits, and iointly commend the Kings loyalty.

1465. An enteruiew of the two heads.

Paris in danger to be surprized.

The Parisians ready to mutine.

Paris in danger to be surprized.

Rouan yeelded to the Confederates.

The peace of Conflans, and the conditions.

Loyaltie in King Lewis.

V v

Two

1465. Two dayes alter the treatie of peace was read, and tworne on either side, at Vincennes, Charles the Kings brother did homage for the Duchie of Normandie, the Earle of Charolois for the Townes and land in Picardie, and likewise the rest that had homages to doe. The Earle of S. Paul tooke his oath for the office of Constable: the rest for the most part receiue their goods and honours. So the Duke of Normandie was conducted vnto Rouen, by the Duke of Brittainie. The Earle of Charolois took his way to Amiens, and receiued homage of the inhabitants, as also of other places that were restored vnto him, by the peace. Then he entred into the countrie of Liege, that rebelled of late dayes against his father, vpon the first brute of the ouerthrow of the Earle his sonne at Montlehery, without attending the trueth. He pacified the Countrie, and returned into Brabant. This was called the peace of Conflans, which was but a counterfeite, the 28. of October 1465. the which the Burguignon had not so easily yeelded vnto, if he had receiued sooner that refreshing of men and money, which Philip sent him by the Lord of Sauenze.

It was an act of great import, for Lewis to disperse these Princes so cunningly: he did well foresee, that the Charolois being faire from them, and busied in his owne Countries, would hardly turne head in the Winter season. Moreouer he knew well the meanes (as he was an excellent plotter of partialities) how to diuide the Dukes of Normandie and of Brittainie. And in trueth they were scarce arrived in their new Duchie, but all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Capitaines, expected some preterment from Charles Duke of Normandie, so greatly aduanced by this peace; and moreouer the Duke of Brittainie, who had bene farthest ingaged in the charge, was little amended by the treatie: they all by a generall discontent shew a notable subiect of distrust of the new Duke: so as there is spread abroad a still rumour, That the Brittons would carry Charles into Brittainie. Vpon this brute, the Dukes seruants and the Inhabitants troupe together: they runne by heapes to Saint Katherins Mount (where Charles remained yet, attending the preparatiues of his entrie) they lead him into the Citie, without any other assistance, but the Clergie in their ornaments. The Duke of Brittainie, fearing the mutinie of this people, retires vnto his Countrie: and in his way hee takes some Townes in Normandie, wherein he leaueth diuerse garrisons.

Lewis imbraceth this occasion; and vpon this diuision marcheth against his brother, treaties with the Duke of Brittainie at Argenton, to win him from the alliance of the Duke of Normandie: he takes from him (by the Duke of Bourbon newly reconciled) Epernay, Fernon, Louuiers, Pont de Larche, and other places: and by Charles of Melun, Gisors, Courmay, Chailly: and consequently all bate Normandie. Caen held some other places, being in the hands of Lesclapart, a trustie seruant to both the Dukes. Charles abandoned by all men, and set vpon by so mighty an armie, resolues to retire into Flanders, and seekes to the Earle of Charolois, whom this diuision did much grieue: for he desired about all things to see a Duke in Normandie, the which the old gentle weaken the King. But the time was vnseasonable, being busied against the Liegeois. Yet for a proofe of his good hap, he labours to put some troupes (gathered vp in Picardie) into Diepe: but Lewis preuent him, and compounds with the Gouverneur. Herevpon the two Dukes reconcile themselves, considering (but too late) that as their dissention had already ruined the one, so might it easily ouerthrow the other: according to the saying, That by concord small things increase, but by discord great are ouerthrowne. In trueth it is a hard matter for great men to entertaine friendship long: and for the State it is necessarie to haue one soueraine head ouer all, who by his iudgement, wisdom, and credit, may retaine the subiects in obedience.

So the Duke of Normandie begs helpe of the Britton, being poore, overcome, and abandoned now in his aduersity, of all them that during his prosperity had grounded the anchor of their hope vpon his fortunes, and had newly made their peace with the King.

The Duke of Brittainie receiues him, & in his fauour sends an Ambassage to the King, giuing

A giuing him to vnderstand, that for the honour of his blood, and respect of his Maiestie, he had receiued him; seeing him a fugitiue, and vnprovided of necessarie meanes to entertaine his estate. Therevpon Lewis makes answer, that he could not dismember Normandie, the goodliest flower of his Diadem, from the Crowne of France, whose demaines are inalienable. The Duke replies: That to giue a portion to his brother, grounded in part of the successe right, was an alienation of long time receiued in France, seeing that many held it euen then by the same title. But they commonly say, it is in vaine to preach to them that care not to doe well. Lewis could not yeeld to the preterment of his brother: and the Brittons Ambassadors returned with no other answer, but a bare confession, that it was reasonable to giue him some portion, and that he would consider of the quantitie thereof.

B Thus Rouen (wanting their Duke some fewe dayes,) yeeldes the King obedience with small adoe: who sodenly causeth many to bee executed of his brother Charles faction. The Lord of Esternay, taken by Charles of Melun great Maister, in a Friars weed, accompanied with an Augustine, was beheaded: yet some write that both were drowned in the riuer of Vre. The King offended with the entertainment the Duke of Brittainie had giuen to his Brother, and aduertised that John Duke of Calabria was dead beyond the Mountaines: he calls home the troupes he had giuen him, to haue the greater forces to assaile the Britton, for receiuing of his enemies, and practising intelligences within his realme. And euen then the Duke of Alençon promised to giue the Duke passage through his country, if he would enter into Normandie. Moreouer so many Ambassages from the King to the Duke and Earle of Charolois, and from them to the King: from the Earle to the Dukes, and from them to the Earle, were but to discover their humours, and vnder colour of faith, to with-draw mens affections. So the Duke of Brittainie, not able to perswade the King to reason, enters into Normandie, takes Caen, Bayeux, and Auranthes: he burnes Meruile and some other places, whilest that the King assembles the forces of Anjou, Poictou, and Normandie; and the Earle of Charolois resolues to succour his confederates, hauing suppressed them of Liege and Gant. And for that our Lewis hath bene so confusedly incombred amidst the combustions of those people: let vs leaue France, to learne briefly the cause, the proceeding and the end of these warres.

D The Liegeois hereditarie and capitall enemies to the house of Bourgogne, (seeing all tend to open war betwixt the King and the Earle of Charolois, seekes the Kings friendship and alliance, and they obtaine it, vpon condition to enter presently into the countie of Hainault and Namur, belonging to the Duke of Bourgogne, with all acts of hostility: the King promising vnder his seale, to succour them with two hundred men at armes, (euery one hauing three horses at the least,) and not to treat any accord or peace with the Duke without their consent, and to comprehend them in it, putt vp with this fauour and imagined succours, they send a Herald to Philip being at Brussels, with letters, desying the Earle his sonne with fire and sword, and thereon demand an answer.

E The Duke hauing read these Letters, deliuered them vnto the Herauld, willing him to carry them to his sonne. So he returnes to Liege, but he is presently sent backe with other Letters, desying the Duke himselfe and all his allies. And sodenly they breake into the Dukes countrie, they spoile, raiuish, burne, and omitte no outrage that one enemy may doe to another. Philip assembles the forces of his Countries, and sends for the Dukes of Cleues and Gueldres: the Earles of Nassau and Horne, the Marquesse of Raubellin, and others that were neighbours to Liege.

But this multitude finding the King to faile them of his promise, and that they were not able to resist so great forces, they shutte themselves vp within the walles of Liege.

F Then at the first and false newes of the ouerthrow of the Earle of Charolois at Montlehery, (as the passions of a disordered minde doe easlie make men to beleue what they wishesth,) they take a subiect of new follie. Those of Dinan especially, a people of Liege, proud and arrogant to haue at sundrie times endured seuentene sieges of

1467. Emperours and Kings, yet neuer conquered, make an image very like to the Earle of Charolois, and attired with his armes: they carry it in troupe neere to Bouuines in the Countie of Namur: they set vp a high gibbet in the sight of the Cittizens, and there they hang this Image, crying with open throate. See there the Sonne of your Duke, that false traytor the Earle of Charolois, whome the King of France hath, or will cause to be hanged, as you see heere. Hee termed himselfe the Sonne of your Duke, he lyed: he was a villaine bastard, changed in his infancie with the Sonne of the Lord of Hainfeberghe, our Bishop. Did he thinke to ruine the Noble house of France? From these and such like insolent speeches, they come to deedes, armed against the subiects of Philip, with fire and sword, the instruments of their horrible outrages. This was not all, the father must receiue the like disgrace by his picture, the which they carryed to the Dung-hill before Bouuines, and setting it vpon a peece of wood. See heere (say they) the Seate of the great Toade your Duke. Those of Bouuines exhort these madde men to performe the duties of good subiects to the Duke, before that matters grew more bitter. But the bearer of this good and hollesome counsell, returned without his head: they send an innocent child with the like Letters, hoping his tender age would moue some respect, and mollifie these cruell and vnaturall minds, but in delphight of the Duke and of their neighbours, they killed him most barbarouslie, and tare him in peeces.

O insolent people, which haue not yet learned, That there is no vice whereon God doth more often shew his iudgements, then vpon pride. The great wealth thou hast gathered together during thy long felicitie, hath it so furiously transported thee beyond the bounds of obedience? and to what end is thy great wealth, but to draw thee headlong to thy ruine? Philip takes his reuenge by the defeat of foure thousand Liegeois, fortified within Montenac, a village five leagues from Liege. The Earle of Nassau did this exploit, but the Duke would be present in person with the Earle his sonne, at the taking and vtter defolation of Dinan. He besiegeth it with aboue twenty thousand horse, beside foote, which were in great numbers, takes it, spoiles it, and destroyes it, and drags eight hundred prisoners chained together, to be drowned in the Meuse, before Bouuines: an expiation for the tyrannicall extorsions they had endured by the Dinardais. Those of Liege did for this time escape the like fortune, but it was but deferred, and behold an other cause of indignation, which they procure to themselves. Lewis of Bourbon Bishop of Liege by resignation, and admitted to the dignitie by the intercession and fauour of Duke Philip to the Pope, begins to preferre the most confident and trustie seruants of the said Philip, to all offices and dignities within the Towne. The people are grieved thereat, they mutine and expell the Bishop. This reuolt against their spirituall and temporall Lord, procures the Popes excommunication against them. Philip after the destruction of Dinand turnes head against them: but terrified with so sharpe a punishment, they fle to the Earle of Charolois, who is a meane for their peace and pardon, paying six hundred thousand Florins of the Rhin in sixe yeares, and three hundred hostages for a securitie of their deeds and promises, specified by the Bishop. Thus this people restored to fauour with their Prince, and reconciled to their Bishop, were absolved of the excommunication, by Onofrie a Romaine Cittizen and Bishop of Troye.

Whilest that Philip subdues the Liegeois, Lewis employes his whole studie to ruine the house of Brittanie, and to confirme a truce with the English, who threatned France with a new descent during our diuisions, and hee praesenteth the Bourguignon by all meanes. And to presse him to renounce his Brother Charles and the Duke of Brittanie, he takes the Liegeois into his protection against their Duke, in case hee shall hereafter wot on them: the which he doth signifie vnto him by the Constable of S. Paul, and the Cardinal Bilue, offering notwithstanding to renounce their alliance, if he will likewise abandon his brother and the Britton. This Brauado proceeds to effects. He sendes them foure hundred Launces of his ordinarie, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Dammartin, the Lords of Salezart, Conyhem and Vignolles, with sixe thousand Archers. The Earle of S. Paul, (but without the Kings authoritie) lead them somerowes

speedily

A speedily leuied vpon the frontiers of Picardie. The first act of his Tragedie, which in the 1467. end shall make him leaue his head at the Greue in Paris. But it was now time for Philip of Burgundy to leaue the troubles of this world, to enioy an assured and euertlasting rest in heauen.

This inconstant and mutinous people, supposing by the decease of their Lord, to be at libertie, they breake out: go to field, recouer all the Townes, chase away the garrisons placed by the deceased Duke: spoile and sack the places they take by force, without any care of their ingaged hostages, who were all readie to be sacrificed by Charles the new Duke of Bourgenne, to requite the madde insolencies of their countymen, yet he referres the reuenge for a more famous memorie. Hee partes from Louuain in armes, and well accompanied, and goes to besiege Saintron. The Liegeois (to raise the siege,) issue forth with thirtie thousand men, some five hundred horse, and great store of Artillerie.

The Duke turnes head againe, chargeth them and ouer-comes them, he kills about nine thousand: the approaching night saues the rest. Presently after this charge, the Duke (pust vp with this good successe) speakes bigge, he writes vnto the Constable like a Rodomont, answerable to the speeches he had with him at Louuain: That he beseeched the King for his sake to attempt nothing vpon the State of Brittanie, aduertising him of the memorable battaile which he had wonne. After the which Saintron yeelds vpon conditions, and the tenth man is chosen out at the Dukes pleasure, and then beheaded. Tongres was no better intreated: and these miserable wretches thus tithed, were for the most part of those hostages, which hee had freely sent home, vpon condition to imploy themselves to pacifie the seditious humours of their fellowe Cittizens.

In the end, as he turned all his forces against Liege, premeditating with himselfe of a lamentable and bloudie reuenge, behold three hundred of their best Cittizens come forth in their shirts, bare headed and bare legged, bringing the Keyes to the Duke. He enters the Citie by a great breach of twentie sadome beaten downe in the wall, disarms the inhabitants, takes from them their artillerie which remained, razeth all the Towers and Towne walles, and chargeth them with heauier imposts then euer his father had done. A worke of heauen, which quencht the fire of sedition, which began to flame at Gand: a stirring people, and second to the Liegeois in inconstancie: of whome it is commonly sayd, That they loue the sonne of their Prince, but not the Prince himselfe. So the Gantois bring vnto him on foote as farre as Bruxelles, the seuentie and two banners of the occupations, which he had graunted them at his entrie, with all the priuileges and letters they had tumultuously wrested from him.

Charles sent the sayd Banners to Bologne la grasse, to accompany those which his father had in like sort taken from them: he disanulled their priuilege of the law, whereby the people had right of 26. Sheriffes of the Towne, to choose euery yeare two and twenty, and the Prince but foure: he condemned them in thirtie thousand Florines to himselfe, and sixe thousand to his officers and followers: All other Townes compounded for money, and then he made his entrie armed into Gand. Thether came Ambassadors to him from Lewis, labouring to drawe him to consent to the warres which he pretended to make in Brittanie: the which not able to obtaine, the Winter was spent in sending one to another: and Summer being come, Lewis enters the said Duchie, with an armie of fiftie thousand men: and at his first arriuall he takes Chantoué, and Ancenis, and after some other militarie exploits, he forceth both his brother and the Duke of Brittanie, to accept such conditions as he would prescribe vnto them: That they should renounce all alliances, and especially that of the Duke of Bourgenne: That his Brother Charles, lately Duke of Normandie, should haue twelue thousand Franckes a yeare rent, for his portion, issuing out of some lands which should carrie the title of a Dukedome or Countie, and three score thousand Franckes for his pension.

V v 3

In

The treatie at Ancenis.

A horrible outrage committed by them of Dinan

The Liegeois rebell against.

They are defeated.

The Liegeois submit themselves to their Duke.

A Florin is about three shillings and seven pence.

Lewis supports the Liegeois against their Duke.

1467. In the meane time *Charles* of *Bourgongne*, at the instance of his allies, was already advanced to *Peronne*. Then had Pope *Pius* the 2. sent a Legate into *France*, for the renunciation of the Pragmatick Sanction, made by *Lewis* at his coming to the Crowne. The Patents are read in the *Chafselet* without contradiction. *Balance* comes to the Palace the first of October, to haue them in like sort published. But Maister *John* of *S. Romain*, the Kings Proctor generall, opposeth himselfe directly against the execution thereof, notwithstanding the iniurious threats of the said Cardinall: *Replying* (saith the Originall) that he had rather loose both his office, and all his wealth, then to do anything against his conscience, to the hurt of the Realme, and preiudice of the Kings dignitie. In the end, the Rector of the Vniuersitie, (for then they maintained by faithfull obedience, their ancient authoritie) and the Deputies thereof, go to the Legat: they appeale from him, and the effect of the said Letters, to the holy Councell, the like they doe in all other places where need required. They protest the like at the *Chafselet*, and depart not before their opposition be registred.

The Kings Proctor generall opposeth himselfe stoutly against the Pcs proceedings.

Lewis solicits the *Liegeois* to a new rebellion.

Hereupon the King sends the said Legat and Cardinall with *John Ladriesche* Treasurer of *France*, to the Duke of *Bourgongne*, to signifie vnto him the accord made with his Brother and the Duke of *Brittanie*, and to treat of a peace with the said Duke of *Bourgongne*, but alwaies tending to diuide him from them: and (for a baite) he promisseth to giue him fixe score thousand Crownes of gold, the one halfe to be paid before he dislodgeth, for the charges of his leuie: and hoping to winne him wholly to his will, he concludes of an enterview at *Peronne*, by the meanes of the sayd *Balance*, and to this effect, the Duke writes him a Letter with his owne hand, as a warrant to go and come. And in the meane time, that *Charles* busied at home, should nowayes hinder *Lewis* in the warre he pretended to make in *Brittanie*, (for he still gaped after the conquest of that Prouince) he had sent againe vnder-hand, to sollicite the *Liegeois* to a new sedition, wherevnto they were too prompt for their owne good: they arme, and by stealth surpriue *Tongres*, and carrie their Bishoppewith many Chanoines (whome they hated to the death) prisoners to *Liege*. Yet somewhat respecting the Legates presence, they were content to pull out the hearts of fire or fixe of them, in sight of the Bishop, with an outrageous violence, hewing one of them into many peeces, the which with a brutish derision they cast one at another like vnto Tennis D Balles.

These two Princes liued in continuall distrust, and feared one another: for the falsitie of their persons at this meeting, they fortifie themselves with great forces. *Lewis* to free the Duke of all ieaousie, comes ill accompanied, but he is followed by *John* Duke of *Bourbon* his brother in lawe, the Cardinall brother to the sayd Duke, the Constable of *Saint Paul*, the Cardinall *Balance*, (a man which dealt much in matters of armies and State) by *Tarnegui* of *Chafel*, newly receiued into fauour, and many other commanders of troupes. *Charles* had sent for the Armie of *Bourgongne*, where there were many Noblemen, in former times ill intreated by the King: as *Antoine Ch. sieuueuf*, Lord of *Lau*, (who had escaped from *Villon*, a strong place in *Auuergne*, where *Lewis* kept him prisoner, vnder the garde of *Charles* of *Melan*, who (sauing his owne head) inbued three scaffolds with bloud, with that of *Charles* at *Loches*: of *Remonet*, sonne to the wife of *Charles* at *Tours*: and of the Kings Proctor at *Villon*, in *Meaux*: *Poncet de Riuiere*, d'urfe, (who was after Maister of the Kings Horle): three Princes of the house of *Sauoy*, that is to say, the Lord of *Bresse*, the Bishop of *Geneue*, and the Earle of *Rhosmond*, Bretheren, followed by many Gentlemen, *Sauoyards* and *Bourguignons*. The King seeing all these within the Towne, and the armie lodged thereabout, findes that hee wrought politicklie: but cunning is preuented by cunning. So the providence of God blindes man in his owne malice, and shadowes his eyes, to confound him in his fraudulent desseignes. And to increase his folly, he requires the Castell of *Charles* to lodge in: for that the greatest parte of those that were last come, were ill affected vnto him: What then? an enemy that had a desire to crosse the policies of his aduersarie, would hee refuse him this Cage that

Lewis and the Duke of Bourgongne meete at Peronne.

tought

A sought to intangle himselfe in his owne snare: yet he perswades him to feare nothing. 1468. Let Princes leame not to commit themselves rashlie to such assemblies, the very baits of deceits, collussions and periuries.

The newes of this second mutiny at *Liege*, being reported vnto the Duke, he sodenly causeth the gates both of Towne and Castell to be shut, but vnder a colde pretext, That one had lost a male full of iewells and money. *Lewis* seeing himselfe coopt vp, and many archers at the gate, being lodged moreover right against a great Tower, whereas that Earle of *Farnadois* had once caused *Charles* the simple his predecessor to die, blame him not if hee feared. So (as an antient sayd) malice driues the greatest part of her owne poison. They could not treat of a more important matter then the life of a King of *France* and of his Estate.

Charles doth first impart this businesse to some of his Chamberlaines and groomes of his Chamber (amongest others to the Lord of *Argenton*, to whome the King since gave this commendation, to haue bene a great helpe in this pacification of *Peronne*) who then tempered this spleene all they could: He holds a counsell the most part of the second day, and almost the whole night, hauing all the desire in the world to do the King a throwd turne, who in the meane time practiseth with all vehemencie such as he thought might serue him: he vntunisheth his most trusty seruants, being farre from his treasure, commands to make distribution of fiftene thousand crownes: (but the comissarie retayned a part as the King was since aduertised) he giues to some, and promisseth C to others. In the ende their resolution in counsell was, That *Lewis* his excuse should be admitted, who did sweare that hauing sent his Ambassadors to *Liege*, euen when as the Duke did arme against *France*, the great affection he had to a finall and vniuersall peace had so transported him, as he had forgot to countermand them. Thus promise beeing made to *Charles* of *Bourgongne*, to accompany him at his request in the voiage of *Liege*, and to giue vnto *Charles* his brother the Earldomes of *Brie* and *Champaigne*, (the which the *Bourguignons* did, that at neede they might haue more meanes to succor one another) the treatie of *Arras* and peace of *Charenton* were reconfirmed and sworne, vpon the crosse which *Charles* of *Bourgongne* was wont to carrie, called the crosse of victorie. Truly experience hath alwayes testified, that princes do more wisely pacifie their quarrells by

Princes de Comm.

A peace betweene Lewis & Charles of Bourgongne.

D graue and trusty seruants, then by enteruewes, from the which such as had neuer anie matter to determine together, do seldome part without mutuall dislikes and grudgings, the seeds of diuisions and warre, the which may bee long smothered, but at length it breakes forth. From henceforth you shall see vpon the theater a wretched people, paining yet with the bastonados lately receyued: but not yet vanquished, and so much the more lamentable, for that their owne calamities cannot make them wise: who hauing obstinately rebelled against their naturall Prince, and indiscreetly imbraced our Kings quarrell, run headlong to their totall ruine. *Lewis* was engaged by promise, and summoned to performe it. Besids the *Scotts* of his gard, he sends for three hundred men at armes, hauing with him *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Charles* Cardinall of *Bourbon* and E Archebishop of *Lions*, and the Earle of *Beauieu* brothers to the Bishop of *Liege*. A Citie then of the bigines of *Rohan*, exceeding wel peopled, seated in a mooraine coutry, fertill, watered with the riuer of *Meuse*, which runs through it, but by the last years check almost all dismantled, & greatly weakened of men, so as the Marshall of *Bourgongne* & the Lord of *Himbertout* leading the auantgard, and gaping after spoile, thought to haue entered at their first approach, before the King or Duke were arriued. *John* of *Pilette* chiefe Tribune of these *Liegeois*, and other Captaines seeing them lodge confusedlie in their suburbs, they issue resolutely by the old breaches, and kill about eight hundred men, amongest the which were a hundred men at armes: they hurt many, & amongest them the Prince of *Orange*. All the people were ready to make a generall fally, but some F Canonados shot into the great steete kills very many, and keeps in the rest. The Tribune was hurt and died within two dayes after, with some other Captaines, whilest the two Commanders arriue, & take their lodgings, *Lewis* in a great fannie, a quarter of a league from *Liege*, *Charles* in the midst of the suburbs, where the King went to lodge

Situation of Liege.

Liege besieged.

They make a fallie.

Vv 4.

lodge

1468. lodge next day right against the *Bourguignons* lodging. This approach breeds a great distrust: for *Charles* doubted that *Lewis* would cast himself into the Towne, or practice something against him, or at the least save himself before the taking of the Towne. To be the better satisfied, the Duke doth lodge three hundred of his best men at armes in a barne betwixt his lodging and the Kings, the better to observe the Kings actions. In the meane time, they make a good shew, and keepe good guard vntill the xij. and twentieth of October, the day of the siege, when as *Charles* and all his men disarmeth themselves, to be the more ready the next day for the assault. During these eight dayes, the besieged gave libertie to their Bishop to go to the Duke and to offer him their Towne and goods, desiring nothing but their liues. But he had resolved a sharpe reuenge, and retaynes the Bishop, not accepting of any offer. The Apostolike Legat had no more ac-
Charles distrusts Lewis.
The Duke is inexorable at his subiects request.
uy credit with Charles, neyther was he so happy as he expected.

The *Ligeois* abandoned by the *French*, dispayring of all foraine succors, and of all grace with their Prince: beheld a troupe of six hundred choise men of the Countrey of *Franchemont* issue forth, hauing for their guides the masters of those two lodgings where the Generalls did lie. The partie was well made, but the enterprise was great, and ill managed; yet did they hardly faile in it. The guides should lead them secretly through the hollow rocks neere vnto these Princes lodgings, to surprize them, kill the, or at the least to carry them away before their guards were in armes. Moreouer all the people should issue forth by the gate and breaches right against the great steepe of the suburbs, and with their cries and fighting discomfort the whole army, or at the least sell their liues deere, in dying gloriously. They issue forth, kill the sentinells: and stayed at a paulion in the which the Duke of *Alençon*, and the Lord of *Craon* were lodged, where they slue some seruants with their halberds and partisans; they charge euen vnto the grange, whereas the three hundred men at armes were in their first sleepe, the whole multitude runs thether, and troubles both Nations, some crying, *God save the King*, others *God save the Duke of Bourgogne*, and some also crye *God save the King*, and kill, to lowe diuision betwixt the *French* and *Bourguignons*. They awake, they arme & defend the entrie.

In the meane time succors come from all parts to the duke, being charged by a squadron led by the master of the lodging. He is slaine first, and then all his company. The King is no lesse amazed, his host compasseth his house with an other band. The *Scots* are about him, they first kill the hoste and then his followers: and so the multitude recouers the Towne in disorder. The two Princes talke together, and thanke God for their deliuerie, and with a iust cause: for if these desperate men had neyther lingered at the Paulion nor at the grange, without doubt they had had these two Princes at their discretio: but God would rescue ours, for the restoring of his estate, and increase of his reuenues with the *Bourguignons* losse: and the *Bourguignon* for a more tragicke ende. Our *Lewis* grew likewise pale with distrust, foreseeing that if *Charles* did not take this Towne by assault, the burthen might light on him, that he was in danger to be stayed and taken, being the weaker in the army. There was no hope of retyring, he was too well guarded: and his honour likewise engaged. Thus he stood vpon thornes, yet resolute in shewe, and alwayes a perfect dissembler. A miserable estate of these two Princes, who of late had so solemnelie sworne a peace, and yet one could not assure himselfe of an others faith.

This desperate fallie had amazed the Dukes men, who (euen by the Kings advice) would willingly haue delayed the assault for some dayes, but *Charles* constant in his desseine, lettes *Lewis* vnderstand, that if he pleased hee might retyre to *Namur* vntill the Towne were taken: as for himselfe hee would not part without seeing the issue the next morning: but *Lewis* was engaged in honor, who would neuer giue the least suspicion of cowardise: he therefore answers, that he would take his part of the sport. The day being come, every one repayres to his colours: the signe is giuen by a field peece and two shot of a serpentine, to the ende the vanguard lodged on the other side should charge at the same instant. The trompetts and drums sound, the ensignes approach, &
The King & Duke in great danger of their liues.
Lewis distrusts.
The miserable estate of two Princes.

all march resolutely. But when they thought to ioyne, they found no resistance. Their chief commanders were dead, the most apparent being slipped out of the Towne, some one way some an other, the comon people were gone to dinner, thinking that Sondaie would be a day of rest. So the whole army consisting of about fortie thousand men, entered at both ends, & finde the cloth layed: they kill at the first encounter two hundred, men, women, children, and religious indifferently; they rauish women, maids, and nunnies, spoile the Cittie, and holy places: the Duke saues the great church of S. *Lambert* with great difficulty, the people fly ouer the *Meuse*, and so saue themselves in the forest of *Ardenne*, and other places thereabouts, where (to increase their misery) some gentlemen who till then had held their party) strip them, kill a number, and take the best prisoners, and by this treachery & piteous stratagem make their peace with the Duke. Many died of hunger, cold and sleepe: the historie makes mention of a gentleman that had the palfie in one legge, and a page that had two fingers on one hand false off. The wine was frozen in the pipes, and for three dayes was cut out with hatchets. And for the last of this tragedie, the Duke doth place foure thousand men about the quarters of the Citie, to beate downe the bridge vpon the *Meuse*; to defend the houses of the Clergie about the great Church, & to preserve the other Churches from ruine, whilst that others set fire on the Towne, ouerthrowe the walles and fill vp the ditches. Vnraith and victory do neuer forget any kinde of reuenge. And if we shall beleue some writers, there perished about fifty thousand soules in this warre, most cruell beyond all bounds of humanity. Learne O yee nations to containe your selues in the obedience of your Soueraignes; and not to imbarke your selues rashlie in Princes quarrells: who retire themselves easily out of the mire where they leaue you engaged. *Liege* is a president vnto you wherein you may observe the iust iudgement of God, vpon a cruel rebellious people, enemy to all soueraignie, both spiritual and temporall, of long time subiect to daylie rebellions, vntill their generall ruine. As wee haue brought our *Lewis* to *Liege*, so let vs returne him into *France*. *Charles* exceeding proud with the happie successe of his desseins, suffers himselfe to be sought vnto by mediators from the King for his departure: and afterwards hee himselfe moues him, as desiring to go & cause their accord to be proclaimed & inregistred in his Court of Parliament at *Paris*, (which else were of no moment) and the next yeare to meete in *Bourgogne*, and to feast one an other mutually for a monethes space. *Charles* (hauing drawen a promise from the King, to confirme all he had sworne at *Peronne*) yeelds, but not without grudging, and hauing accompanied him halfe a league, he causeth him to be conducted to the frontiers, by the Lord of *Cordes*, and *Murs* great Baylis of *Hainault*. A piteous spectacle to see a Soueraigne reduced to that extremity, as to humble himselfe before his vassall: but wee must haue patience for seauen yeares, and then shall wee see a strange alteration of fortune: and yet seauen yeares after, an other Catastrophe no lesse tragicall in this house of *Bourgogne*: and the vniing of the sayd Duchie to the Crowne of *France*.

After the Kings departure, *Charles* enters the Countrey of *Franchemont*: hee killeth, spoiles, burnes and makes all desolate: then (glutted with reuenge) hee retires into *Brabant*. *Lewis* taking his leaue of the Duke, demanded of him captiously, In case his brother (who was in *Brittaine*) would not accept the portion hee had giuen him, howe hee would aduise him to gouerne himselfe: and the Duke answered, that if hee were content, it should please him whatsoever they did. This speech was cunningly construed by the King: for hauing inrouled the sayd vnion in the Court of Parliament, and proclaimed it throughout all the streets of *Paris*: hee offers *Charles* *Guienne*, for *Brie* and *Champaigne*, his brothers neighbour-hood with the *Bourguignon* being suspected vnto him. *Charles* refuseth it, fearing to displease the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who by Ambassages and admonition exhorts him not to change: for if happilie the King should annoyne him, he might daylie haue succors out of *Bourgogne*.

Charles was in all things gouerned by an other, namely by *Odet de Rye* Lord of *Lesclapart*, and

1468.

The Towne taken and ruined.

The misery of the *Ligeois*.The Dukes cruell reuenge vpon the *Ligeois*.*Lewis* pretends a colour to get leaue to depart without trouble.*Lewis* his policy.

1469. and afterwards Earle of *Cominges*. *Lewis* subornes him, and by his means wins *Charles* A to accept of *Guienne*, as more plentifull and rich, with mutuall assurances, so like bretheren and good friends. For confirmation whereof they meet at *Chartou* and feast together. then they depart, *Lewis* into *Touraine*, and *Charles* into *Guienne*.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* greeued with this exchange, imploies the Cardinal *Bal-* ue, a turbulent and pernicious member in a State: a dissembler, and taking pleasure, as they say comonly to put his finger betwixt the barke and the tree. An vnkinde man. The trust which *Lewis* reposed in this man, caused to procure him a Cardinals hat: & to that end the King had sent an Ambassage to *Paul* the 2. and sends *Fumee* also, one of his most trustie seruants, to perswade the Pope to desiste from the refusal he had made thereof, being aduertised of many things that did disswade him: at whose vrgent perswasion a Cardinals hat was granted him: yet behold he writes to the Duke of *Guienne*: in fauour of the *Bourguignon*: *That this change tended but to deceiue, diuiding him by this means from his friends and confederats*, and by other messengers he aduertileth the *Bourguignon*: *That the peace concluded betwixt the two bretheren, was a baite to surprise him: the which the King deferred only until his brother had visited his newe Duchie, and set an order in his house. Let him therefore arme & begin first.* These letters are surprised, with other instructions, so as the Cardinal is arrested, and carried prisoner to *Montfason*, where he shal contynue eleuen years.

Cardinal Bal. ue comitted to prison.

Lewis hauing thus plaistered this peace with the *Bourguignon*, comprehended the *Erit-* ton therein & gaue the Duchie of *Guienne* to his brother *Charles* for his portion. He had C now no more so mighty enemies, against whom he should employ his forces: yet would he not dismishe his troupes, for there came a new taske in hand. To kepe them in practise, he sends part of them vnder the command of the Admiral bastard of *Bourbon* (for *Montauban* was dead) and the Earle of *Dammartin*, into *Armagnac*. He had bene one of the common-welth, and this enterprise did alwaies sticke in *Lewis* his stomach. At the first without any effusion of blood, they make him peaceable possessor of the countrie whereof they inuest his brother. and so the yeare ended.

But let vs se the first frutes of the following yeare. To be revenged of *Charles* of *Fou-* gongne, he must haue some apparent colour. *Lewis* doth vnderhand practise the Townes lying vpon the riuier of *Somme*: animates the Nobility of the Countie to D complaine in the Parlement at *Paris*, of the difficulty they had to receyue iustice, and thereupon to require the Kings assistance & fauour. Moreover they charged the *Bourguignon*, that he extended his limits farther then he ought by the treatie, & vsurped the Kings rights and prerogatiues, forcing some Lords, whose lands did hold directie of the King, to doe him homage and seruice against all men. Vpon colour of these complaints, *Lewis* assembles the Estats at *Tours*, in the moneth of March, and Aprill, (the which was all he euer held:) but he calls none, but his most confident seruants, who would not contradict him in any thing. For a conclusion of the assemblie, the Duke is summoned to appeere at the Parlement of *Paris*. He retains the officer many daies at *Gand*, and in the end sends him back.

As all things were prepared to ruine the Duke of *Bourgogne*; behold there falls out another matter of some moment in this action. The Earle of *Warwick* (hauing a- boue all others supported the house of *Yorke* against that of *Lancaster*) had besides his patrimonie enriched himselfe aboue 4000. Crownes a yeere reuenue in rewardes and offices by *Edward* King of *England*, Competitor to *Henry* the 6, whom he kept prisoner at *London*: which *Henry* had so long ruled our *France*. This his great credit draws iealousie after it, too ordinary in soueraine Princes, especially to the whom they haue raised vp: whereby the Earle falls into some disgrace with *Edward*. The Duke of *Bourgogne*, to whome the Earles great authoritie, and the secret intel'igences he had with our *Lewis* was wonderfull odious and suspect (for the Duke had married the sister of *Edward*, to fortifie himselfe against *Lewis*, not for any affection he bare to the howse of *Yorke*, being by his mother issued out of the house of *Lancaster*) feeds this hatred of *Edward* against *Warwicke*, who finding himselfe forced to yeeld to the stronger, resolues to reue-

Edward King of England & the Earle of Warwick diuided.

A retyre into *France*: hee leads with him *Marguerite* the wife of *Henry*, daughter to *René* 1470. King of *Sicily*, the Prince of *Wales* son of the sayd *Henry* and *Marguerite*. the Duke of *Clarence* son in lawe to *Warwicke*, and brother to *Edward*, the Earle of *Oxford*, with their wives and children, and many followers. In his passage he takes many ships from the *Bourguignons* subiects, and sells the bootie in *Normandie*. And for a requital *Charles* causeth all the *French* Marchants to be taken that were come to the faire at *Antwerp*: hee complains to the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, of the reception the King had made of The Duke of the Earle of *Warwick*, threatening to fetch him wherefoeuer. But the arrogance of his *Bourguignons* arrogance, words, was but the leuaine of his spleene.

Lewis giues such entertainment to the Earle of *Warwick*, as he might hope for: he B armes all the ships he can finde in his fauour: by meanes whereof he returnes happily into *England*, and gathers together an infinite number of men, which ioyned with him from all parts: he marcheth against *Edward*, and forceth him to fly to his brother in lawe into *Holland*, being accompanied only with leauen or eight hundred men for his gurd, without money, and without apparell other then for war. Hee drawes *Henry* out of prison, where he himselfe had formerly lodged him, and installes him againe in his royall state. *Edward* (notwithstanding the presence of the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Somerset*, sent by *Henry*) jobtaynes of the Duke of *Bourgogne* (but vnderhand and secretly, for that hee The Earle of would by no meanes incense *Henry*, whom all *England* now obeyed) succors of men, ships & money: he returnes into the realme, is receiued into *London*: he meets with the Earle C of *Warwicke*, fights with him and kills him, with his brother the Marquis of *Montagu*, & cuts all his army in peeces. The Duke of *Clarence* (before the battaile) goes to his brother *Edward*, and with his owne hand slue (as some write) *Henry*, whom *Edward* had taken in *London* and led to this battaile: this was in the yeare 1471. on Easter day. This happy victorie is seconded by an other no lesse famous. The Prince of *Wales* sonne to the Prince of *Henry*, followes after, with whome the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Somerset* had already ioyned, leading fortie thousand men of his faction. *Edward* putte vp with the prosperous successe of his first victory, marcheth towards him, fights with him, kills him, takes the Earle of *Somerst* prisoner, and the next day cuts off his head. To conclude, *Warwicke* had conquered the realme of *England* in eleuen days: and *Edward* recouered it in twentie, and remained in peaceable possession vnto his death. If the Earle had patiently attended the great forces which Prince *Edward* brought vnto him, who will not thinke but he had remayned a conquerour? But he feared *Somerst*, whose father and brother he had put to death, and hee must feele the effects of the diuine Oracle: *Hee that hath shed mans blood, his blood shall be shed, for God hath made man after his owne image*, and: *All those that haue taken the sword shall perish by the sword*. In the meane time whilest these Dukes are in *England*, *Charles* the 8. of that name, afterwards King of *France*, was borne vnto *Lewis* at the Castell of *Amboise*, a happie proppe of an old decayed father. This birth causeth the Princes hereafter to be lesse respected, and the King more feared and honored, who hauing now an heire to whome he might leaue the Crowne, bandies all E his wits, to weak his enemies, as wel for his own priuate regard, as to leaue therealme wholie & peaceable to his successor. *Charles* of *Guienne* lyued, for shew, in good amity with the King. *Francis* of *Brittain* (although he had preferred the order of the golden fleece before that of Saint *Michell*, the which *Lewis* had offred vnto him) being loath to loose assured friends, to accept the friendship of a Prince in whom he could repose no confidence, yet he contayned himselfe. *Charles* of *Bourgogne* woare the garter openly, & molested the Kings subiects and friends. Moreover *Lewis* had iust cause to be greeued for the brauado done him at *Peronne*. The nobility thrust him on therto, namely the Constable of *S. Paul*, foreseeing that the continuance of peace would be a hinderance to his great offices and pensions. He had a pay without checke for foure hundred lances, of forty thousand franks yearly, besides the fee for his office, and allowance for many places where he commanded. Men fish most easily in a troubled water. Hee offers the King to take *S. Quentin* by meanes of the credit hee had in the Countie: most of his lying lying thereabouts: and vants to haue great intelligence in the lowe Countie. The

Gen. 9. 6.
Math. 26. 52.
Apoc. 13. 10.

Charles the 8. borne.

The Constable labors to deuide Lewis and the Duke of Bourgogne.

1471. The Duke of *Guienne* offers both his person and his meanes, with five hundred men at armes for this warre, but it was the least of his desires, for he was corrupted with the infections of that age, in the which all great men fought to maintaine themselves with the ruine one of another. The Duke of *Bourgonne* takes the alarme, puts the greatest forces he can to field, entertayned with halfe their pay. *Lewis* suffers him to runne on foure or five monethes, entertayning him with sundrie Ambassages, to free him from all feare, so as troubled with that great charge, in a season when as money was scant, he dissolues this army, and leauing his frontier Townes vnfurnished, retires into *Holland*. In the meane time *Arthur of Longueuall* takes *Saint Quentin*, the Constable enters it with two hundred Lances, and takes an oath for the King. They practise *Amiens*, the Kings army comes before it, one part holds for the King, another for the Duke, who might haue assured it, if hee had sufficient forces ready to enter, but foure or five hundred horse, with the which he came posting, would not suffer him to hazard his person.

S. Quintin taken from the Duke of Bourgonne. Amiens yeelds to the King.

The Kings friends discouering this brag, double their courages & let in the kings army. *Abbeville* meanes to follow, whereas the Lord of *Cordes* enters for the Duke & assures the place. The Duke vnprovidid of men, and doubting the intelligences which the Constable bragged of, retires with feare and speede to *Arras*, to hasten a leuie both of men and money. Thetier (notwithstanding the promise which *Charles of Guienne* had made to the King) comes a secret messenger vnto him, with this aduise written and signed by the sayd *Charles*: Labour to content your subjects, and then take no care, for you shall finde friends, but these were but iests. This letter makes the Duke breathe: he sends to the Constable, to let him vnderstand, that this warre was without desie or summons, intreating him, not to deale against him according to the rigour of his present forces. The proiect of the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Brittain* with the Constable, was to imbarke these two great Princes in mutuall warre, in a season of aduantage for *Lewis*: that the *Bourguignons* necessity (being abandoned of his allies,) might force him to giue his only daughter to the sayd Duke of *Guienne*: the which he had often promised, but without performance: whom as *Oenomaus* did his *Hippodamia* hee promised to many, & gaue her not to any.

So this Constable who tooke a delight to nourish these Princes in feare and mutual distrust, answers the *Bourguignon*: That the King had a strong and flourishing army, and great intelligences in his Countries, that hee knewe no better expedient to auoide this storme, then to accomplish that to the Duke of *Guienne*, which he had so often reiterated: which done the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Brittain* would declare themselves for him, and would succor him with their forces. But what shall the Constable get to entertaine these Princes in distrust and ialousie one of another, eyther of them being too cunning to discouer his policies? Within short time both of them (hauing ioyntly conspired against him) shall see his head to sale, and in the ende plant it vpon a scaffold for a spectacle. The *Britton* writes to him in the like and more rigorous termes: suffering the Lord of *Lesclat* to lead a hundred men at armes *Brittons* to the King. This proceeding caused *Charles of Bourgonne* to conceiue a great hatred in his heart against them all: but misfortune is good for something. It made them the more affected to the Kings seruice during this warre, so as at this time the *Bourguignons* estate was in great danger, whereas by the sayd marriage he had wonderfully weakened the King: but man purposeth and God disposeth.

It is commonly sayed, that halfe the world knowes not how the other liues: & the ordinary custom of man is to be cleere sighted in other mens affaires, but blind in his own. Behold two Princes incensed one against another, & yet who so should examine their consciences, they could allege but friuolous pretexts. *Lewis* hauing put fourteene hundred men at armes and foure thousand franke-archers into *Amiens*, commanded by the Constable, & other chiefe Officers of the crowne, he assembles the body of his army at *Beauuais*, hauing with him the Duke of *Guienne* his brother, *Nicholas* Duke of *Calabria*, the eldest son of *John* duke of *Calabria* and *Lorraine*, & the onely heire of the house

Charles of Bourgonne abandoned of his friends.

Lewis his army in Pr. ardy.

A house of *Anjou* & a great number of Nobilitie, whereby he recouers *Roye*, *Montdidier*, *Abbeville* & all the Countie of *Ponthieu*. *Charles* passeth the river of *Somme*, takes *Piquigny*, plants himselfe betwix *Bapaumes* & *Amiens*, & keeps the field about six weeks, with a firme resolution in shewe, to fight with the King if he presented himselfe.

But blockt vp within his Campe, and seeing himselfe ready through want to be forced to yeeld at the Kings wil and discretion, his Maiesties army in *Bourgonne* (commanded by the Cont *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, sonne to the Earle of *Montpensier*, in the which were the Earle of *Cominges*, the Lords of *Combronde*, and *Charente*, Maister *William Cousinot* & others, hauing likewise vanquished all the enemies forces, taken many prisoners and some places, *Charles*, by a letter of his owne hand, humbles him selfe to the King: he is greeued that he had so wronged him for an others pleasure, not being duly informed of all things.

Virtue finds some respect euen in an enemy. *Lewis*, who vnder a simple bait to recouer the Townes vpon *Somme*, had not so hotly kindled this quarell, without the great intelligences wherewith the Constable had abused him, especially in the Townes of *Antwerp*, *Bruges* and *Brussels*: he graunts a truce for one yeare. This was the 4. of May. An vnseasonable truce for the Constable (who then serued his maister, without dissembling) and other horseleches, whom neither troubles, oppression of the people, nor the tediousnes of affaires did any thing touch, but as pleasing to the Duke as the peace of *Conflans*. So the King returns into *Touraine*: *Charles* out of *France* into *Guene*, the Duke of *Bourgonne* into *Hainault*, where he assembles his Estates, and shewes the losse he had receiued, for that his men at armes were not so soone ready as the Kings, and giues order to be no more surprised vnawares. Thus the Estate is pacified, but the Duke of *Guienne* was no sooner returned home, but there springs vp new seeds of dissension. He receiues the Earle of *Armaignac* into fauour, and restores him to full possession of the Lands which the King had confiscate. *Lewis* moued with this reconciliation, sends forces and takes the lands into his owne hand, disappoints the Earle, whom he knew to be a stirring and a factious man: and euen then he resolved to dispossesse his brother of the Duchie of *Guienne*, as he had doone of that of *Normandie*.

And obtaynes a truce.

New troubles by the Duke of Guienne.

The Duke of Guenne took to many with the heire of Bourgonne.

The Duke foreseeing this storme, sends often to the *Bourguignon*, and vnder colour to seeke his daughter, labours to bind him more finely vnto him by that alliance. The *Bourguignon* hauing his heart puffed vp with as great conceits, as his person was susceptible of trauell, but exceeding the capacite of his sence, he fed him with hope: yet had he no such meaning, but preserved her, as a most pretious iewel to be courted by many, and to serue him at need, according to diuers occurrents, both of their persons and meanes. Neither would he haue so great a Sonne in Lawe, as the only Brother of a King of *France*, whom he might not rule at his pleasure, neither could he digest the words & proceedings of the Duke of *Brittain* & the Constable. The Constable would haue the Duke of *Guienne* beholding vnto him for this marriage: the *Britton* repined he should haue the honor. The King comes to crosse it, and with reason: for this alliance had wonderfully fortified his brother, who (being ioyned with the Duke of *Brittain*) had greatly crossed the Kings estate and his childrens. Moreover the King of *England* did much disuade the effecting thereof: (said he to the Duke of *Bourgonne*) if the King of *France* comes to die without children, his brother succeeds to the Crowne, and this marriage vniing vnto it so many prouinces and Seigneuries, the estate of *England* were nere her ruine.

But to what ende serue these affectionate and contrarie pursuits. Alasse some one thinks himselfe found, that carries death in his bosome. But he that reigneth in heauen, Psal. 2. laughs them to scorn: within fewe monethes our *Charles* of *Guienne*, leauing the world, shall leaue his loues. So it is, that their vehement solliciting, extorted some verball promise, confirmed by a letter, but he had great Corriualls, who all pretended to haue the best part in the pie: *Nicholas* Marquis of *Pont*, sonne to *John* Duke of *Calabria* and *Lorraine*, *Philop* Duke of *Sauoie*, *Maximilian* Duke of *Austria*, Son to the Emperour *Fredrick*. All these, marched in equall ranke: but in the end *Maximilian* shall be conquerour, yet

Corriualls for the heire of Bourgonne.

1471. not during the life of *Charles of Bourgonne*. This marriage gaue a goodly colour to these mediators, but vnder the shadowe thereof they treated of other matters. They must auoide this forme, ready to oppresse the Duke of *Guienne*. Behold therefore the publike Ambassadors, and priuate messengers of these three Dukes, are sent respectiually one to another. The Lord of *Vrfe* and *Poncer de la Ruicre*, Agents for *Charles of Guienne*. The Abbot of *Begard*, since Archbishop of *Lion*, is an instrument for the *Britton* to the *Bourguignon*, they take the King to haue practised and suborned, what by friendship, and what by force, the Duke of *Guennes* seruants: to haue already defaced a place belonging to the Lord of *Estissac*, with many other things: testifying that the King would soone dispossesse his brother of *Guienne*, if he were not speedily prevented: that to this effect he was armed, and ready to enter into *Xaintonge*. The Duke of *Bourgonne* lends often to the king touching these affaires. The King excuseth himselfe and accuseth his brother, as hauing treated with the Earles of *Armaignac* and *Fois*, to his prejudice, seeking to enlarge his limits without his priuie, & to enter into factions with his enemies: yet he promisseth to suffer him to inioy his portion peaceably.

A new league betwixt the Duke of Bourgonne, Guienne and Brittain against Lewis.

This promise carries no credit, and works lesse effect: the Dukes of *Guienne* & *Brittain* mislike they presse the *Bourguignon*: yet that it may be done without the assistance of the *English*, the ancient and generall enemy of this Realme: seeing that all their common deuils, tended but to the good and ease of the publike: that his assistance with the great intelligence he had with many gouernours & Captaines of places, did fortifiethem sufficiently: pleasant people, to seeke with a bloody wound once againe to abuse the common people with this baite of publike good, & to couer their priuate passions with so pleasing a shew. *Charles of Bourgonne* casts the stone and hides his arme, and the better to disguise his proceeding, he solicites the *English* secretly, to invade *France*, on the one side, whilst that he seemed blind, & not to see it. But it was in vaine, the *English* had more willingly assisted the King, if this marriage had allyed the two houses of *France* & *Bourgonne*. In the end, behold a number of Princes in great perplexitie, the which is more lamentable, for that they shall trouble their heads with so many preiudiciall & extravagant conceptions: this confusi on shall in fewe yeares oppresse them in a manner all, & *Lewis* (particularly fauoured of heauen) shall surmount them and carry away their spoiles. They preiudice thus much, the Duke of *Bourgonne* (possessed with an earnest desire to recouer *Amiens*, *S. Quintin*, and other townes vpon *Somme*) he armes twelue hundred lances, three archers to a lance, well armed, well mounted, and good leaders. What doth our *Lewis*? In trueth he had too good a iudgement to want foresight, & he that thought to surprisethalbe surprisid. To diuert the *Bourguignons* leauy, he had often sent the Lord of *Craon*, and the Chancellour of *Orle* who (being very trusty seruants) in the end conclude an absolute peace. The King yeelds to the Duke the foresaid townes, he abandons vnto him the Earles of *Neuers* & *S. Paul* Constable: the one hauing serued the King loyally at *Peronne*, had purchased the dukes indignation, the other hauing nourished hatred and distrust betwixt these two princes for his owne profit, had so vnreconciledie estranged them from him, as they bandie roynly to his destruction, & giues him at their lands, to incorporate them to his owne, if he could. The Duke in exchange, forsakes the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Brittain*, and their territories to dispose at his pleasure, promising not to deale at all in the warres which *Lewis* pretended against them. A foule and dishonest trafficke, made to the prejudice of so great personages.

The Duke signes and swears this fraudulent and counterfeit peace. A blowe able to amaze the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Brittain* at the first hearing, to see themselves thus abandoned of their chiefe support. But he repayres it with an after blow, & by letters of credit writt with his own hand, giues the aduice to continue their course: that his intent was only to recouer his townes vpon *Somme*: which done, he will beseech the King by especial Ambassadors to desist fro making war against the, & vpon his refusal he will succour the with body & goods: that as the King at his pleasure had broke the treaties of *Cofflans* & *Peronne*, so might he infringe his promise, & oath. As for the Earles

The Bourguignon comes armed into France.

Lewis makes a peace with the Bourguignon.

Notable deceit and treacheries.

Earles of *Neuers*, and *S. Paul* Constable, although he had a iust occasion to hate them, yet would he remit their iniuries, and suffer them to inioy their owne, and beseech the King to doe the like by the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Brittain*, suffering euery one to liue in peace and safetie, vnder the Articles respectiually accorded: if not, he would succour his allies.

Craon and *Orle* had likewise sworne for the King, leading *Simon of Quinchi* (a gentleman bred vp in the Dukes house) to receiue the othe of his Maiestie. But from a new subiect springs a new proiect. Behold newes are brought, that the Duke of *Guienne* is sick, and without hope of recouerie. Vpon this aduice, the King delaies the oath, findes euasions, attending the course of his disease, and in the meane time doth speedily seize vpon many places of *Xaintonge*: he doth presse *Rochell*, the which (vpon these accidents of reconciliation and sicknesse) inclines to a composition: he withdrawes many of his brothers chiefe seruants, and resolues to signe this peace, as the sundrie euents of his affaires should lead him: and in the meane space he protracts time with the *Bourguignon*, during the which, *Charles Duke of Guienne* dyes at *Bordeaux*, the 12. of May, by the which *Lewis* recouers the Duchie without blowes, and moreouer retaines *Amiens*, and *Saint Quintins*.

The Duke of Guienne dyes.

O subull wits, both deceiuers, but not of like industrie: so our *Lewis* shall more easily auoide the snare. But oh death in generall, which by the dissolution of the body and soule, doest dissolue great desseings! The *Brittons* were ready to enter, building vpon great intelligences and practises within the Realme: the which without doubt had much troubled the State. But oh vnseasonable death in particular, how fitly shalt thou serue to shadow the filthy and hatefull, (yet well coloured) reproches of enemies, and the murmurings of the most respectiue. A death too much neglected, but by some affectionate seruants to the deceased Duke, who discouer, that *Tourdain Fauré*, borne at *Dauphiné*, great Almoner to the Duke, and Abbot of *S. Iohn d' Angely*, assisted *Henry de la Roche*, one of the said Dukes Kitchin, had hastened his death by so violent a reason, that with a strange and lamentable contraction of his sinews, his hayre fell out, and teeth fell out before his death. The Lord of *Lefer* retired himselfe into *Brittain*, leading prisoners with him these cursed murderers, where the Abbot was found one morning starke dead in his Chamber with a Thunder-clap, *Hauing his face swollen, his body and visage black as a coale, and his tongue hanging half a foote out of his mouth*. God doing that iustice in the twinkling of an eye, which men delayed. Let vs confesse the trueth, and without passion: the vertue of the Historie doth presse vs vnto it: that *Charles* had beene an ill brother, and ought more honour and obedience to him, to whom that great Author of Nature had giuen the right of eldership about him, yet should he haue beene regarded as a sonne of *France*, and from his infancie receiue a portion fit for the entertainment of his estate and house. Kings haue alwaies power to compromise the infolencies of their neere allied, when they forget their duties. But howsoeuer, let vs obserue the order of diuine iustice, who easily raifeth vp home-bred scourges: but in the end he doth cast the rod into the fire. *Lewis* must be measured with the same proportion he had measured his father, and *Charles* must suffer for the rashnesse of his rebellions. This death being little lamented, makes such to speake, as had but too diligently obserued *Lewis* his speech, hearing one day of the death of the King of *Castile* brother: *He is but too happy* (saith he) *to haue lost his brother*: but hatred and ill will, grounds their passions euen vpon a Needles point.

By poison.

Note the murderers of Princes.

Note.

At the same instant, *Nicholas Marquis of Pont*, heire of the house of *Aniou* (one of the abouenamed riuallles) made sure to *Anne*, the eldest daughter of *Lewis*, abused with the great (yet vaine) promises of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, renounced this so worthy alliance of his Soueraigne Lord, for a frustratorie hope, which the vasaile gaue him to marry his daughter: but he was ignorant that death the yeare following would punish this rashnesse, and preuent him from the inioying, either of *Anne* or *Murie*. A (ca- The Marquis of Pont dyes, son likewise famous by the death of *Charles Earle of Eu*, a wife and vertuous Prince, whole faithfull seruice to *France* deserues this testimonie, that being sonne to *Philip* of *Eu*.

X x 2

of

1472. of *Bourgogne*, Earle of *Newers* and *Rethel*, and grand-child to *Philip* the hardie, a sonne of *France*, and Duke of *Burgogne*, and by consequence neere kinsman to *Charles*, yet in all these combuſtions, he had faithfully ſerued the King, and preferred the Flower-de-Luce before the Red Croſſe. Let vs likewise obſerue the death of *William Chartier* Biſhop of *Paris*, who (after his conference with the League before *Paris*, in the Kings abſence) was alwaies in ſuch diſgrace with him, as after his death, *Lewis* cauſed his Epitaph to be changed, making mention of the bad ſeruices he had done him, during the warre of the common-weale, ſuborning the inhabitants in fauour of the *Burguignons*. The death of the Duke of *Guienne* had wonderfully afflicted *Charles* of *Bourgogne*, & to increaſe it, he had intelligence, that the *Brittons* would not arme, conſidering that he was dead for whom they ſhould riſe. In the meane time the chance was caſt: he had bene at great charge, and to turne head without reſtitution, were a ſhame: but that which made him mad, *Amiens* and *S. Quentin* were loſt: he muſt hazard all. And fiſt he writes to many townes: he chargeth the King to haue conſented to his brothers death, and labours to draw them into armes, declaring himſelfe their protector, but no man ſtirres: ſo the ſmall effect of his letters, ſets him on fire, and in this choller he marcheth to *Nogel* in *Vermendois*: he ſpoiles, burnes, & makes all deſolate, beſiegeth the Towne, batters it, and takes it: he kills the greateſt part of five hundred Archers, commanded by one called *Little Picard*, takes ſome, and amongſt others the Captaine, and cuts off ſome of their hands. Many ſouldiers and Townſmen flying into the Church, are barbarouſly ſlaine by the altars, imbracing the images: the Duke enters himſelfe into the Church on horſeback, and ſeeing theſe carcaſes. Behold (ſayes he) *this is goodly, & haue good butchers*: then he burnes and rafeh the place.

The Biſhop of Paris dyes.

The Burguignons practiſe againſt Lewis.

His crueltie.

Fifteene hundred franke-Archers being in *Roye*, vnder the command of *Peter Aubert*, baiſſile of *Melan* and *Nugnon*, are amazed, and at the Dukes fiſt approach, abandon the Towne, and yeeld vnto him, *Loiſet* of *Balagni*, *Mouy*, *Rubempré*, and others of the artierban, with about 200. lances: they compound, leauing horſe and armes, euery man at armes only hath a horſe. The Duke puts a garrifon therein, & likewiſe into *Montdidier*. Thus he hotly purſues his conqueſts: but *Beauuais* cooled this heat. He did beleagere it (being vnprouided of men of warre): the inhabitants were commanded then by the foreſaid *Balagni*, and ſome few men at armes, ſo as they were not able to ſaue the Towne, without the preſent aſſiſtance of him, who doth looſe and reſtraine the raiues of his iuſtice at his pleaſure. At their fiſt approach, the Lord of *Cords*, leading the vanguard, plants two Canons againſt the gate, makes a great hole, but for want of munition the battery ceaſeth, they come to blowes, the one to enter, the other to defend the entrie, and they preſſe the duke to ſet forward: the defendants ready to be forced, ſet fire on the poſtall, which makes the aſſailants to retire. The Duke arriues, and ſuffers the fire to take his courſe, hoping in the end the towne would be his. And indeed if he had lodged a part of his army towards *Paris*, there had bin ſmall hope of ſafetie. But God had otherwiſe decreed, for in ſight of the enemies troups, he giues courage to the Earle of *D. Martin*, to the Marſhalls of *Joachim* & *Loheac*, to *William* of *Valleu*, the Senefhals Lieutenant of *Normandy*, to the Lords of *Cruſſell* & *Rubempré* to *Beine* & *Tory* brethren, to *Buill*, *Sale*, *2nd*, *i* *heuenot* of *Vignoles*, & *Mert* of *Croy* (all braue & worthy of memory in this ſiege) to thruſt themſelues into the towne, with a good number of foot, & about 200. lances: who at their fiſt entrie, giue their horſes to the women (who take them, ſet them vp, & looke vnto them) and preſent themſelues vpon the walles, incouraging the *Beauuiſſins*, & diſcouraging the *Burguignons*. The Duke being enraged, makes all his canons to approach, and thunder 15. daies together: he makes a breach, and giues a ſharpe aſſault, but well defended. Six ſcore men are ſlaine, & 1000. being wounded leaue the place, ſo as the Duke retires his companies appointed for the aſſault, and being fruſtrate of his conceiued hope, preſſed by extreme famine, he raiſeth the ſiege, & retires in good order, fearing a charge. But theſe valiant Captaines knew that the beſt courſe was to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy. This was on *S. Magdelins* day, the 26. of the ſiege. A ſmall ayde doth ſometime great good. *Beauuais* wauered, and was readie to compound

Beauuais beſieged and relieved.

The Duke of Burgogne retires from before Beauuais.

A compound. But what curteſie might they expect of a paſſionate enemy, who breathed nothing but bloud and fire? For the auoiding whereof, louing and kinde dealings were of great moment, which this Towne receiued of thoſe two mighty neighbour Cities, *Laris* & *Orleans*, aſſiſting them with pioners, victuals, canon, powder, bowes, arrows, ſpears, tooles, apparell, and other neceſſary reſreſhings, but eſpecially from *Orleans*, with a hundred pipes of wine, a meanes whereby the eternall prouidence preferred them from ſack, ſpoile, and a generall detolation by fire, wherewith the *Burguignons* threatened them, if force had preuailed. *Beauuais* freed, the Duke marcheth into *Normandie*, and preſently takes *Euſ. Valery* by *Crotoy*, *Rembures*, and (being the ſcourge of this detolator calmed) leaues in all places behinde him the pittifull and cruell markes of his paſſage: he ſpoiles & burnes all the country of *Caux*, *Neuſchattel*, of *Nicourt*, (a good and a great Towne of warre, but vnturniſhed of men) *Longueville*, *le Fachy*, euen vnto the gates of *Rouen*, being little annoyed or hindred by the Conſtable, who lead 400. Lances: whoſe winking ſerued as a Wheelſton to ſharpen the Kings diſpleaſure & hatred againſt him, and the iealouſie of both theſe commanders, hauing of purpoſe entertained this warre betwixt them, who cunningly ſmother a ſecret dillike, which coſt the ſaid Conſtable his life. Then winter approaching, he returns into *Picardy*, & had no ſooner turned his back, but theſe braue Captaines in *Beauuais*, recouer *Euſ. Valery*, *Rembures*, & ſo caſting themſelues into *Noyon*, they fruſtrate the Dukes purpoſe, who ment to beſiege it. The *Burguignons* fire flames yet farther. A ſwarme of his partizans, led by the Earle of *Rouſſy*, the Conſtables ſonne, falls vpon the Countie of *Tonnerre*, ſpoiles the country, iunnes as farre as *Joigny*, and vnto *Troyes* burnes both farmes & villages without reſiſtance. For reuenge whereof, the *Dauphin* of *Auvergne* flies to *Bourgogne*, drawing after him, where he paſſeth, a burning belome. Pittifull exploits of warre, the witneſſes of reuenging ſpirits, & alwaies the people ſinarts for the error of great men. But behold other troubles, *Peter* of *Bourbon*, Lord of *Beaueu*, being at *Leflore*, as Lieutenant general for the King in *Guienne*, was ſurpriſed by the Earle of *Armagnac*, who was lately diſpoſſeſſed of his lands: who by this meanes recouers the ſaid Towne. *Lewis* moued with this affront, cauſeth his armie to march, and followeth himſelfe in perſon: but the Cardinal of *Arras* commanding the troups, receiues the towne by compoſition, makes the Earles appointment: & the better to confirme it, he breakes the ſacrament in two, takes the one halfe, & giues the Earle the other, either of them ſweauiſg this accord. Truſting therein, he abandons the Towne to the Cardinal, who brings in the armie, & by ſome ſouldiers ſuborned, he cauſed the Earle to be murdered ſaying of his praies, not in the Caſtell, but in a private houſe neere to *S. Geruais* church, and then ſacked the Towne.

The Conſtable diſcombing.

Leflore ſurpriſed, the cauſe of new troubles.

The Earle of Armagnac much reſented by the Cardinal, treacherie.

The priſon of Beaueu, taken by treaſon to the King of France.

Gods iuſtice is ſlow, but in the end it payes home. This Earle had (vnder a falſe Bull of diſpenſation, purchaſed for monney of *Ambroſe* of *Cambray*, Referendary to Pope *Celeſtus*) married his owne Siſter: and after by ſundry rebellions, purchaſed the Kings diſpleaſure, and made himſelfe guilty of diuine and humane treaſon. But abhorring the Earles life, let vs likewise abhor the Cardinals proceeding, ſelling (vnder the holy communion) his bloud to them that truſted in his oath. The King put many Gentlemen in priſon at *Loches*, who had followed the ſaid Lord of *Beaueu*, whom the Earle had ſent home: but the chance fel vpon *John Deymer*, being quartered at *Tours*, who dying, charged the Lord of *S. Baſill*, a yonger brother of *Albret*, with this treaſon, being nourished and bred vp in the houſe of *Bourbon*, for which crime he loſt his head at *Poliers*, the 7. of *April* 1473. And to increaſe *Lewis* his croſſes, *Parpignan* (a towne in the Countie of *Foſſillon*, by treaſon deliuered vp to the King of *Arragon*, the ancient Lord, where he liued by treaſon to the King of *France*) which he ſends thither, and beſiegeth it hotly: the *French* were yet maſters of the Caſtell, by the faithfull valour of maſter *James* of *Fou* (iſſued out of the houſe of *Britanie*) he recouers it, & giues the gouernment to *Tanneguy* of *Chafel*. Thus the troubles raiſed by the Earle of *Armagnac*, and the King of *Arragon*, were like to a fire of ſtraw.

Let vs obſerue in the ſame courſe, the apprehending of the Duke of *Alençon*, ſo ſhall we ſee the carriage of our *Lewis*. He is accuſed to haue offered the ſale of his Duchie and

1473. other lands in *Perche* and *Normandie*, to the *Bourguignon*: and then to follow his fortune, A (a crime which shall put him in minde of his condemnation pronounced at *Vermeigne*, he was seized on by *Tristan* the *Hermite*, Prouost of the Kings house, (a speedy executioner of his Masters will) and lead before the King, who sends him to the *Leure* at *Paris*, where by a sentence given by the Chancellor of *Oriele*, the 17. of July 1474, he was condemned to loose his head, referring notwithstanding the Kings good pleasure, who in the end of the year 75, shall binde him vnto him the second time for his life.

Lewis having recovered *Guienne*, reduced *Lesfore*, punished some, and pacified *Perpignan* he assembles all his forces vpon the Marches of *Brittanie*, to the number of 30000. men, ready to employ them in that country. But the duke, by reason of the death of the Duke of *Guienne*, being frustrate of the intelligences he had in *France*, & too weake to avoid this storme that threatned him, sent vnto the King, lodging at *Pont de Sec*, *Philip* of *Essars*, a gentleman of his house, & *Willia* of *Souplemille*, a follower of the Lord of *Lesat*. His maiestie giues care to an accord. The duke of *Brittany* being possessed of so wise & valiant a mā as *Lesat*, might much annoy him: For in *Brittany* there was neither *iniquity* nor *virtue*, but what proceeded from him, (so saies the History.) Moreover he had alwaies during these partialities, shewed himselfe a *Frenchman*, and would neuer yeeld that any places of *Normandie* should be given to the *Englisb*: he must therefore be dealt with. To this end the King commands *Souplemille* to giue him the demands in writing, which his maister made, as well for the Duke as for himselfe. He doth it, and obtaines them all: fortie thousand Frankes pension for the Duke, the which was paid two yeares. For C his maister, six thousand Frankes pension, the moitie of *Guienne*, the two Seneschallships of *Vannes* and *Bourdelois*, the Captainship of one of the Castles of *Bordeaux*, that of *Flaie*, the 2. Castles of *Bayonne*, of *Dax* & of *S. Seuer*: foure & twenty thousand crownes in gilt, payable in foure yeares: the Kings order, and the Countie of *Comminges* for *Souplemille* six thousand Crownes, payable at like termes: twelue thousand Frankes pension, the Mairaltie of *Bayonne*, the Bailiweke of *Montargis*, and other small preferments in *Guienne*: for *Philip* of *Essars*, foure thousand Crownes in reward, and twelue hundred Frankes pension, the Bailiweke of *Meaux*, and to be maister of the waters and Forrests of *France*: which things they should enjoy during the life of *Lewis*, who was D alwayes well and faithfully serued by *Lesat*.

Now the *Britton* is satisfied, and sequestred from the alliance of *Fourgonne*, against whom *Charles* now turns head, but the season in the which the Duke of *Bourgonne* retired into *Picardie*, caused a truce for one yeare: ending the first of April 1475. A truce which, while the *Fourguignen* shall giue our *French* leave to breath, shall imbarke him in so many quarrels, as in the end, the most important shall swallow him vp. A truce likewise concluded to the Constables great prejudice: for both the King and the Duke hated him deadly, as the moitie of these diuisions. He had lately seized on *Saint Quintin*, expelling the Lord of *Curton*, and a hundred men at armes, which he had in entertainment from the King. *Charles* had likewise many causes of his dislike: he was E the instrument to take *Amiens* and *S. Quentin* for the King, he sought to reduce him to that estate, as to force him to marry his daughter with the Duke of *Guienne*: but the chiefest ground was, that during the siege of *Amiens* by the Duke of *Bourgonne*, the Constable had made a roade into *Hainault*, spoiled the Country, and burnt (among other exploit) the Castle of *Seure* belonging to Master *Baldwin* of *Launai*, of whom the Duke made good account: for reuenge whereof, he passed into *Picardie* and *Normandie*, as we haue scene. Moreover he had mighty enemies both with the King and Duke, who all jointly conspired his destruction, and animated their maisters with all their credit. So all this yeare of truce is spent chiefly in making marchandise of the Constables life. *Himbert* court *S. Hugonnet* Chancellor of *Bourgonne*, had some private F spleene, for in a conference held of late at *Roye*, where the Constable was employed for the King, they grew so bitter in words, as the Constable had giuen them the lie: to who the *Bourguignons* modestly answered, That they did not impute this iniurie done vnto them, but to the King, vpon whose word, they were assembled: and to their maister, whose person they did represent, to whome they would make report.

The truce of the King, and *Bourgonne* was hated against the Constable.

The Duke of *Alanson* apprehended & condemned to dye, but pardoned by the King.

Warre in *Brittanie* pacified.

The conditions of the peace.

In the end, at the instance of either part, a day is held at *Bouuines*: for the King there came the Lord of *Curton* Gouverneur of *Linein*, and Maister *John Heberge* afterwards Bishop of *Enreux*, and for the Duke, the two aboue named. They pronounced the Constable an enemy, and guilty to both Princes, they promise and sweare one to another, that the first that may apprehend him, shall put him to death within eight daies, or deliver him to his companion to doe his pleasure. That he should be proclaimed by Trumpet, an enemy to both parties, with all those that should serue & assist him, and confiscate all his goods, mouables and immouables. The King promiseth to giue *S. Quintin*, *Han* and *Bohain* to the Duke, with all the money that might be found within the Realme, appertaining to the Constable, and all his lands holding of the Duke, and at a certaine day the King and the Duke should meet before *Han*, and therewith these armed forces besiege the Constable. But some wil say; to what end serue all these voyages, and so many assemblies? whereto so many complots to intrap the Constable? must the King to be reuenged of his seruant? make an agreement with his capitall enemy, who euen of late had sought to take away his life by poyson, promising a marchant named *Ithier* fifty thousand crownes to effect it: who hauing imparted it to *John Harb* his seruant, sometimes in household with the Duke of *Guienne*, he suffered the said *Harb* to loose his life, and to be quartered publicly at the *Greue* of *Paris*. *Lewis* iudged of the future by the present, and with one stone gaue many blowes. He disarmed his enemy, or at the least gaue him means to transport his armes farther C on, whether the great desfeins of his ambition did draw him, as we shal see hereafter: and moreover the King could hardly seize vpon the Constables person, without the Dukes intelligence, for he was seated directly betweene both. He held *S. Quintin*, & had *Han* and *Bohain*, his owne places, very strong and neere, he might put in men from whence and when he pleased. Hee had intertainment for foure hundred men at armes well paid, whereby he got much, in not keeping his companies full. He exacted a crowne for every pipe of Wine, passing through his country, into the lowe countries. He had five and forty thousand frankes of ordinary entertainment from the King, very rich seignuries, and great intelligences both within the Realme and in the Dukes countries. He was a man of action, and could both helpe and hurt much. D To conclude, he knew well that flying from the one, he should be well accepted of the other. Moreover, the personage and the places he held, deserued a good peace, & either of the two Princes would gladly haue enjoyed him absolutely, if he had beene constant, and not dissembling to either.

Yet for all this hee auoydes all danger. He is advertised that his head is set to sale, whereupon he sends to both princes, speakes big, and faith, That he vnderstands all their practises, but especially to the King, That the Duke by this conuention sought only to draw him to his party, and to put him in disgrace with his Maiesty, and this did *Lewis* apprehend most. In truth these two Princes laboured exceedingly, who should deceiue his companion most. According to man, it is better to deceiue, then be E deceiued. *Lewis* presently countermands his Ambassadors, giues them charge not to conclude any thing against the Constable, but to prolong the truce, so as the foure Ambassadors (who had already mutually giuen their seales, conteyning their resolution taken against the Constable) deliver them vp, and returne without any conclusion.

The King fearing least this affront might force the Constable to make his peace with the Duke, and so deliver vp vnto him *S. Quintin* and other forts, that were in his power, presents him, giuing him to vnderstand, that an enteruew shall make his peace. They appoint a day and place, three leagues from *Noyon* towards *la Ferre*, vpon a little river. The Constable came first, but, as a conscience prickt with the feeling of his misdeeds, wants no distrust and feare, he demaunds hostages. The King seemes to like F well thereof. On the riuers side, they make a strong bar with grates, cry high towards the Constable: there he presents himselfe, accompanied with three hundred Maisters, having armes vnder a loose cassocke. The King approacheth, accompanied with aboue six hundred men at armes, and amongst others *Chabannes* Earle of *Dammartin*, Lord of *Beauregard*, and a mortall enemy to the Constable.

Charles of *Beau*, is secke to persuade the King.

Lewis and *Charles* of *Bourgonne* seeke to circumvent one another.

Lewis reconciled to the Constable.

A presumptuous comming of a subiect to his Seigneigne.

1474. But oh Lord *Stuard*, but for thy presence, with what colour could the Constable haue shadowed his excuses? At the first entrance he kneeles downe, and beseecheth his maiesty, not to hold it strange, if hee appeere in armes, and thus followed, considering the quarrel he had with *Damartin*. Then they treat together, the King grants him a generall abolition of all that was passed, he leaues him the gard of *S. Quentin*, and continues him the pay of his men at armes, being before refrayned of some quarters pay. The Constable promieth to serue his maiesty against all men, without exception, and so he opens the barre and passeth to the Kings side, who reconciles him with the Lord *Stuard*, and the next day suffers him to returne to *Saint Quentin*. A presumption of too hard digestion for so iudicious a Prince as *Lewis* was: to see his officer present himselfe like a Prince that were hisemie, yea his equall in power. But all comes to one end, if we will haue patience. The Court could not endure this manner of proceeding, and the murmuring which *Lewis* heares, makes him remember, that it is too great a presumption in a seruant to plant a barre before his master, and to present himselfe vnto him accompanied with men at armes, all being his subiects and vnder his pay, and to bate in him, to go and receiue the submission of his Constable. A folly approaching neere to that of *Peronne*.

Wherewith
Lewis inward-
ly discontented.

Good obser-
uations for
subiects.

And it which shall much incense the Kings hatred against him, and breede a worme in the Constables conscience, the which shall gnaw him with continual disquiet, doubtfull howe to maintaine himselfe betwixt two such mightie enemies: but in the end he must fall, to teach vs, That neyther our merits, nor any seruices wee can do to our Princes, should cause so great presumption, as to thinke they could not liue without vs: or that we haue meanes to prescribe them a lawe. For naturally they hate such as thinke they are beholding vnto them: and dispatch them at length that haue braued them. Good deeds are pleasing, whilst that he which receiues them hath meanes to recompence them: but when they are so great, or we wil esteeme them so, as they are beyond all compasse of requitall: in steed of thanks, we receiue nothing but hatred and illwill. It is therefore better to be loued, then feared.

Lewis mar-
rieth his two
daughters.

Let vs now see what passed during the truce. *Lewis* hauing his minde free, and his bodie discharged of armes, hee resolues to provide for his heires. Doubtlesse the choice which he made of two Princes of his bloud, did testifie, how much he did cherish his house, giuing them two precious perles out of his Iewell house. *Anne* his eldest daughter of *Bourbon*, a goodly Princeesse, and *Jeane* the yongest to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, being yet very yong, and afterwards the 57. King of *France*: whereunto he did not yeeld but to please the King, for she was foule and crooked. This season is likewise famous for a notable Ambassage from *Arragon*, touching the affaires of *Roussillon*. The King making the Ambassadors to iudge of the whole peace by a patterne, caneth the 20. of Aprill a hundred and foure thousand men armed in battaile, all in onefloure, with red cassocks crossed with white, all officers, Bourgeses and inhabitants of *Paris*.

Adolfe an vn-
kind sonne.

We haue sayd, this truce should proue an incoimber to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, let vs examine the effects by the causes. At what time the King tooke *Amiens* from the *Bourguignons*, *Adolfe* the pernicious and vnkinde sonne of *Arnold* Duke of *Guelldres*, repynning at his fathers long life, tooke him prisoner one night going to bed: and making him to march on foote without hose, in a most cold season, five germaine leagues, he shuts him in the bottome of a Tower, whereas the sunne did neuer shine, but by a small grate, and there he held him six monethes. The Duke of *Cleues*, whose sister the prisoner had married, undertakes his quarrell, and seeks by force to free his brother in law. But *Adolfe* hauing married the Duke of *Bourbons* sister, in the *Bourguignons* house finds great fauour. So the Duke of *Bourgogne* labors to reconcile them. The Emperour deales in it, but all without effect, vntill the Pope had interposed his authority, who commanded *Charles* of *Bourgogne*, vnder great penalties, to drawe the old man by force out of prison, seeing his sonne would not enlarge him by intreaty. *Adolfe* on the one side, seeing so many Potentates busied in this action, and on the other side fearing the Dukes

A Dukes forces, hee releaseth *Arnold*, who in the sayd Dukes chamber, (notwithstanding the inequality betwixt the father & the son, offers his son the combate. *Charles* seeks to reconcile them, to the sonnes aduantage: to whom hee offers the title of Gouverneur of *Bourgogne*, the Country of *Guelldres*, with all the reuenues, only *Grake*, a small Towne should remaine to the father, with three thousand *Florins* of rent, and so much pension, & the title of Duke. But oh impious and horrible answer. *I had rather* (saies *Adolfe*, to those that deliuered this speche vnto him) *to haue cast my father headlong into a ditch, and cast my selfe after him, then accept of this accord: he hath bin Duke these 44. years, it is now time that I were. I wil willingly leaue him three thousand Florins a yeare, upon condition that he neuer enter into the Dukedome*: with many other words vnworthy of a Sonne. *Charles* grieved at the obstinacy of *Adolfe*, leaues both father and sonne at *Dourlans*, & retires to *Hedin*. *Adolfe* to recouer the Country, disguiseth himselfe, like a *Frenchman*, & passing a ferrie, neere vnto *Namur*, hee is discovered by a Priest, who giues intelligence, wherevpon this yong Duke is taken and carried prisoner to *Namur*, where he remained vntill the death of the Duke of *Bourgogne*, that the *Gantois* deliuered him, hoping by force to make him marrie with *Mary* the heire of *Bourgogne*, afterwards Duchesse of *Austria*, after the folly they had made him commit before *Tournay*, a fatall place, for the reuenge of the wrongs he had done to his father.

The father
challengeth
the sonne to
the combats.

Adolfe taken
prisoner.

Arnold died during *Adolfe*s imprisonment, whose ingratitude had iustly mooued him to leaue the succession to the Duke of *Bourgogne*. So *Charles* building vpon this donation, goes with force to take possession of the Duchie. This new conquest bred new proiects, and euen then he conceived such an imagined authority, as in the end he sinke vnder the burthen. He neuer had so goodly an army, especially in horse. The Earle of *Campobasso*, and *Galeot* a *Neapolitain* gentleman, (the first a *Greeke* in disposition and most wicked, the second a very honest man,) commanded a thousand men at armes, *Italiens*: hee had three thousand good *English*, and good numbers of his owne subiects, well mounted, well armed, and of long time trayned vp in warre, with great store of artillery. He was at truce with our King, and to keepe him occupied, the *English* by his practice were readie to land in *France*. What then should he suffer his men to lue idle without employment? *Guelldres* had encouraged him. The Emperour was no man of resolution, willing rather to endure some disgraces, then to be at charge, & without the aide of some Princes of *Germany* his power was small. These baits thrust him forwards, but the expiration of the truce might haue stayed him. Yet he obtaines a prolongation of the King for six monethes, wherunto *Lewis* yeelds willingly. Foreseeing (as he had a more sound iudgement then those which did dissuade him) that this Prince sought his owne mine: that hauing finished one enterprise, another would spring vp, & so quarrell grow vpon quarrell, which the Princes of *Germanie* would well preuent, being alwayes united in matters which concerne the Emperour. So it chanced. And as in so great a proiect, he must needs wonderfully discōtent the nobility & cōmunalties of *Germany*: so was it expedient for him, to tie some vnto him. He procures an interview with the emperour at *Treues*, & there treats of the mariage of *Mary* of *Bourgogne* his daughter with *Maximilian* Archduke of *Austria*, the Emperours son: which done, the Emperour should erect his lands & seigneuries in *Gaulle Belgique*, to a royalty: he should incorporate foure Bishopricks to this new kingdō, wherof the royalty should appertaine vnto him & not to the Emperour, & should creat him vicar general of the Empire. *Fredric* findes these demands so vnreasonable, as he leaues the Duke *Bourgogne* at *Treues*, & parts without bidding him farewell. And now an other occasiō thrusts him on. He that hath once missed the bounds of modesty, must needs grow exceeding impudēt. Two contended for the Archbishopske of *Colongne*, the one was brother to the *Lantgrane* of *Hessen*, the other a kinsman to the *Conte Palatine* of *Rhin*, whom the aduerse faction had expelled. *Charles* was banded for the latter, & undertakes to restore him by force, hoping to plant his ensignes in *Germany*, or at the least to haue some part for his charges. He first comes to *Naz* vpon the *Rhin*: some leagues from *Colongne*, supposing (that if he tooke it) to fortify it well, & the to plant an other forte about *Colongne*, by the surpris of some towne of importance, thereby to force the towne to yeeld, and so to mount vp the *Rhin* vnto the County

Charles dona-
tion of *Guelldres*.

Charles begins
war in Ger-
many.

He demands
strange things
of the Empe-
rour who
leaves him
without bid-
ding him
farewell.

Charles before
Naz.

1474. Countie of *Ferrete* (the which he held in pawne, of *Sigismond* Duke of *Austria*, brother A to the Emperour) and so to command all that great and rich passage of the *Rhin*, euen vnto *Holland*, where it ends. thereby to deuour *Lorraine*, and so without the Emperours ayde, to vsurpe the title of King of *Sicile* and *Ierusalem*. But *Nuz* was not vnturnished. The *Landgrau* of *Hessen* had cast himselfe into it, with many of his kinsmen, and friends, to the number of eightene hundred horse, with a sufficient number of foote, to keepe the place. The Citizens of *Colongne* with their neighbours, armed sixteene thousand foote, and incampe vpon the *Rhin*, right against the Duke, to cut off his victuals that came out of *Guelldres*, and to stay the boats with their Cannon.

The English
prepare for
France.

The Emperour, and Princes, both spirituall and temporall do arme, & as the King had often solicted them; they send vnto him to make a triall of his intent, *Lewis* saies B not to graunt what they demanded, promising twenty thousand men, when as the Imperiall army should be at *Colongne*. But he had worke at home. *Edward* King of *England* discontented, that *Lewis* had supported *Henry*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, against him, prepares (in the *Bourguignons* fauour) fiftene hundred maisters, all Gentlemen well mounted, and the most part barded, which made a great number of horse, & 14000. Archers all on horse-backe, with a great number of foote. The Duke of *Brittaine* hauing already consented to rebellion, should receiue three thousand *English*, and ioyned his army with them, as appeared by letters, written by the hand of *Vise*, sometimes master of the Kings horse, and then seruant to the *Britton* (the one letter to the king of *England*, the other to *Hastings* great Chamberlaine of the said realme) the which the King did buy of a Secretary of *England*, for three score markes of siluer.

Lewis seeks
for a peace of
the Duke of
Bourgonne.
& is refused.

In the meane time, the King treats of a peace with the Duke of *Bourgonne*, to preuent this storme, or at the least to prolong the truce. The Duke excuseth himselfe vpon his word given to the *English*, who labours to drawe the Duke from *Nuz*, exhorting him to accomplish the conuenitions, considering his great charge, and that the season fit for warre, was almost spent. To this end, the Lord *Scales*, Nephew to the Constable, makes two iournies to *Charles*, who pretends (by frivolous reasons) that his honour is much ingaged in this siege, and that hee could not rise without great blame.

Lewis procures
to Charles many
enemies.

Lewis to crosse him, being alwayes his crafts master in any action, eyther of warre, D or peace, procures him many and new enemies. It was no matter of difficulty to draw in *René* the sonne of the daughter of *René* King of *Sicile*, the heire of *Lorraine*, by reason of his grandmother, after the death of *John* Duke of *Calabria* and *Lorraine*, his uncle, and of the *Marquis Nicholas* sonne to the said *John*. For the Duke being dead, *Charles* of *Bourgonne* desirous to vniute this Duchy to his country, had caused him to be taken prisoner: but he was deliuered in exchange for a young *Germaine* Prince, who was taken studying at *Paris*: and marching presently with his army, hee had easily deuoured that preie, if the King following him, had not forced him to passe on.

René Duke of
Lorraine.

René therefore sends to desie him before *Nuz*, and fortified by some *French* troupes, E commanded by the Lord of *Craon*, he enters the Duchy of *Luxembourg*, spoyle the country, and razeth *Pierre-forte*, a place of the said Duchy, and neere to *Namie*. *Sigismond* of *Austria*, had in the yeare 1469. ingaged his countie of *Ferrete*, to the Duke of *Bourgonne*, with all the lands he enioyed on eyther side the *Rhin*, for three score and ten thousand Crownes. *Charles* had placed *Peter* of *Hagenbach* there for Gouernour, a wicked man, a violent extortioner, and insupportable, both to the nobility & people, who complained to *Sigismond*, beseeching him to succour them against the outrage, & concussions of *Hagenbach*. *Sigismond* had bene long in dislike with the *Suisses*, his neighbours, but by the Kings meanes, they were all easily reconciled.

Sigismond
Archduke of
Austria.

So they conclude a league, in the which the imperiall Cities ioyned, *Strasbourg*, *Basill*, *Colmar*, and *Slestad*, and contribute to furnish the summe due by *Sigismond* to *Charles*, the which they configne into the hands of a banker at *Basill*: then the inhabitants of these ingaged lands, signifie vnto the Duke of *Bourgonne*, that they

And many
Imperiall cit-
ies.

they hold themselves freed of the oath they had made vnto him. And holding them- 1474. selves freed from the *Bourguignons* obedience, they reiect his Lieutenant generals commands. To suppress the same, he assembles a great troupe of *Picardes*, *Flemings*, *Hennuers* and *Lombards*, and on Chistmas day at night (a good woike on a good day) hee seekes to bring them secretly into *Enshem*. The Citizens beate them back, kill and take many, the rest flee to *Brizac* with *Hagenbac*. The *Brizanzons* arme, and are the stronger, they seize on the gouernor, expell the soldiars, and then do they speedily informe of his misdemeanors, giuing intelligence to all their allies, and demand Iudges to iudge of the proceffe. They depute, some from *Alsatia*, *Strasbourg*, *Basill*, *Sorgoye* of the blacke forest, *Fribourg*, *Berne*, *Soleure*, and other places, who condemne *Hagenbach* to be hanged at *Ihan*, without any forme of Lawe: to haue made and displaced officers at his pleasure contrarie to his oath, to haue brought in foraine nations into places with all liberty, and for that he had rauished women, forced virgins, and committed incest with *Nunnes*. The Duke of *Bourgonne* aduertised of the death of *Hagenbach*, reuelues to be reuenged of such as had bene actors. And hereupon *Henry* Earle of *Vittemberg* and *Montbeliard*, is taken by the Dukes men. Those of *Basill* aduertised hercof, send a number of men with artillery to *Montbeliard*, to stop the *Bourguignons* passage, who summons the Castell: the which refusing to yeeld, he sends six thousand horse, vnder the commande of *Stephen Hagenbach*, to reuenge his brothers death, and to make war vpon C the Bishop of *Basill*, who (whilest that *Sigismond* assembles his confederats) spoiles about thirty villages, kille, takes, carries away, and ransomes, men, women, children and catde. Behold a strong party made against *Charles* of *Bourgonne*, by the Kings policy, whereby the *Suisses* entering into *Bourgonne*, take *Elasmont*, beleage *Hericourt*, defeat the *Bourguignons* that come to succor it, and kill two thousand: which done they retyre.

The Duke of
Bourgonne is
Lieutenant
executed by
the *Suisses*.

Open warre
betwixt the
Duke of *Bourgonne*
and the *Suisses*.

The truce nowe expired, as the King had vnderhand stirred vp the Duke of *Lorraine*, the *Germains* and the *Suisses* against the Duke of *Bourgonne*, sufficiently busied before *Nuz*, he now by open force takes from him, spoiles, and burnes *Trougnoy*, *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Montreuil*, and *Corbye*: and then sends the bastard of *Bourbon*, Admirall of France D General of this army, before *Arras*, and thereabouts, who spoiles and consumes with fire most of the places lying betwixt *Abbeville* and *Arras*. The Inhabitants of *Arras* force their men of warre to go to field, vnder the commande of the Earle of *Rhemont* the Queenes brother. But the Admirall hauing layed a strong ambuth, sends forth about forty Lances to draw forth the Townsmen, who falling out as an assured victorie, are compassed in like partridges in a net: defeated, chased and flaine to the number of foureene or fiftene hundred, many are taken prisoners, and of the better sort, *James* of *S. Paul* the Constables brother, the Lords of *Contay*, *Carenty* and others. At that time the King did let the Prince of *Orange* at liberty, (being of the house and bearing the armes of *Chalon*), taken in warre being set at thirty thousand Crownes ran- E some, the which the King did moderate to ten thousand: and caused it to be presently payed to the gentleman that held him, by meanes whereof he became the Kings *Liege* man, and did him homage for the said Principality. So as the King gaue him power to iurisdiction, by the grace of God Prince of *Orange*, and to coyne money of gold and siluer of as high a standayd as that of *Daulphiné*: to grant all graces, remissions, and pardons, but for heresie and treason.

Lewis his ex-
ploits the
truce being
expired.

Privileges
granted to the
Prince of
Orange by
Louis.

This transaction, with the former prizes, did wonderfully discontent the Constable, iealous of the Kings good successe: and fearing likewise some checke by to mightie an army, which the Admirall and the Earle of *Dammartin* had at his gate. For the aduancing whereof, he giues the King a false intelligence, that the *English* were at sea, ready to land at *Calais*: he perswades the King to prouide for the places of *Normandie*: he prometh faithfully to defend the marches of *Picardie*; and in his Masters absence to reduce *Abbeville* and *Peronne* to his obedience.

The Consta-
bles malice.

But let vs heare another notable part of trechery: hee seekes by all meanes to weaken

1475. weaken the King, and yet would he not fortifie the *Bourguignon*: but that the *Englsh* should crosse both their Estates, that his owne might stand firme in the muck of their confusions. With this dessein, he procures the Duke of *Bourgonne*, to send *Philip Bouton* and *Philip Pot* Knights, to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and he for his part sends *Hector of Escluse*, to signifie vnto him, that the *Englsh* would soone land: that the Duke of *Bourgonne*, and he the Constable, ioyning all their powers together, would easily conquer the Realme: exhorting him (for the auoiding of his owne ruine and his Countie) to ioyne with them: the which if he refuse, and that it fall out ill for him, he was not to be pittied.

The Constable seeks to suborne the Duke of Bourbon.

Mournful prelates to the Constable.

The Duke of *Bourbon* sends the King two letters of this tenor, brought to him at diuers times by *Escluse*: who makes answer to the Duke and Constable; that neyther promises nor threats should drawe him from the obedience and faithfull seruice hee did owe vnto his maiesty. *Lewis* will produce these letters to the Constables confusion; in the end of the next yeare. For the present, hee must assure his frontiers. There is no newes yet of the *Englsh*. *Lewis* markes well this chafe, and will cause the Constable (who supposed himselfe to haue the aduantage of the game) to loose the partie. Poore Nobleman, howe many misfortunes foretell they approaching ruine. Thy Brother prisoner. Thy wife dead at the same instant, one of the chiefest pillars of thy house: who as sister to the Queene, might at neede haue preferred thy head: Thy Nephewe *Scalpe* prisoner, with the instructions he brought from *England* to the *Bourguignon*. And to fill vp the measure, thy sonne the Earle of *Roussy* defeated at *Grey* in *Bourgonne*, and prisoner with the Duke of *Bourbon*, who shall not leaue him vntill the end of the yeare, (for fortie thousand Crownes ransom) with the losse of two hundred men at armes, *Lombards*, the *Baron of Couches* and many others. The Marshall of *Bourgonne*, sonne to the Earle of *Saint Martin*, two sonnes of the house of *Viteaux*, whereof the one was Earle of *Isigny*, the Lords of *Longey*, *Lisle*, *Digoine*, *Montmartin*, *Ragny*, *Chaligny*, the Bayliffe of *Auxerre*, the Enseigne bearer to the Lord of *Beauchamp*, and many others, cleaped death but not imprisonment.

Sufficient warnings to amaze a resolute minde. Hereafter the Constable is afflicted with strange distemperatures fed with the neighbourhood of the Earle of *Dammartin*, being lodged neere *S. Quentin* whome he knewe to be none of his friends. And fearing least the King should assault him, he sends to take assurance of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, intreating him to send him his brother *James* of *Saint Paul*, the Lord of *Fiennes*, and some other his kinsmen and friends, to put them into *Saint Quentin*, and to keepe the Towne at the Dukes deuoroi (without bearing the *Saint Andrewes* crosse) the which he promised to restore vnto him within a prefixed time.

The Constable seeks to the Duke of Bourgonne & deceiues him.

They come: they present themselves within viewe of *Saint Quentin*, once, twice and thrice: but the Constable suspects them, and sends them backe. They came still, eether too soone or too late: so as at the brui of these forces, the Admirall casts himselfe in to *Arras*, whereof followed the taking of *James* of *Saint Paul*: who being brought before the King, hauing liberty to speake, he confessed, that at the two first iourneyes, hee came onely with an intent to comfort his brother: but at the third time, seeing the Constable had deceyued both his Master and him, if he had bene the stronger, hee would haue kept the place for his Master, without offering any violence to his brother: whereupon his maiesty set him at libertie, very well appointed, seruing him vnto his death.

Lewis dissembles with the Constable.

And although the Constable had lately done a notable disgrace vnto the King, yet his maiesty dissembled it wisely: and to take from him all cause of ieaousie, he willed him to go and make warre in *Hainault*, and to beseege *Auennes*, whilest that the Admirall was busied in *Artois*. He goes, but very loath, and with exceeding feare, and staies but little: he retires betimes, being aduertised (as he informed the King) of two men in his army (whome he described by apparent signes) suborned to kill him. This newe feare accompanied with distrust, bred a terrible distemperature in the Constables head, who hauing lost his credit both with the King and Duke, will yet entertayne himselfe

He accuseth Lewis, that he sought to kill him.

1475. himselfe by both, and perswade them that he is seruant but to one. He sent often to the *Bourguignons* campe to drawe him from the seige of *Nuz*, that he might ioyne fitly with the *Englsh* at coming on land; & then vpon the returne of his messengers, he gaue the King some plausible intelligence, to cause him to like of his conference with the Duke, sometimes disgracing his affaires, to winne the credit of an affectionate seruant with *Lewis*, sometimes extolling the Duke, to terrifie the King. But oh policie simply shadowed.

On the other side, hee knewe well that he had greatly offended the King by his last action. He sees himselfe forsaken by his most confident seruants, *Ienlis* and *Mouy*, whome the King had receiued. These might haue assisted him in his peace making, the which hee shadowed with some recompence that the King had promised him for the County of *Guise*. *Lewis* heares them, giues them good words, and commands the Constable to come vnto him. But it is a grieuous testimony, the conscience of our misdeeds. The variety of his troubled thoughts, will not admit any easie beleefe. Hee offers to come, so as his Maiesty wil sweare vpon the Crosse of *S. Law*, that he will neyther do, cause, nor suffer any treachery nor outrage to bee done to his person. This crosse hath bene kept at *Angiers* time out of minde, with an old beleefe, That whosoever swearing thereon, doth forswear himselfe, he dies within the yeare, of a miserable & violent death. *Lewis* refuseth this oath, but submitts himself to any other. The more he executeth himselfe, the more the Constable presseth him. Thus posts hee hourly froe eether of them vpon this assurance. Behold two great personages, of sundry humours, wonderfully troubled in minde, and it seemed they feared alike, to perish orto separate themselves absolutely. Yet *Lewis* was the more cunning, & did his busines more covertly. But if these two afflicted themselves in this sort, *Edward* of *England* and *Charles* of *Bourgonne* were in no lesse doubt one of an other. The King had sent *John Tierclip* the Lord of *Brosse*, to make his excuse vnto the Emperour, for that he had not sent the army promised by the treaty, assuring him to do it, when he had ended his enterprises begun, & for the most part well forward both in *Bourgonne* and *Picardie*, intreating him in the meane time not to make any agreement with the duke: & that the one should not treat of peace without the other. That he should confiscate all the Dukes seigneuries that he held of the Empire: and that he would seize vpon such as depended on the Crowne of France as, *Flanders*, *Arthois*, *Bourgonne*, and many others.

Lewis sends an Ambassadeur to the Emperour.

Charles in great perplexitie.

The Emperour, a man of more wit then vertue, answers by a gentle Apology. That they must not diuide the beares skin, before the beast be dead. As if he should say. Come according to your promise, let vs take this man, and then weare his spoiles. Let vs now see what he doth before *Nuz* where we haue left him much perplexed how to free himselfe with his honor from that enterprife. Two mighty armies attended him, and cutts off his visualls both aboue and beneath the *Rhin*: all the Princes of *Germany* both spirituall and temporall, had ioynd their forces in infinit numbers; all the Townes and commonalties did willingly contribute to this charge. Two other considerations did trouble him. The king made great warre against him, and had burnt many places in *Bourgonne*, *Picardie*, *Arthois* and *Ponthieu*. Moreouer, hee had labored all his life to drawe in the *Englsh*, but without any effect, till now: and would he abandon so good an army, passing now betwixt *Douer* and *Calais*, complayning of his breach, threatening (if the delay it any longer) to take an other course? Yet must the *Bourguignon* finde some honorable pretext for his rising.

There was with the Emperour an Apostolike Legat, going from army to army, to mediate a peace. The King of *Denmarke* was there in person, for the same effect. In the end the place is deliuered into the Legats hands, to dispose as the sea of *Rome* should decree. Thus *Nuz* after a yeares seige, sees the *Bourguignon* dislodge, with the losse of four thousand of his choise men. A hard departure, that notwithstanding the necessity of his army, and this mighty Imperiall power, yet not daring to disgrace him, he did see the beleeged and Cittizens ouercome with hungar and toyle, who had bin forced within ten dayes to yeeld to his mercy. *Charles* would willingly haue bin reuenged

He leaues the seige of Nuz.

1475 of *René* for his desie: yet he forbears vntil the next yeaer, but with an other issue then he expected he shalbe well beate[n] and then slaine. At this time vrgent necessity draves him else where: and his troups hauing need to be refreshed, he sends them to liue vpon the spoiles of *Lorraine* and *Barr*, and himselfe with a small traine goes to meet *Edward* at *Calais*. *Edward* being yet at *Douer*, sends *Garter* his King at armes, a *Normand* by nation, to *Lewis*, with a letter of defiance, the tenor wherof finelt more of the *French* then the *English*. He summons him, To yeeld vnto him the realme of France, as his right, that he might restore the Church, Nobility and people to their ancient liberties, and free them from their great burthens and afflictions: and vpon his refusal, he protests of all the miseries that should follow: after the accustomed manner and forme in suchlike cases. A bare desie grounded vpon occasion long before debated, and often decided. The King reads the letter: comands the herald to be brought into a Chamber vnto him, being alone, and saies vnto him.

Edward desies the King.

The policie of Lewis.

That he knew well the King of *England* was thrust into this enterprife by the people of *England*: by the Duke of *Bourgogne*, and by the Constable of *Saint Paul*. That the Duke came from *Nuz* like a vanquished man and needy, that winter grew on, vsfit for the effects of warre. That the Constable would deceiue King *Edward*, & liue only in his dissimulations, entertraying euery man, and trusting no man. In the end, he sollicitis *Garter*, to perswade his Maister, to make an agreement with him, giuing him 3 hundred Crownes with his owne hand, and promise of a thousand, if it might be accomplished: and in publicke, he caused a goodly peece of crimson veluet to be giuen him, containing thirty elles.

The Herald promisseth to do his best endeaueur, aduising him to send a Herald, to obtaine a safe conduct, for the sending of Ambassadors, at what time as *Edward* should haue passed the sea: who at his first entrie findes himselfe much deceiued of his expectation, for the Duke had promised to ioine with him, with two thousand five hundred men at armes, with a great number of other house and fore: and for his assurance to put some strong places into his hands, namely *Saint Quintin*, relying vpon the Constable. That finding the King overcharged, and redy to receiue a mate, he should begin the warres in *France*, three moneths before the leading of the *English* army: but his army was so weake and poore, as he durst not shew it.

The first cause of Edwards discontent against Charles.

Let vs here acknowledge an other notable fauour of God to this Crowne, who had so blinded the iudgment of this Duke, as he continued obstinate and wilfull, before this strong place resolutely defended, where as he should haue attended the *English*. We confesse that both together would haue dangerously shaken the estate of this realme. So the *English* and *Bourgiugnon* part from *Calais*, passe by *Boullen*, and drave towards *Peronne*: where thinking to lodge: they were disapointed: which gaue some dislike vnto the *English*.

An other error of the Bourgiugnon in at discontentis the English.

Being at *Peronne*, the constable sends *Lewis* of *Crenille* to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, excusing himselfe, for not deliuering vp of *Saint Quintin*, whereby (said he) he should haue lost all his credit, and intelligence in *France*, and hereafter be altogether vnprofitable for him. But he was now wholly at his deuotion, seeing the King of *England* within the realme. Moreover he promisseth the saide Duke, To serue and succour him, and all his friends and allies, as well the King of *England*, as others, and against all men, without any exception: and intreats him, that that writing of his owne hand may serue as a gage of credit with the sayd King. The Duke giues his letter vnto *Edward*, assuring him moreover, that the Constable should not only giue him entrance into *Saint Quintin*, but into all his other places.

The Constables timorous excuse.

He deceases both King, Edward and Duke Charles.

Both the King and Duke beleueed it. The King, for that he had married the Constables Neece: the Duke, for that the Constable was in so great feare and distrust of our *Lewis*, as it seemed he should not dare to faile of his promises. They part from *Peronne*, and approaching neere *Saint Quintin*, they send some *English* troups before, to enter the Towne, as to the taking of a certain possession. But the *Negro* (saith the proverbe) changeth not his hewe. The signall they giue them of their approach neere vnto them,

24c

are skirmishes and Canon shot. Two or three *English* are slaine, and some taken, and so they recover their armie, greatly discontented with this dishonour. The *Bourgiugnon*, to colour this foule and treacherous part, pretends the Constables meaning to be verie good: that he could not couer the yeelding thereof, with any apparent pretext, if at the simple sight of so small troups he should be amazed: that he would be forced therevnto, and if all the whole armie marched, he would make no refusal. But these were selfs: he desired but to winne time, and not to shew himselfe enemy for any man. The next day *Charles* of *Pourgongne* takes his leaue of *Edward*, promising to returne speedily with all his forces.

The Constable supported by Charles.

Edward and his men had small practise in the estate of our realme, they are not those braue warriors which had so long gouerned our *France*: they needed conduct & direction to fashion them to our armes, without the which they know themselves at their first annall to be vnprofitable: but in a short time they are fashioned and become good fouldiers. In the meane time they are abandoned, and the season of doing any thing almost past: they must therefore resolute. And thus the King discouers, that *Edward* would agree. The *English* had taken the seruant of *James Graffe*, a Gentleman of the Kings house, but for that he was their first prisoner, *Edward* giues him liberty. At his departure, *Howard* and *Stanley*, (both in credit with *Edward*) said vnto him: Recommend us to the King your maister, if you may speake vnto him. (*Garter* the Herald had named these two, to obtaine a passport for the Ambassadors that *Lewis* should send to create.) This message bred some iealousie in the Kings head, who then was at *Compienne*: for *Gilbert* the brother of *James Graffe*, followed the Duke of *Brittanie*, and was in great credit: but being carefully examined, they finde, he deserued credit. *Lewis* remembers the direction the Herald had giuen him: and sodenly takes this resolution with himselfe, To send a seruant, the sonne of *Meridol* of *Rochel*, belonging to the Lord of *Halles* (or *Scalles*) in qualitie of a Herald. This seruant had his countenance and personage very vnpleasing, yet a good wit, and a sweet speech. But why did *Lewis* make choise of a seruant, whom he had neuer seene but once, amongst so many thousands more capable of that charge? he might disauow him if need required, as intruding himselfe, or at the least aduenturing without his priuitie: and at all hazards, the loss of a seruant was not great.

An other error in the Duke of Bourgogne.

A notable circumstance.

A counterfeit Herald.

But well chosen, and why.

This Herald fashioned after the Kings minde, hath his charge deliuered him, and is attired with a coate of Armes, made likewise in hast, of a Trumpets Banner, enameled like a pettie Herald, that belonged to the Admirall. and then he goes to horseback, without any mans priuitie, except *Villiers*, Maister of the horse, and the Lord of *Argenton*. Being arrived at the *English* armie, he is brought before the King, to whom he deliueis his charge: That the King his maister had long desired to haue good amitie with him, to the end that both their realmes might hereafter liue in peace: That since his coming to the crowne he had neuer made warre, nor attempted any thing against the Crowne of *England*. If he had receiued the Earle of *Warwicke*, it was onely to crosse the Duke of *Bourgogne*: That the Duke of *Bourgogne* should not haue procured his passage into *France*, but to make his peace with more aduantage with the King. If any others were actors (meaning the Constable) it was but to serue their owne turnes in crossing him, and to worke their priuate profits, not regarding the affaires of *England*. When now Winter grew on: that his Armie was not railed without exceeding charge, (it was secretly to offer a recompence of all or part, which was a great perswader to peace.) That such as nourished this warre betwixt them, were some Noblemen and Marchants, who made their profit of the peoples losse: That if the King of *England* would giue care to a treatie, the King his Maister would imbrace it with so great affection, as both himselfe and his realme should remaine well satisfied. And for proofe, if it pleased him to graunt a safe conduct for a hundred horse, the King would send Ambassadors vnto him well informed of his pleasure. vnlesse he desired a mutual interview in some place, mid-way betwixt both Armies, then the King should graunt a safe conduct for his part.

The policie of Lewis.

1475.

Ambassadors
sent frō both
the Kings.

These speeches please, and this counterfeit Herald returnes with a safe conduct, as he desired, accompanied with an other Herald, to carrie one from the King with the same tenor. The next day, the Ambassadors of either side meete, in a village neere to Amiens: For the King, came the Bastard of *Bourbon* Admirall, the Lord of *S. Pierre*, and *Heberge* Bishop of *Eureux*. For *Edward*, came *Howard*, *Sellenger*, and Doctor *Morton*, afterwards Chancellor of *England*, and Archbishop of *Canterburie*. In truth it was much to to humble himselfe, but the waighie burthen of affaires which oppressed our King, forced him therevnto, who with one stone gaue two stroakes: for *Lewis* sent back his enemy, to the great confusion of the Duke of *Bourgogne*. Let vs generally confesse, that it is not now alone, that God doth shew his singular grace and fauour to this Monarchie; The *Britten* was watchfull, and ioyntly with the *Bourguignon*, they practised crosses of dangerous consequence.

The *Englsh* from a generall demand of the Crowne of *France*, restraints himselfe to the Duchie of *Normandie*, or *Guienne*. But a franke demander, requires a bold denier. *Lewis* protests, that hee would doo any thing to send the King of *England* out of this realme: but to yeeld him the possession of any lands, hee will rather put all to hazard. Hee had a goodly and mighty army, which they esteemed (saith the Originall) a hundred thousand fighting men, and in thew might doo much, the *Englsh* being in bad termes with the *Bourguignon*. But the quietest courte is the best, and both being willing to agree, an accord is soone made. In the end, the King graunts the *Englsh* three-score and twelue thousand Crownes present payment: (*Paris* lent the money, C upon promises of restitution by the feast of All Saints next following,) the marriage of *Charles* with the eldest daughter of King *Edward*, (both being yet very young, neither shall it take effect,) and for the estate of her house, the Duchie of *Guienne*, or fiftie thousand Crownes yearly, payable in the Tower of London, for nine yeares following; at the end whereof, hee and his wife quietly to enjoy the reuenues of the sayd Duchie, and the King should remaine discharged of the payment of 50000. Crownes to King *Edward*.

Moreover, the King promised sixteene thousand Crownes pension, to some of *Edward*'s favorites, who had much assisted in this reconciliation: to *Hastings* two thousand, to *Howard*, to *John Chene* Maister of the Horse, to *Sellenger*, *Montgomeri*, and D some others, the remainder: and besides, there was great store of Silver and Plate distributed among King *Edward*'s seruants: to euery Saint had his candle. These conditions performed, *Edward* should repasse the Sea, and leaue *Howard* and the Maister of his Horse in hostage, untill he had recovered *England*: yet not without an interview of both Kings. This peace should continue nine yeares, comprehending the the Dukes of *Bourgogne* and *Frittanie*, if they pleased. The *Bourguignon* hearing these newes, hastes his returne to the *Englsh*, followed onely with sixteene hundred Horse; At his first arriual hee discouers his inward passions, by his outward countenance. But hee came too late to prevent it. *Edward* tells him, that hee had made a truce for nine yeares, and exhorts him to enter, according to the reservation E he had made.

Charles replies by fits, and after a reprochfull manner; That *Edward*'s Predecessors Kings of *England*, had performed many high exploits in *France*, and with much sweate and toyle had wonne great reputation. Hee checketh him that hee did not procure the *Englsh* to passe, for any neede he had, but onely to giue them occasion to recover their ancient inheritance. And to make it manifest, that hee had no neede of their comming; hee would not accept of any truce with the King, untill that *Edward* had beene three monethes in his owne Country. And hauing thus sayd, hee returnes towards *Luxembourg*, from whence hee came. A brauadoe of ill digestion to the *Englsh* and his Counsell, but plausible to all the friendes of confusion.

But what is become of our Constable? is there no speech of him during this treatie. Nowe is hee more incombred with feare then euer. Hee knowes well, that

The Constable perplexed

A that he hath displeased the King, the *Englsh* and the *Bourguignon*, all alike, and still hee apprehends the conclusion at *Bouuines*. In the meane time hee seekes to please all, and setteth a good face on it. *Edward* had freely made offer to the *French* Ambassadors, to name some Noblemen, that were Traitors (sayd hee) to the King and his Crowne, and to proue it by their hand-writings.

The King holds a Counsell vpon this matter: some maintayne, that this accusation is fraudulent, and that the *Englsh* would make his demandes the greater with the wracke of an others honour, as hauing good intelligence in *France*. But *Lewis* his iudgement was more sharpe, hee knewe the *Bourguignons* courtes, he considered the season: that the *Englsh* had not any one place in their hands, and that the *Bourguignon* had deceyued them. Moreover hee knewe well, that the Constable would not giue them any entry: and least he should be farther imbarcked in the league, the King entertayned him with many letters, and kept him in good humour: and the Constable likewise sent often to the King: yet alwayes swimmyng betwixt two streames, vnderstanding that the treaty betwixt the two Kings, grew to some perfection, he seemed well satisfied, and sends *Lewis* of *Crenille* a gentleman of his house, and *John Richer* his Secretary: advising the King, that to auoide this threatening foraine tempest hee should procure a truce: & to satisfie the *Englsh*, it were good to graunt them one or two final Townes to winter in. Hee supposed in doing this, the *Englsh* should be beholding to him, and to rest fully satisfied for the affront at Saint *Quentin*.

C Note alwaies, that *Lewis* was a wonderfull instrument of diuision, when he pleased. *Contay* a prisoner at the defeat of *Arras*, went and came vpon his faith to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, to treat a peace. Hee was by chance in Court at the comming of these two perions. The King hides him in his Chamber behinde the hangings, to heare and report to his master the speeches the Constable and his people held of him. *Crenille* by the Kings commandement; with a loud voice, sayd, that the Constable had sent the to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, with many instructions, to diuide him from the *Englsh*; and that they had found the sayd Duke so farre incensed, as by their perswasions he was not onely readie to abandon them, but to charge them in their retreat. *Crenille* in speaking this, did counterfer the gesture of a passionate Prince, stamping and D swearing, *S. George* (the oath of *Charles* of *Bourgogne*), saying that he called the King of *England*, *Blanchborne*, and the sonne of an Archer, whose name he carried: words accompanied with all the indignities that might bee spoken. This mooued laughter in the King, who taking pleasure at the repetition thereof, and seeming somewhat deaffe, made him to straine his voice in the report. *Contay* no lesse amazed then the King was pleased, would neuer haue beleued it, if he had not heard it.

And although it grieved the King much to dissemble the Constables counsell, to giue some places to the *Englsh*; yet would hee not discouer his discontent to these deputies, but answered them graciously: *I wil send to my Brother* (the Queene & the Constables wife were Sisters) *and let him vnderstand my minde*, hauing cunningly drawn a E promise from his Secretary to reueale what did concerne him. And at the same instant hee dispatcheth *Contay* to the Duke his master with letters of credit, of the Kings owne hand: and somewhat to satisfie the Constable, hee giues the *Englsh* *Eu* and *S. Valerey* to lodge in during the treaty of peace.

In the meane time, (oh notable trechery) behold one of the Constables ordinarie trickes; hee sends his confessor to the King of *England* with letters of credit, and intreats him earnestly, not to trust to the Kings promises, but rather to seize vpon *Eu* and *Saint Valerey*, and there to passe some part of the winter: That within two monethes hee would lodge him better. Yet hee giues him no other security, but much hope, and an offer to lend him fiftie thousand crownes, with many other goodly shewes, to drawe him F from so profitable an accord. *Edward* answers, that the truce is concluded, and that hee will not alter any thing. That if he had kept his word, hee would haue accepted it. Thus our Constable dispaire on all sides.

The King (foreseeing that the Constable would thrust *Edward* into iecalousie) resolved by

Edward discouers the Constables designs.

Lewis subtil industry.

The Constables trechery.

Edward reiects the Constables counterfeits offers.

1465. Lewis his policie to prevent the Con- tables pra-ctises

by his bounty to take away all cause of suspect: for the effecting whereof, he lends Edward three hundred carts laden with the best wine he could get: and within halfe a League, within Amiens (Edward lod ging within halfe a league, for confirmation of the truce) he causeth two long tables to be set vp at the entry of the Towne, covered with exquisite meats, and all kindes of prouocations to drink, with men to attend all comers and goers at the table. At euery table were five or six men of reputation, fat and big, the better to incourage the Drinkers: amongst others were the Lords of Craon, Briquetot, Bresme and Villiers, gentlemen of a pleasant humour: and wheresoeuer the English tooke any lodging, they might not spend any thing. This bounty continued three or foure daies: during the which, if Lewis had ment treacherously, he had good means, they enting into Amiens confusedly, to the number of nine thousand, for this great multitude, some did sing, some slept, ouercome with wine and drouines. But contrarywise, he comitted the gard of the gate to English Archers, whome Edward (at Lewis his request) had sent, to take in, and put out whome they pleased.

An entervewe of the Kings.

It was then concluded, to appoint a place for an entervewe of these two Kings. It is done with lesse confusion and hazard in a final place. Picquigny vpon Somme was held conuenient: an ancient prophesie which the English obserued, described this very place. To this effect they build vpon the bridgetwo pentises of wood, the one for Lewis, the other for Edward, either of them capable of ten or twelue men. Betwix both was a partition, with grates to put through ones armes, going ouerthwart the bridge, that no man might go from the one to the other. Lewis made his profit of fore-passed euents: he knew that if the barre at Montreueau had had no more passage then this, John Duke of Bourgogne had not ended his dayes so lamentable, in the narrow bounds thereof.

The 28. of August, Lewis comes first to the barre, accompanied with John Duke of Bourbon, the Cardinall his brother, and followed only with about eight hundred men at armes. Edward comes after, hauing with him the Duke of Clarence his brother, the Earle of Northumberland, his Chamberlain Hastings, His Chancellor, & others: and behind him all his army in battaile. Either King had twelue men about him, foure of the which went from one part to another, to search if there were nothing prauided to the preiudice of their maisters. They imbrace each other through the grate, and sweare vpon the holy Bible, to obserue the articles agreed vpon.

The othe taken, Lewis mingling his serious discours with some mirth, inuities Edward to come to Paris, that he would feast him with the Ladies, and giue him the Cardinall of Bourbon for his Confessor (a pleasant man and of free life,) who willingly would giue him absolution, if happily he should sinne in that case. Then they conferre together a while, without any witnesses. And vpon the Kings demand, whether the Duke of Bourgogne would not accept of the truce, (men take an oxe by the horn, and a man by his word: and with the like policie the Duke of Bourgogne might haue bin surprised at his departure from Liege.) Edward answered that he might doe as he pleased, I will summon him againe (he saith) if he will not harken to it, I will referre my selfe to you two.

The politike proceeding of Lewis.

This accord being made, Lewis begins to play vpon an other string, & makes the like demande touching the Duke of Brittain, for whome he chiefly made the motion. But he findes the English resolute in his protection, as hauing found no friend so kinde in his affliction. Lewis surceaseth, and with a wonderfull curtesie takes leaue of the King of England, contents all his folowers with some kinde words, and giues presents to some private Noblemen, the Heralds & trompets, who to shew their thankfull mindes began to cry *A largeesse for the most noble and mighty King of France: a largeesse, a largeesse.*

He hath alwayes made it manifest, that he was exceeding suspitious, and that from an antecedent he could cunningly draw a good consequence. He is no sooner on his way to Amiens, but he studies of Edwards facility to harken to the going to Paris: that he was a very goodly Prince, and of an amorous complexion: and that some nice

Parisien

1475.

A Parisien might stay him longer then his estate required, or at the the least drawe him to passe the sea an other time: that his Predecessors had loued Paris and Normandie but too well: He therefore desires to see their backs, and must by some meanes bring him from this desire: wishing rather to haue him his good brother, & friend beyond the seas, then here. The necessitie which forced the King against the Burguignon, serued for an excuse.

Moreouer, the King was grieved, to see the English so resolute to defend the Brittons quarrell: he would gladly haue obtained that freedome, to make warre in Brittain, the which hee wonderfully affected: and made a second motion vnto him by Bouche & S. Pierre, who returned with this answer, *That whosoeuer doth attempt, (saith he) against the Duke of Brittain, I will passe the seas in person, and succour him.* So hee was no more importuned. Edward had an especial cause to entertain the loue of the Duke of Brittain, for at the defeat of Henry King of England, as wee haue heard, Henry Earle of Richmond and neere kinsman to the said Henry, after the death of his sonne the Prince of Wales, saued himselfe with his vnclie the Earle of Pembroke, and hauing entred a barke in hast, they were with tempest driuen vpon the coast of Brittain, and there forced to take land, where they were seized on, and led with sure guards to Vannes. A verie happie chance for the Duke, for while hee holds this goodly gage, hee was assured to commaund the forces of England: but very vnhappy for the Earle, for if hee might haue landed in France, Lewis without doubt (to crosse Edward) would haue laboured to restore him. This truce did wonderfully displease some of Edwards house-

There is a why King Edward pro- tects the duke of Brittain.

ould seruants: Lewis of Brettailles among the rest, a gentleman of Gascony, was greatly discontented, giuing out, that the King his maister hauing in person wonne nine battails, had gotten more dishonour by the voluntary losse of this tenth, (which was in a manner gotten,) then he had purchased honour in the former nine. That the French might with reason laugh at Edwards credulous facilitie. Lewis aduertised by the Lord of Argenton, of this Gascons free discourse, resolues to stoppe his mouth, to the end he should nother after spend his tongue to the preiudice of this Estate: He sends for him, and makes him dine with him, offers him great aduancements, so as hee will serue him. Vpon his refusall, hee giues him a thousand crownes presently, and promiserh to doe good for his brethren that remayned in France: binding him to maintaine (as much as in him did lie) the friendship growing betwixt these two Crownes.

Edwards ser- uants discon- tented with the truce.

Lewis a free buier of mē's seruices.

Brettailles did not iudge amisse. Our Lewis had sometimes a more liberal tongue then was conuenient, and feared much, least some words had passed him, whereby the English might discouer that he mocked him: and so it chaunced, yet behold how hee couered it. The day after this enteruewe, being in his Cabinet, he fell to iest of the wines & other presents he had sent to the English. But hee discouered not a Gascoyne marchant dwelling in England, who by chance was crept in, to obtaine a lycensie of the King for the transporting of certaine pipes of wine, freed frō impost. This marchant might talke: he must therefore be wooed, and staid in France, vnder some apparent pretext. The King sent the Lord of Argenton to talke with him, aduanceth him to a good office in the towne where he was borne. hee giues him a thousand frankes presently to transport his familie: the transport of wines he required, and a man to conduct him to Bourdeaux: but all vpon condition that not he, but his brother, should make the voyage into England. Thus the King made amends for his rashe speech.

Edward is now vnder saile: he was a newe Conqueror, his presence was therefore more needfull in England: he did neuer much affect the voyage. Two principal reasons drew him in to the action. The one was, all his subiects gaped after the possession of this Crowne, did sollicit him, and the Burguignon prest him. An other was, he might referre a good part of the money that should bee rayfed for this voyage (for the Kings of England leue no thing about their reuenues, but for the warres of France.) But see the policie of Edward: he had of purpose brought with him ten or twelue of the chiefe bourgeois of the Citie, whose credit was great with the Commons, and who had with all care procured this tax. These men were soone weary with this military toile,

Causes that moued Edward to passe and to returne home into England.

Y y 4

presuming

1475. Presuming that at the first arriuall, a profitable battaile should decide the quarrell. And to make them taste more feelinglie the sweetnesse of peace, from the sharpenesse of warre, *Edward* doth sometimes trouble their heads with doubts, sometimes with feares, to keepe them from murmuring at his returne into *England*. On the other side, he loued his pleasures, & was of a complexion not able to endure the trauells requisite for the conquest of this Realme: and although the King was ouercharged with enemies, yet had he provided well for his defence. But see the most vrgent reason of *Edward*'s retreat.

Edward I. sent the Constables letters vnto Lewis.

The performance he desired of the marriage betwixt the *Daulphin*, and his daughter. A marriage which made him dissemble many things, whereof *Lewis* will make his profit. To conclude; as they which haue bene deceived in their friendship, hate without dissembling, *Edward* before hee parted from *Calais*, sent the King those two letters of credit, which the Constable had written vnto him, with all other verbal assurances which he had giuen him. Sufficient testimonies to accuse and conuince him of those crimes, wherewith he shalbe hereafter charged. Let vs nowe reconcile the Duke of *Bourgogne*, and *Brittain* with the King.

Discontent betwixt the English and Bourgignons.

Contay was now returned from the Duke of *Bourgogne*, the day of the enterviewe, and had found his maister in a good humour, when as the *English* were returned. *Hugonnet* Chancellor of *Bourgogne*, & other Ambassadors for the duke, meete at a bridge midde way betwixt *Auennes*, and *Veruins* in *Hainault*, so well accompanied with Archers and other men of warre, that one of the *English* hostages, whome the King had led with him, tooke occasion to say, that if the Duke of *Bourgogne* had bene followed with many such men when he came to salute King *Edward*, peraduenture they had not made a peace. The *Viconte* of *Narbonne* answered: That the Duke wanted no such men, and that hee had sent them to refresh themselves, but six hundred pipes of of wine, and a pension which the King gaue them, made them hast home to their Country.

A truce betwixt Lewis and the Bourgignons.

The *English* mooued herewith. *It is as euery man said* (replies he) *that you would deceiue vs. Do you call the money the King giues vs a pension? It is a tribute: and by Saint George you may talke so much, as we will returne againe.* This quarrell stayed their proceeding: neyther did they preuaile any more, the second time, when as the King appointed *Tannegey* of *Chassel*, and the Chancellor *Orisle* to heare the sayd Ambassadors at *Veruins*: but the third assembly which was in the Kings Chamber, made a full conclusion (and in truth *Brezey* had reason to say one day to the King, that his horse was well laden when he was on him, for that hee carried all his Counsell with him: for in deed he did effect more in his presence, then all his Ambassadors together,) where there was a truce accorded for nine yeares, according to the other, but by reason of the oath which *Charles* of *Bourgogne* had sworne to *Edward* in his choller, it might not be published vntill the 17. of October following.

Edward offers to ayde Lewis against the Bourgignons.

Edward (discontented that the Duke of *Bourgogne* would treat a part) sends *Montgomery* (a Knight very inward with him) to the King to *Veruins*, hee requires two things, the one, that hee would take no other truce with the Duke then that which hee had made: the other that hee would not suffer Saint *Quentin* to bee yeelded vnto him: and if hee would continue the warre against the sayd Duke, hee would returne the next spring and ioyne his forces with the Kings, so as hee would recompence him for the losse hee should sustaine by the customes of wooll at *Calais*, which would be of no value, (being estimated at fifty thousand Crownes) and pay halfe his army.

The King to satisfie *Edward*, answers, that it is the same truce they had made together, and for the same terme: but the Duke would haue letters apart; hee thanks him for his good offers, and returns him home his Ambassador and hostages. *Lewis* had lately learned, that the *French* & the *English* do easily quarrell, when they are together, and a small matter would reconcile them with the *Bourgignons*. As for the *Britton*, the King could not well digest the answer which *Edward* had made

to

A to *Fouchage* and *Saint Pierre*, whereby he easily discovered the strict alliance betwixt them, but seeing he could not diuide them, being in the Abbie of *Vicorie* neere to *Senlis*, where he had a priuate deuotion, the peace was absolutely confirmed, whereby the King renounced all rights pretended by him to the Duchie of *Brittain*, reseruing the feuerancy and homage according to the ancient Custome. Hee promised to keepe the Dukes person in safety, and to maintaine his privileges, and prerogatiues, without forcing him to follow him out of his Duchie, but with his owne good liking: Moreover he should cause to be giuen vnto the Duke of *Brittain* the hands & seales of all the Princes of his bloud, and of the Noblemen of the Realme, both spirituall and temporall, with reuocation of all alliances, or former promises, and restitution to be made of all things taken during the warre. The patent hath the same date with that of the Duke of *Bourgogne*.

A peace confirmed with the Duke of Brittain.

Let vs nowe bring the Constable into open viewe, to play the last acte of his Tragedy: finding that all these shifts and deuises, could not breake the reconciliation of the two Kings, the next day after their enterviewe, he writes very humbly to the King, by a knight of his named *Rapine*. That he was well informed howe his enemies labored to bring him in disgrace, charging him with many things wherof he had shewed contrary effects: for that during all the forepassed confessions, hee had faithfully kept all those places which his maistry had committed vnto him, and beate backe the enemies whosoever hee presented himselfe. And to purchase some credit, hee offers to C deale with the Duke of *Bourgogne* who (if the King please,) shall helpe to defeat *Edward* and all his army. *Lewis* dissembles, and writes to the Constable, what was concluded the day before, that at this time hee was busied with many affaires, and had neede of such a head as his. A captious word but well vnderstood by *Rapine*, who takes it for a beginning of fauour for his maister.

The last acte of the Constables Tragedy.

Lewis dissembles with him.

But alas, howe easily doth man deceiue himselfe in his vaine imaginations? and what can a perplexed soule produce, but trouble and confusion? The truce is no sooner confirmed with the *Bourgignons*, but the conclusion of *Bouuines* is renued, wherof wee haue made mention. Nowe this poore Constable knows not to whom to flie.

D And as euery man runnes as farre as hee can from an imminent shipwracke, his best friends, his most affectionate seruants, and his most confident soldars abandon him. What shall hee then do? Whome shall hee implore? What Sanctuary? What succors? Hee knowes well hee hath equally displeased, *Lewis*, *Edward* and *Charles*; his Lands are on all sides inuironed by his enemies. He is too farre from any succour. He holds strong places, yea almost impregnable: but who shall defend them? Hee inuoyes great treasure, but they violently hunt after it. What refuge shall hee choos? Shall he go to the King? but by what meanes shall hee purchase peace? hee is too farre incensed, and is seized of the letters which the Constable hath written to the King of *England*, and the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Bourgogne*. May hee re-
E leauepon *Lewis* his word? but he would not sweare vpon the croile of Saint *Lau*. Shall hee alle the seas? he gaue *Edward* too vnkind a welcome neere *S. Quintin*. Shall he cast himselfe into *Charles* of *Bourgognes* armes? but he hath spoiled his Country of *Hainault*, he would haue forced him to marry his daughter with the Duke of *Guienne* deceased, and hath often treacherously deceiued him; being aduanced by his meanes to that dignitie of Constable.

The Constables piteous estate.

The Frenchmen beleue that whosoever breaketh that oath die vilenly without any yearre.

To conclude, hee alone hath more then all others maintayned these Princes in hatred: for as what partie soeuer he takes, hee is vndoone. Yet must hee needes vniat ke himselfe and flie to one, for what meanes hath he to warrant himselfe alone against so mighty enemies? which shall he choos? Poore soule, beaten with distrust, feare and doubtes; for yeelding to the one he incensed the other. Moreover there is lesse danger for him to be beleegged by two, then by one alone, being impossible for two armies to accord long together; and contrariwise, being charged but by one, there is some hope to make his peace.

The Constable in a desperate estate.

Some

1475.

Sometimes he resolues to flee into *Germany*, and to buy a place there, vntill he be reconciled to the one: sometimes to keepe his strong Castell of *Han*, the which hee had well fortified to serue him at neede. But he is so amazed as he dares not discouer himselfe to those fewe seruants that are left him. Moreouer they are all subiects to some one of these Princes. Yet he must resolue: and better is it to fall once, then stagger alwayes.

But they haue both ioyntly conspired his death, he is well informed thereof, and hath seene a coppie of their mutuall seales. Yet when once he hath passed his word, he will make a conscience to breake it. But there is no faith in the Court of *France*: he hath offended the King too much, and hath too great aduersaries, and no man might safely loue him whome *Lewis* hated. The Duke of *Bourgogne* is more moderate, more easie to pacifie, and if he giue his faith, he will be ashamed to deliuer him who had thrust himselfe vnder his protection. He gaped after Saint *Quentin*, he must yeeld it vp vnto him, & redeeme his head with the price of this good place. He stands firme in this resolution, and beseecheth *Charles* to send him a safe conduct, to go and treat with him of matters concerning his estate and person. At the first *Charles* makes some difficulty, but in the end he thinks he may well dispense with his conscience for Saint *Quentin*.

The Constable yeelds to the *Bourguignon*.

Saint *Quentin* yeelded to the King.

The Constable prisoner.

So the Constable accompaigned onely with fiteene or twentie horse, goes towards *Mons*, in *Hainault*, to *Esmeriez*, great Bayliffe of *Hainault*, the dearest of his friends, attending newes from the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who made warre in *Lorraine* vpon the desie we haue spoken of. The *Foxe* is now out of his earth. Yet must be foreseene, that this yeelding reconcile not the Constable to the Duke. The King well informed what troupes were in Saint *Quentin*, & of the inhabitants affected to, halseth thether with fourteen or eight hundred horse. They meete him with their keyes: the quarters are ordered, all his forces enter and he followes. And to take from the *Bourguignon* all hope to recouer Saint *Quentin* by the Constables meanes, he giues him aduice of the taking thereof: for although in the diuision made at *Bonnines* of the Constables places, this fell to the Duke, yet would not the King that he should make his peace with the *Bourguignon* by the deliery thereof.

Charles aduertised hereof, sends to the great Bayliffe, that he should gard *Mons* well, & that the Constable go not forth, and that hee should appoint him his lodging for a prison. Here the Bayliffe preferres obedience to his maister before the Constables loue. *Lewis* aduertised of the Constables detention, requires the Duke of *Bourgogne* by *Bouchages*, and Saint *Pierre*, eyther to deliuer him, or to performe the convention. Hee promisseth to do it, and causeth him to bee carried with a sure gard to *Peronne*. He had now taken diuers places in *Lorraine* and *Barrois*, and did batter *Nancy*, whereof hee desired to see the issue for the deliery, or retayning of the Constable, so as with this desseigne, in steed of eight dayes concluded on at *Bonnines*, hee lets passe a moneth and more. But the Kings great instance, and his army which laie hovering in *Champagne*, as ready to succor the *Lorraine*, and to crosse the *Bourguignon*: that enterprize, the conquest whereof he greedily pursued, to vnite his territories, and to passe freely from *Luxembourg* into *Bourgogne*, (for inioying this Duchie, hee came from *Holland* vnto the Confines of the Diocese of *Lion*, vpon his owne land) made *Charles* to send *Himbertcourt*, and the Chancellor *Hugonnet*, (both great enemies to the Constable,) to deliuer him at an appointed day, to such as the King should send. *Charles* supposed to haue wonne *Nancy* by that day, but hee was deceived in the same. And in truth they had no sooner left him, but a countermand comes from the Duke, after the taking of *Nancy*, but too late.

The Constable deliuered to the King.

The prefixed day being come, they deliuer the Constable at the gates of *Peronne*, into the hands of the bastard of *Bourbon*, Admirall of *France*. *Bouchages*, *S. Pierre*, *Crispy* and others: Vho led him prisoner to the *Bastille* at *Paris*, the said Admirall charging the Chancellor, his President, and other Counsellors of the Parliament beeing there present, in the Kings name, to make a speedy trial of him, vpon his letters written to

A to the King of *England*, and the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Bourguigne*. So by iudgement of the Court, giuen by the President *Popincourt*, he was beheaded at the *Greue*, the 19 of December, and by an especial grace was buried at the white Friars in *Paris*. A pittifull spectacle, to see so great a personage layed vpon a scaffold, allied to the houses of *France*, *England*, *Bourguigne*, *Sanoye*, & many other great personages, the chiefe Officer of this Crowne, mighty in Lands, in treasure and in friends, abandoned of his friends, his goods confiscate, degraded of his offices, and finally to serue as a spectacle to the whole world. He was witty, valiant, and of great experience: but in his latter yeares bereaued of the grace of God. Let vs apprehend this Oracle: *It is a horrible thing to fall into the hands of the lying God*. The pit hee had digged for an other, must swallowe him vp. He had with all his force labored to maintayne these two Princes in hatred and mutual diffension, to subsist in the midst of their partialities. He had often & impudently lied vnto them, and being both very reuengefull, it was impossible to auoide their inuaires. But who can warrant the Duke of *Bourgogne* tro the lawe *Cornelius*? must his cruel couetousnesse force him to giue security to this poore Lord, to thrust him into an vnbought ruine. Four score thousand crownes in mouables, and three score thousand crownes in ready money which hee got by his spoiles, were they valuable to the falsifying of his conscience: god leaues nothing vnpunished, & we shal learne hereafter, that this disloyall act in him was the iust ruine of his house: a house for a hundred yeares flourishing in all perfections of felicity, the which hereafter shall runne headlong to a strange Catastrophe: and by the meanes of a young and vnxperienced enemy, weak in regard of the *Bourguignons* great and redoubted power, *God resists the high minded*, and doeth contemptible things, to ruine and confound the proude. Let vs with one breath, see the declining and ouerthrowe of this house of *Bourguigne*.

The Constable beheaded.

Charles of *Bourguigne* beakes his oath with the Constable.

Charles affecting the title of a King.

The meanes whereby he sought it.

Charles makes an vnjust pretension vnto *Lorraine*.

Campobasso a traitor to *Charles* of *Bourguigne*.

The violent ambition of *Charles*, had (as we haue heard before) armed him with a boyling desire to be a King: but *Frederic* the 3. scorned it. From that time he still plotted to get this qualitie. *René* (before Earle of *Vaudemont*, sonne to *Ferry* of *Lorraine*, and of *Yoland*, daughter to *René* King of *Sicile* and Duke of *Aniou*, & of the only daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine*, eldest brother to *John* Earle of *Vaudemont*, Father to the sayd *Ferry*, and now Duke of *Lorraine*) had defied him before *Nuz*, grieued with the *Bourguignons* outrages. This is a good expedient to shake this pretended royalty. *Lorraine* made him a free passage, to vnite his Countreies, and moreover by the Conquest of this Duchie, hee should qualifie himselfe King of *Sicile*, and *Ierusalem*, the hereditary title of this house. This vent of vaine glory transports *Charles* into *Lorraine*: and for pretext of a quarrell, he pretends a great sum of money to be due vnto him by *Renés* Predecessor: for non-paiement whereof (after the taking of many places) hee camps before *Nancy*, beseegeth it, batters it, but takes it not so soone as he presumed, being valiantly defended beyond his expectation. The King also vnderhand fauored this yong Duke, procuring him secretly the alliance of the *Suisses*, & the Imperial Townes of *Alsatia*. *Charles* since the sege of *Nuz* had in pay about a thousand men at *armes*, *Neapolitans* for the most part. The Earle of *Campobasso* commanded foure hundred, a partisa of the house of *Aniou*, against that of *Arragon*: & for this cause being banished his Country, had alwaies followed the Duke *René* of *Sicile*, or *Nicholas* sonne to *John* Duke of *Calabria* and *Lorraine*: after whose death *Charles* of *Bourguigne* entertayned many of his seruants: especially this Earle, a wicked man and of a corrupt conscience, who in the beginning of the warre of *Lorraine*, entred into practise with Duke *René* (heire apparant to the house of *Aniou*, after the death of King *René* his grandfather by the mother) promising to prolong the sege of *Nancy*, & cause defects in necessary things touching the sege. He might wel do it, hauing more authority in this army then any other capitaine. But behold an other act of notable villany.

The duke of *Bourguigne* had giuen him forty thousand ducats before hand, to raise his company. Passing at *Lion*, to go into *Italie*, he grewe familiar with a Physician, named *Simon* of *Paue*, giuing by him the King to vnderstand, that for an hundred thousand crownes in ready money, his company entertained, and a good Earldome,

at

I 476. at his returne, he would deliuer him the Duke of *Burgogne*, and confirms the same to *S. Prye*, who then was Ambassadour for the King in *Pimont*. Being returned, and his troupe lodged in the Countie of *Marle*, he reiterates his offer to the King, to kill the Duke when he should come to the Campe, if he desired not to haue him brought prisoner vnto him, assuring himselfe to execute it easily: for (saith he) he is accustomed to visit his armie, mounted vpon a Nag, and ill accompanied: Or if the King and the Duke should at any time fight a battaile, hee would turne to the King with his companie.

Lewis abhorres the treacherie of this wicked wretch, and to shew the Duke his franke and royall disposition, he giues him intelligence thereof by *Contay*. In the meane time, *Campobasso* diuers the *Bourguignon* all he can from the warre of *Lorraine*: and makes the taking of *Nancy*, prooue more difficult. The Duke is so much incensed therewith, as from iniurious words, he proceeds to blowes, and strikes him. A blowe which the Earle will reuenge, in time and place. Hee dissembles for the present, and *Charles* either thinking the *Neapolitane* had forgotten this outrage, or supposing that his hired souldier had been bound not to reuenge it: or happily fearing if he lost him, his affaires would receiue some dangerous check, he entertaines him still in his seruice: yea (euen contrary to the Kings aduice,) he loued, or made shew to loue him better, supposing that *Lewis* his intention, was to set diuision betwixt him and his most trustie seruants. But let vs rather say, that he which sounds, euen to the deepest thoughts of man, had by a iust iudgement, altered the sence of this Prince, not to taste the holesome counsels that were giuen him, with most apparent reasons. Thus proud presumption, like vnto *Nembroth*, made him conceiue a world of *Chimeres*, and bring forth a shamefull confusion, as we shall read hereafter.

Hee is now putt vp with the new purchase of *Lorraine*, by the taking of *Nancy*, with the possession of *S. Quentin*, *Han*, and *Bohain*, and with the Constables moueables, but he would not make this the limits of his conquests. The *Suisses* had incensed him, redeeming of the Countie of *Ferrete* for *Sigismond* Archduke of *Austria*. Moreover, they had spoiled *James* of *Sauoy* Earle of *Rhomont*, brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, of the Countie of *Vaux*, and the Lord of *Chastangouion*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, of many places, lying within their marches. These Noblemen were allied, and partakers to the Duke, and trust him on to reuenge. On the other side, the King desired to parle with him, after the manner of *Picquigny*, wishing him to lodge and refresh his troupes, tired both with the siege of *Nuz*, and the reuenues of *Lorraine*, and to graunt a peace to this mountaine nation, being poore but yet froward. But *Charles* prefers the violent passion of his ambition, before the honest and holesome counsell of *Lewis*, and enters into *Suisse* land. The *Cantons* hearing of his approach, intreat for peace: they offer to yeeld vp the place in question: and by a second Ambassage, to renounce all alliances that should dislike him, especially the Kings: to serue him against all men, yea against the King, with six thousand men, for what pay he would giue them, and as often as he would call them. If he did triumph ouer them by an absolute victory, there were no profit to be found, seeing the spurres of his horsemen, and the bites of his hories, were of more value then all their countrie.

But he refuseth all accord, no preuention can stop this streame. He marcheth, and after this imaginarie conquest of the *Cantons*, he passeth the *Alpes*, and layes holde of *Italy*, for that *Frederick* Prince of *Tarentum*, sonne to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, was lately come to him, with hope to marry his daughter. Moreouer old *René* King of *Sicile* and Duke of *Aniou*, and Vncle to the King, seeing his sonne *John*, and his Grandchild *Nicholas* were deceased, promised to resigne vnto him his pretensions of *Sicile*, to adopt him for his sonne and heire, and soone after, to put into his hands the Earldome of *Prouence*. But wee shall soone learne the causes that mooued him to this attempt: hee gaped, aboue all other things, after the goodly estate of *Milan*, where hee presumed to haue great intelligences. The Ambassadors being returned, the *Suisses* protest of their submission, and of their desire to pacifie all things, calling God and

A the world to witnesse: & then they prepare for their defence. *Charles* for the first fruits of his army, fortified with fiftene thousand men from the Duke of *Milan*, & fise thousand from the Duchesse of *Sauoy* (for now he loues strangers better then his subiects, and the troubles of his mind, makes him conceiue a hatred and ieaousie against them) takes *Lozanna*, a mountaine Towne, seated vpon the Lake *Leman*, with other places in the Countie of *Vaux*: causing the garrisons for the most part to be hanged. Then he brings the whole body of his armie, (being about fittie thousand men, and fise hundred peeces of Artillerie of all sorts) before *Granson*, lying nere to the Lake of *Yuer*, which belonged to *Rhomont*, being defended by feuen or eght hundred *Suisses* of the Canton of *Berne*. He batters, makes a breach, and giues an assaull, with the losse of a hundred men. But the batterie continuing, the defendants (not able to hold the Towne) fire it, and recouer the Castell, where hauing many Towers beaten downe, they compound to haue their liues saued. An accord treacherously broken, for hee caused foure score to be hanged (some write fise hundred and twelue) hee drowned two hundred, and puts the rest in prison. A detestable crueltie, and so odious vnto all the Citties vpon the *Rhin*, as they send men to the Duke of *Lorraine* and the *Suisses* to their aide.

He is nothing amazed therewith; but for the statelie entertainment of Ambassadors that came vnto him from diuers countries, namely from *Germanie* and *Italie*, he shewes himselfe in his campe with incredible pompe and state: Pavilions and riche Cents, giltting armes, goodly standards, vessell of gold and siluer, of inestimable value, rich apparell, exquisite Tapistrie, Jewels, precious stones, and other costly ornaments: to conclude, the goodliest furniture that might beautifie a campe. The *Suisses* not yet aduertised of the losse of *Granson*, send foure or fise thousand me to releue it, but too late. The Duke (contrary to the opinion of the best aduised) goes to meete them. They campe at the entrie of the mountaines, hold the straites of hard access, and of great aduantage for the foote, and dangerous for the horse, where one man might stay fittie. But he was (as the *Prouerbe* sayes) mounted to the Pies neast, and God blinding his vnderstanding, prepared an exemplarie abatement of his pride. He sends a hundred Archers before, to seize on a passage of the mountaines; who discover not an ambush of shotte that kept it, the which suffer a part of the forward to enter, whereas the battaile could not succour them, whom they charge with such resolution and furie, that with this terror the *Bourguignons* fle, and fall vpon the other party, which was yet in the plaine, which likewise turnes head toward the Campe. The battaile and reereward seeing the forward in route, shrinke presently, and (notwithstanding all the Dukes labour to stay them) they saue their liues by flight, ill informed of the small numbers of their enemies, who pursue them with all furie. *Charles* himselfe was forced to ioyne with them that fled, abandoning both Campe & Artillerie, to saue their persons, staying in no place vntill he came to *Ioigne*, fiftene or sixtene leagues from *Granson*. A haltier flight then the pursute, for want of horse, so as the Duke in the middest of so great a terror, lost but feuen men at armes, but very many foote. This happened the second day of March.

A day not so famous for the losse of men, as of spoile, esteemed at three millions, where with the *Suisses* (not so cunning in those dayes as now) made themselves rich, although they were ignorant of the value of things. For a prooffe of their grosse and ride ignorance, the Originall obserues: that they did teare in peeces the goodliest & most sumptuous pavilions in the world, to apparell themselves. That a Souldier did tell a siluer dish like vnto pewter, for two pence halfe penie. An other taking vp the case of the Dukes great Diamond, wherat did hang a great Pearle, the which he viewing, put vp againe, and to cast it into a Cart, comming afterwards to fetch it, he bid it to a Priest for a Florin worth twelue pence: the Priest sent it vnto their Lords, who gaue him six shillings. They held it to be the goodliest in Christendome. Besides manie others, they got three Pearles of inestimable value, the which they called the three bretheren, with two other the most rare stones that could be found. To conclude,

1476. whatsoeuer the Duke had of rich or sumptuous, hee caused to be carried after him in ostentation, to shew his superfluous and fearfull greatnesse vnto strangers. So the eternall God did signifie vnto *Ezechias* by *Esay*. *That all the cofers of his drags, silver and gold, his sweete perfumes and pretious ointment, with all his artillery, yea all that was found in his treasures, all that was in his house, all that his fathers had gathered together vnto that day, should be carried into Babilon*: for that he had made a shew to the Ambassadors of *Bersadac-Baladan* the sonne of *Baladan* King of *Babilon*. Presently after this battaile, the *Suisses* recover their lost places, take downe their companions and burie them, & hang vp as many *Bourguignons* with the same halters. The King remained at *Lion*, attending the successe of the *Bourguignons* forces, fearing exceedingly, leaſt he should subdue the *Cantons*. He disposed of the house of *Sauoy* as his owne: the Duke of *Milan* was his allye: he held *Lorraine*, and hoped for *Prouence*, which succeeding, his power extended from the westerne sea, vnto the East: & *France* had had no issue out, but by the Dukes fauour, or by sea: for the preuenting whereof, *Lewis* sent often to the Duchesse of *Sauoy* his sister in law (being wholly at the Dukes deuotion) to *René* his Vncle, being much incensed against him, so as he would scarce heare his messengers, to the Princes & commonalties of *Germany*, who returne him an answer; *Say vnto the King, that if he warre not against him, we will make our peace, and warre our selues against him*. This was it he feared, yet would he not breake the truce, neither haue *Charles* discouer the messages hee sent. But now the *Bourguignons* shipwracke cheered him, grieved only at the small number that were slaine.

The Duke on his part was toucht with feare, & to preuent it, he sends *Contay* to the King, charged with humble and gracious speeches, contrary to his custome. He beseecheth his Maiestie to obserue the truce loyally, excuseth himselfe that he did not assist at their interview neere vnto *Auxerre*, and promisseth to be there shortly, or whereoeuer it should please the King. The King allures him of his demands, neither was it yet time to do otherwise, but to keep himselfe in the shade, whilst that *Charles* chafed himselfe. *Lewis* was well acquainted with the loialtie of the Dukes subiects, who would easily crosse him, seeing him oppressed with aduersitie. One mischiefe comes neuer alone: the losse, shame, & deſpight, to see himselfe vanquished, laies him sick in his bed. But behold a rougher charge: in prosperitie friends come by hundreds, in aduersitie they flie by thousands. *Galeas* Duke of *Milan* lead the dance; he was allied to *Charles* by reason of his practises in *Italy*: which being dissolued by this check, he sends a Citizen of *Milan* to the King: he dissuades him from making a peace with the *Bourguignon*, and to preuent it, he offers him a hundred thousand Ducats presently. The King detesting the inconstancie of this man, who three weekes before was estranged from him, hunting after the *Bourguignons* good hap, with a great and sollemne Ambassage: considering also that their wiuers were sisters, and his couetous proceeding: heretofore his money, reprocheth the little loue he bare to his brother in law, but in the end he accepts of his alliance. *René* King of *Sicile* seconds him. *Charles* had already (vpon the hope this good old man gaue him) sent the Lord of *Chastaignon* into *Piedmont*, with twenty thousand Crownes, to make a leaue of men, to take possession of that Earledome. But vpon this defeat, he was happy to saue his person, & to loose but his silver, seized on for the King by *Philip* of *Sauoy* Earle of *Bresse*. Vpon this amazement *Lewis* sends to his Vncle, desires him to come, and to assure himselfe of good entertainment, else he would provide by force. *John Cosse* Seneshall of *Prouence*, an honest man, and of a good houte in the realme of *Naples*, perswaded his maister to this voyage, giuing the King to vnderstand, that the treatie of *René* with the *Bourguignon* (the which he himselfe had procured) tended to no other end, but to let the King know the wrong he had done his Vncle, hauing taken from him the Castels of *Barre* & *Angers*, and intreating him ill in all his other affaires, and that he neuer had any will to performe the accord.

A liberty of speech very pleasing vnto *Lewis*, who from that time respected his Vncle, and they liued like good friends. The *René* made a transaction with the King, that after his death the Earledome of *Prouence* should returne to the king, and be incorporate in the Crowne.

The Duke of *Milan*.

The King of *Sicile*.

Lewis reconciled to the King of *Sicile*.

1476. In doing whereof, the Queene of *England*, daughter to the said *René*, and widow to *Henry* the 6. King of *England*, whom *Edward* held prisoner, was redeemed by the King for fiftie thousand crownes. For this cause she yielded vnto the King all the right she might pretend to the said Countie, and for a certaine pension which the King assigned her during her life. The Duchesse of *Sauoy* sent *Montaigni* secretly, to reconcile her to the King, yet will shee tie the issue of the Dukes fortune. The Princes of *Germany*, and the imperiall Townes, who before were enforced to temporise, now they themselves enemies, and turne from him.

Frederick Prince of *Tarentum*, grieved with the strange dissemblings, touching the pretended marriage, leaues him: and soone after, returning into *France*, he marries a daughter of *Sauoy*, the Queenes sister: what then? shall hee flie to his *Hollanders* and *Flemings*? But he knowes their inconstancie, and that they fauoured not his flight: yet hee sends his Chancellor *Hugonnet*, with twelue commissioners, to require ayde of men and money of his subiects, who returne with this resolution: That if the Duke their Lord were prisoner, they would mortgage and sell their liuing, to redeeme him: that to dissuade him from the warre, and draw him home into his counties, they would assist him with all their power. But to continue it, they are not resolved to doo any thing. To conclude, euery bird had his peck at this Owle. Euen as when a tempest ouerthrowes some great tree, euery oneteares off a branch. Hee yeelds not yet, but would be ashamed to confesse himselfe beaten by such a wretched people: and although all these crosses had wonderfully increased his sicknesse, & that heauinesse, melancholie, choller, and other passions, had altered his bloud, with great preiudice to his health: yet he gathers together the peeces of his wracke, and within few moneths goes to field with his armie. Hauing staied some space at *Lauzanne*, he went the 9. of *June* to campe before *Morat*, a small towne two leagues from *Berne*, belonging to the Earle of *Rhomont*, who lead the foreward. *Anthony* bastard of *Bourgogne* camped vpon the Lake, with thirty thousand men of foote and horſe. The Duke lodged in the mountaine, and *Rhomont* vpon the descent towards the Lake, with 12. thousand men. The *Cantons* were sooner in armes at this shock, then at the other: and if before they gaue him a light defeat, they shall now giue him a generall ouerthrow. In their league are numbred twenty Townes, prelates and commonalties: *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Fribourg*, *Sunderuel*, *Zug*, *Glavie*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, *Basill*, *Chafhouze*, *Appenzel*, *Sangall*, the *Grifons*, the Earle of *Tocquembourg*, the Abbot of *Sangall*, *Valais*, *la Cassé*, *Dye*: & the ten iurisdiccions of *Malny*. All these did furnish eleuen thousand pikes, ten thousand Halberds, 10000. shot, and 4000. horſe: and the King, who made warre against the *Bourguignon* at an other mans cost, had vnder-hand giuen the Duke of *Lorraine* means to ioyne with 6000. men at armes. Moreouer the Townes of the *Rhin*, *Songoy* and *Ferrelle* had sent a supply of three thousand men.

All these forces being ioyned, the 22. of *June*, behold at the first incounter, the foreward is so violently charged, as the Earle of *Rhomont* is forced to saue himselfe with ten or twelue horſe. The garrison of *Morat* fallies out, and ioynes with the Duke of *Lorraine* troups: they charge the *Bourguignons* campe, force it, and ouerthrow him with a horrible slaughter of his men. He recouers *Besançon* by the swiftnesse of his horſe; and from thence, *Riuere* in the County of *Bourgogne*. In this battaile died about eightene thousand men, (others say two and twenty thousand seuen hundred) and of *Suisses* fiftie men onely. At this day are seene the spoiles of this battaile, in a Chappell built, where the battaile was fought, and filled with the bones of such as were slaine. The *Suisses* pursuing their victory, take all the places of the County of *Rhomont*, and along the Lake *Léman*, euen vnto *Geneua*, which are at this day vnder the iurisdiction of *Berne*, and the Bishop of *Basill*, and razed many places and Castels vpon the marches of the *French* Countie. The Duke of *Lorraine*, hauing a good share in this notable victory, with his *French* troups, and some supplies from the confederates, recouers *Vindemont*, *Epinal*, *Nancy*, and some other places by composition. Now is *Charles* of *Bourgogne* exceeding heaue, and for that the houle of *Sauoy* had bin the chiefe kindler of this

Charles is ouerthrowne.

1476. this warre: (wherof the first fire-brand had bin for some Cartes laden with skins, taken by *Rhomont* from a *Suisse*) and doubting least she would speedily be reconciled to the King, he sends to take her by force, & brings her to *Rouure* neere *Dijon*, with her youngest sonne, since Duke of *Sauoy*. *Philibert* the eldest then Duke, was (with the help of some seruants of his house) retired to *Chamberi*. The King, who neuer lets slip any aduantage, and who politickly builds vpon anothers shipwrack, treats with the Bishop of *Genes*, a sonne of *Sauoy*, a man of a free disposition, and gouerned by a commander of *Rhodes*, both tractable: who deliuer into his hands the Castles of *Chamberi*, *Montmelian*, and another place, in the which were all the Duchesse Jewels. She seeing herselfe deprived of liberty, dissembles no longer, but sends *Rimera* a Gentleman of *Flemmont*, to the King, to mediate her peace; but with all the surety that might be knowne, being well, that it was dangerous to displease him: beseeching his Maiestie to free her, Lewis sets her at libertie. Lewis a better brother then she had bin a sister, sends to deliuer her, by *Charles* of *Amboise* Lord of *Chaumont*, gouernour of *Champagne*, who brought her to *Plessis* by *Tours*, whether the King was returned: who hauing renounced the alliance of *Bourgogne*, recovered her children of the King, with the places, Jewels, and all things that belonged to her, & then conducted her home at his own charge. But *Charles*, is he tired? So many disgraces: so many losses of men of warre, places, friends, & treasures, haue all these daunted him, as he hath lost all courage? He is now solitary at *Riuere*, sad, mournfull, grieved, displeased in himselfe, wayward to his seruants, despised of his subiects, abandoned of his friends, and hatefull to all the world. he seekes neither comfort or counsel of any man, and his great austerity is the cause that no man dare giue it him. And doubtlesse these incounters were sufficient to make him lay aside armes, & humbly to acknowledge, that the scourge of God doth aduertise vs, that we are straitened from our duties, and to lift vp our eyes, hands & hearts to heauen, there to seeke for consolation, and not among men: rather restoring that which we haue pulled from another vniuallly, then continuing obstinate in our reuenges.

But *Nancy* must be the place of his funerall, it was wonderfull commodious for his passage to his other Signeuries; but his armie being vterly ouerthrowne, it was not possible to leuie new troupes so speedily, to succour the Lord of *Beures*, of the house of *Croy*, who defended it against the *Lorraine*. *Campobasso* did diuert him, shewing that the City was but slackly besieged: that it was needfull to breath, & to refresh his spirits, tired with the forepassed toiles: & in the meane time, continues his practises with Duke *René*. *Beures* passed him still for succours, yet could he not arriue vntill the day it was yeilded, with such forces as he could get out of *Flanders*, *Luxembourg*, & *Bourgogne*. He besiegeth it before it could be fortified & viſtalled, and within few daies, brings it to exceeding famine. The *Lorraine* not yet strong inough, attending such troupes as came to him out of *Germanie* & *Suisserland*, aduentures a company of souldiers, carrying some victuals. They crosse through the campe, maynteyning the skirmish, whilst that such as carried meale entered the towne. *Cifron* a gentleman of *Prouence*, & steward to the Duke of *Lorraine*, was taken priener amongst others. *Charles* commands he should be hanged. This gentleman had bin the actor betwixt *Campobasso* and the Duke *René*. Seeing that he must of necessity die, he desires *Charles* to heare him, and that he would discover a matter which concerned his person. *Charles* answers in choller, that they were but fluffs: and *Campobasso* fearing his tongue, doth hasten both the Duke & Prouost to this execution, for (said he) by the law of armes, euery one that seekes to recleue a place after the Canon hath plaied & is take, deserues death. *Cifron* makes a new request, and the Duke sends to know what he would say. He refuseth to reueale it, but to the Duke himselfe, and as they returned with this answer to the Duke, *Campobasso* remaining at the chamber dore, where the Duke was writing with a Secretary, makes them beleue that the Dukes pleasure was they should dispatch him: & so *Cifron* was hanged. He still continues his siege, and neither shame, losses, the season of the yeare, nor his weake armie, neither the great succours which he sees coming to the *Lorraine*, nor the secret aide the King gaue vnto his enemy, neither *Alphonſus* King of *Portugall*, his

Nancy taken by René, and besieged by Charles.

A notable viſtall of Campobasso.

his cousin germaine, who then attended some succours from the King at *Paris*, against the *Castilian*, and went exprefly to him to mediate a peace, to bee the sooner dispatched (for the King excused himselfe, vpon the issue he feared of this warre of *Lorraine*) could moue him.

Nancy pressed with famine was ready to compound, if *Campobasso* had not by secret intelligence reuied their spirits: when as behold the Duke of *Lorraine* comes with an armie of fourteene or fifteene thousand men, *French*, *Suiſſes*, *Germanes* and *Lorraines*, & lodgeth at *S. Nicholas* of *Varengueille*. *Campobasso* not able to doe the *Bourguignons* a greater dispite, leaues him, with nine score men at armes with him, and the Lords of *Ange* & *Montfort* with six score, & they go to *René*. A great maine for the duke, whose troupes were but bare and weake. Notwithstanding vpon the *Suiſſes* protestation, that they would not fight in the company of a traytor, the Duke sends him to *Condé* a Castle vpon the riuier of *Moselle*, a passage for victuals which came to *Charles* from the vallie of *Luxembourg* & *Metz*. He takes this passage and stops it with trees and carts, to stay the flight of such as should thinke to saue themselves, foreseeing already the *Bourguignons* ouerthrow, hoping by this means to haue a share of the booty & prisoners, as it happened indeed. But the fowleſt and most trecherous act of his tragedy is, that he left men suborned to begin the flight at the first charge, & others to obſcure the Duke, and if he fled to kill him. *Charles* vnderstanding these newes, harkeneth thereto (contrary to his custome) yet he followes not the aduice of his counsell. The most expedient counsell him to retyre to *Pont a Mouſon*, which he held yet, & to fortifie himselfe there, suffering the to victuall *Nancy*. They told him that the *Germanes* loued the ayre of their hothouses too well: that *René* would want money, so all would disband, without meanes to ioyne together againe in long time: that their victualling could not be so plentifull, but it would be spent before the middelt of winter, & in the meane time he should refresh his army, increase his troupes, & furnish himselfe with all things necessary, seeing that he had money which was the sinew of warre. A wise counsell, but *Charles* halted to his ruine. He had in his army, but foure thousand men, wherof not above 12 hundred were in caſe to fight, yet by the aduice of some foolish people he will hazard a third battell, exposing a handfull of men ill armed, & ill mounted, panting yet with the first and second encounters, against an army fresh, luty, and glorious with two notable victories. The 5. of January, vpon twelue Eue, *René* puts his army into battell, neere vnto a lake at *Neufuille*. The *Germanes* & *Suiſſes* diuide themselves into two bataillons: the Earle of *Abeslein* & the Gouernours of *Zurich* and *Fribourg* lead the one, the *Adouyers* of *Berne* and *Lucerne* the other: the rest both *French* & *Lorraines*, march vnder their ensignes: one bataillon goes towards the riuier, the other takes the high way from *Neufuille* to *Nancy*.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* attends them firmly, in a place of strength and aduantage, hauing before him a litle riuier, betwixt two strong hedgrowes nere vnto the hospital of *Magonne*, and at the entry of this great hie way (where one of the bataillons marched) *Charles* had planted the greatest part of his arillery, which thunders vpon the *Suiſſes* at their first approach: but with smal hurt, being far off. This bataillon leaues the hie way, & mounts vp towards the wood, coasting along the dukes army. The Duke makes his archers to turne head, appointing two wings of men at armes, the one led by *James Galio* of a *Neapolitaine*, an honest man & a valiant Captaine. The other by the Lord of *Lalain* lieutenant of *Flanders*. This bataillon hauing gotten the aduantage on the higher ground, stands firme: then like vnto a violent streame it fals vpon the *Bourguignons* armie, and with a thundring volle of shot defeats the foote. At the same instant the other bataillon chargeth *Galio*'s Squadron, who behaued himselfe like a wife and valiant Captaine: but the horse seeing the footemen amazed, leaue all and flie after. The other wing commanded by *Lalain* mainteines the fight, but vnable to withstand the violent shock of the *Suiſſes*, in the end they giue way, & turne towards the bridge of *Bridores*, where was the greatest shew of their men that fled. This bridge is halfe a league fro *Nancy* towards *Thionuille* & *Luxembourg*. *Campobasso* had stoppt the passage, so as all such as tooke that

Nancy releued by Duke René.

The integrity of the Suiſſes in old time.

Good counsell not followed by Charles.

The bataillon of Nancy.

Charles ouercome and flaine.

1476. course, were either slaine, drowned, or taken: (if any recovered the woods, the peasants beate them downe with leuers. A chafe which continued from noone, vntill two houres within night. Charles thinking to saue himselfe, was ouerthrowne by a troupe of men that followed him; discovered by them, which the traitor *Campobasso* had left to obserue him. The next day he was found among the dead, lying frozen in a ditch, well knowne by many of his household seruants. He had three woundes, one with a halbard about the eare, which cut him to the teeth, the second with a pike through both the thighs: the third by the fondement. *René* caused him to bee honorably buried in *S. Georges Church* at *Nancy*. In this battaile there died threethousand *Bourguignons*; and there were taken, the Earle of *Nassau*, the *Marquis* of *Rothelin*, an English Earle, *Anthonie* and *Bildouin* brethren bastards to the Duke (whose ransomes the King did pay) *B* and many gentlemen. The bootie was small: but the victory of *Gransson* was yet fresh, and as they then did sing: he lost his goods at *Gransson*, his men at *Moral*, and his life at *Nancy*. Behold this great *Nembroth*, who made himselfe equall with Emperors, and yeelded not to the greatest Kings: before time the terror of Christendome, feared by his subiects, sought to by his neighbours: who had purchased to himselfe the surname of terrible, & warriour, dronke with ambition, transported with the desire of an others estate, now confounded with his owne greatnesse, who with his fall ruines his house. Doubtlesse, *the dayes of mortall man are like to grasse, he fades like the flower of the field: for the wind passing ouer it, it is no more seene, nor the place thereof knowne*. Shame and destruction follow pride at the heeles. And who doth not iudge by the effects, that the chiefe causes of his ruine were couetousnesse, pride, and crueltie: couetousnesse, in that contrary to his honour and faith, hee had deliuered the Constable, for the greedie desire he had to enioy *Saint Quintin*, *Han* and *Bohain*, and some mouables: Pride, in that God hauing raised him to greater dignitie then any of his predecessors, accompanied with many goodly and singular graces, yet hee thought that the habitable earth could not prescribe limits to his conquests: attributing all to his owne force, and not to the power of the Eternall: & the happie successe of his affaires to his owne iudgement. Crueltie, for that in the warre of *Legee*, he had bathed himselfe in the blood of his poore subiects, glutting his wrath with that sexe & age, whom the rigour of warre doth vsually pardon.

The causes
of his ruine.

The dispositi-
on of Charles
of Bourgoigne.

God punish-
eth sinne with
the like sinne.
Galeus Duke
of Milan mur-
dered.

And what shall we say of the right hands, hee caused to be cut off, of those poore soldiars at *Nesle*: Of the fires wherewith he hath wasted so much countrie: Of the *Swissers* haged at *Gransson*, after they had yeilded vpon his faith: giuen to the contrarie: & of late had hanged a gentlemā being taken in the war. He had good parts, valiant, painful, vigilant, desirous to entertaine men of merit, liberall, but with discretion, to the end that many might taste of his bountie. He gaue aduice priuately, honoured strangers, and receiued Ambassadors, with state. But since the battaile of *Montcherie*, presuming by his onely valour to haue forced a mightie King, to leaue him the field, hee conceiued so ouerweening a presumption of himselfe, as neuer after would he beleeeve any other Counsell but his owne: attributing the issue of his enterprises to his owne iudgement & industrie, with so obdurate a constancie in his vnréasured desires, as in the end it was his confusion. So *The voice of the Eternall breaks downe the Cedars: as the Eternall beates downe the Cedars of Libanus*. But let vs note the iudgement of God: That before *Nancy* he deliuered the Constable, & before *Nancy* he was betrayed by *Cipobasso*. And let vs obserue the like in our dayes, as we shall see hereafter. Eleuen dayes before this battaile, *Galeus Duke of Milan* was murdered in a Church by *Andrew of Lampagnago*, a *Milanais*: who leauing a son very yong, left withall many discordes for the gouernment of the Duchie: amongst many Noble men, one among them called *Robert* of *S. Seuerin*, neere kinsman to the Duke, banished from his house by the stronger faction, retired himselfe into *France*, hoping to perswade the King to arrept something against the state of *Milan*. *Lewis* taught by former experience, that the French haue alwaies lost easily, & with shame, that they had gotten with much paine & sweate in *Italy*, would not harken vnto it, no nor suffer any succors passe for the reliefe of the *Florantines*, being ancient friends & allies to the French, against whom Pope *Sixtus* & *Ferdinand*

A and King of Naples made warre. But for that he would not seeme vtterly to abandon them, he sent the Lord of *Argenton* vnto them, with some troupes leuiued in the State of *Milan*, as wee shall shortly see.

But what doth *Francis Duke of Brittain*, hauing lost one of the chiefe supporters of his building? He sees, that of three of the strongest heads of the comon weale, two are cut off, *Charles Duke of Guienne* & *Charles Duke of Bourgogne*, & he knowes full well, that the King will not leaue this outrage vnreuedged vpon such as remaine. The treatie made at the Abbie of *Victory* had bene confirmed by the Estates of *Brittain*. *Lewis* had by his Deputies renouced all pretension to this Duchie: but hee forgets nothing, though he sleepes. He is now freed from his most mortall enemy: by all probability, he should hereafter imploy his forces in *Brittain*: he must therefore warrant himselfe with some favorable support, and must seeke protection from the *English*. This negotiation required much secrecy and silence, for *Lewis* was exceeding jealous, and discovered cunningly such practises. So as the subtils were surprisid in their owne subtilties. *Peter Landays* Treasorer of *Brittain*, was the man best acquainted with the dukes most secret intelligences, and vnder him, *William Gueguen*. For the dispatches for *England*, he vsed one *Maurice Bromel*, who for three yeares space was the messenger to carry letters betwixt the Duke of *Brittain* and the King of *England*. It chanced that *Bromel* passing at some port, discovered himselfe to a seruant of the Kings, who presently aduertised his maiesty. *Lewis* did cunningly make his profit of these adventures. *C* Yet must he not rashly apprehend the companion: thinking it best to discover more. The King, to winne this messenger cunningly, imployes a certaine man of *Cherebourg* in *Normandie*, who could counsell seite the Dukes hand, the king of *England*, & their Secretaries; This Agent for the King, treates with *Bromel*, and for a hundred Crownes for euery letter coming from eyther part, getts a promise of him, & a place appointed to deliuer the letter & to receiue his money. The Agent made coppies, counterfeited their hands, & sealing the vp with a seale either counterfeited, or stolne by *Bromel*, he sent the coppies into *England*, & brought the king the originals. In the end, 22. letters, what of the Duke and *Edward*, fell into the Kings hands, without discovery.

The practises
of the Duke
of Brittain.

Discovered
by the King.

And although the Duke sought to the *English* more to defend him at neede, then to offend: yet would he maintaine himselfe in the Kings good fauour. For this effect, one day among others, he sent *Chauuin* his Chancellor, the *Senshal* of *Fannes*, & others of his counsel, to giue *Lewis* to vnderstand the deuotion he had to his seruice. At that time the king pursued his conquests vpon the heire of *Bourgogne*, being ready to beseege *Arras*, as we shall presently shew. Being arriued, they are all committed prisoners, & sequestred vnder diuers gards. After two dayes, the King sends for the Chancellor: reprocheth him, that hauing often conferred with him of the affaires of *Brittain*, holding him for an honest man, he findes it strange, that he had alwaies so constantly assured him, that his maiesty had no secret intelligence with the King of *England*, seeing that now the contrary was manifest. The Chancellor continues in this protestation, and *E* for more assurance engageth his life; but twelue letters written by *Gueguen* & signed by the Duke, & ten others by *Edward*, made him hang downe his head, & to confesse himselfe faulty. But for his owne particular, he protests of his innocency, & in cause that he or his companions deputies, be found to haue been acquainted with this intelligence, he will loose his life. The King is satisfied herewith: hee returnes them backe without any farther audience, and giues them the originals, for a prooffe against the Duke. He iustly complains, that making shew to fauour him, hee doth notwithstanding practise with the most ancient enemy of the crowne. That if he do not renounce all intelligence with the King of *England*, he will not take him for his friend. *Chauuin* being returned, makes his report, deliues the Kings commandement: his answers, his countenance in speaking, the accents of his words, & the consequences that might ensue. He beseecheth the Duke to retire himselfe in priuate: & then to certyfie his sayings, he layes vpon the table the two and twentie letters.

Lewis discou-
ers the
Dukes of
Brittain's let-
ters to his
Chancellor.

The Duke of
Brittain am-
azed to see his
intelligence
discovered.

The Duke amazed to see that plainly discovered, which he thought to haue bin comon but to two, sends for *Landays*. & commands him vpon his life to tel him, by what means

1477 meanes they might fall into the Kings hands; the which must needs proceed from one of the two.

Landays knows the hands & scales, but cannot conceiue the residue: & amazed he offers himselfe to prison, and to loose his life, if he be any way found guiltie. Then he remembers, that onely *Bromel* had alwaies carried and recarried these letters: they must finde out him, (being then imployed in that action,) and make him vnfold that doubt. He therefore sends after him in post, & takes him at *Port-blanc*, where he attended a winde to imbarke, and was brought to *Nantes*. His confession did absolve *Landays*; and he was cast into the riuier, in a sacke very secretly, least the King should bee aduertised thereof, who sufficiently informed of the Dukes ill mind, & without doubt, turned his armes into *Brittaine*. But the warre against *Mary* of *Bourgongne* troubled him sufficiently: yet to proceed with some lawfull pretext, hee would fortifie himselfe with a graunt he obtained from the Lord of *Bouffiac*, and of *Nichole* of *Brittaine* his wife, the onely heire of *Charles* of *Brittaine*, Earle of *Ponthieure*: a house which in old time did quarell for the succession of this Duchie: by the which transaction, in the year 1479. the 19. of Ianuary, they yeelded vnto him all the rights, they might pretend to the said Duchie. But it is now incorporate to the Crowne, by a iuster title then by armes.

By what meanes, Abbeuille, Dourlans, Montreuil,

Roye, Montdiar, Peronne, Han, Bohain, Saint Quentin, Tournai, Arras, Hedin, Montreuil, Douay, Bouloungue, Terouenne, and other places were reduced to the Kings obedience, and *Bourgongne* vnto to the Crowne.



He first intelligence the King receiued of the ouerthrow of *Charles* of *Bourgongne*, gaue no assurance of his death; for by meanes of the posts he had newly established, he had spedie aduice. Therupō he resolues to eter *Bourgongne* with the armie he held in *Champagne* and *Barrois* attending the Duke, and vpon this sodaine terror to seize vpon the Countrie. And hee imagined to haue both right and meanes to doe it right, for his rebellion & treacherie committed against the Crowne; meanes, for that the flower of all the Nobilitie of *Bourgongne* was lost, and all his forces dispersed. If happily the Duke liued, this would bee his ruine. It was also to keepe the *Germanes* and *Suisses* from the possession thereof, and to saue the prouince from destruction, loth to suffer a stranger to seize thereon, seeing it holds in soueraintie of him. In the meane time he giues away, (in case the Duke be dead) some landes which the Duke possessed, and sends the Admirall with the Lord of *Argenton*, with authoritie to open all pacquets vpon the way, and if the Duke were dead to receiue into his obedience, all such as would yeeld themselves. Vpon the first day of their journey, they had certaine aduice by a messenger which the Lord of *Craon* sent to the King. *Abbeuille* made the way to the rest. The Admirall, and *Argenton* had sent a man before, to treat with the souldiers; who attending the coming of these noble mē, there came forth to the number of foure hundred Lances. Being come forth, the people open the gates to the Lord of *Torty*; & they spare the King those crownes & pensios, which the Admirall by vertue of his warrant had promised the Captaines. This was one of the Townes which *Charles* the 7. had deliuered by the treatie of *Arras*: the which should (for want of heires males) returne to the Crowne.

Dourlans follows. They summon *Arras*, the King, pretending this Towne to be his by confiscation, for not performance of duties: and in case of refusall, they threaten force. The Lords of the *Raufstein* and *Cordes* make answer to Maister *John* of *Arquerie*, (afterwardes chief President of the Parlement at *Paris*;) that the Countie of *Arthois* appertayned to *Mary* of *Bourgongne*, and came to her directly from *Marguerite* Countesse

Townes in
Picardie
yeeld to the
king.

A Countesse of *Flanders, Arthois, Bourgongne, Neuers*, and *Rhetel*, married to *Phillippe* the first Duke of *Bourgongne*, son to King *John*, & yōger brother to King *Charles* the 5. Beseeching him to mainteine the truce made with Duke *Charles* deceased. So they returne without doing any thing, but onely wonne some men, that soone after ierued the King well: who (resolving to reduce such places by force, as should disobey his command) goes into *Picardie*. In this voyage, he causeth his Court of Parlement at *Paris* to come to *Noyon*, with the masters of requests, and some Princes of the blood, to resolve vpon the processe of *James* of *Armagnac*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Earle of *Murche*, prisoner in the Bastille at *Paris*, and taken in the year 75. at *Caillit*, by *Peter* of *Bourbon* Earle of *Beauuen*: at what time the Dukes wife died, partly for griefe, and partly by childbirth. She was daughter to *Charles* of *Aniou*, Earle of *Maine*. By which Count (being found guiltie of high Treason) he was condemned by a sentence pronounced by master *John Boulenger* the chief president, to loose his head vpon a scaffold at the *Hales* at *Paris*, on munday the 3. of *August*: and was by the like grace buried at the gray friars, as the Constable had been. He was one of the chiefe of the warre for the common weale: whome the King laboured to bring to his end all hee could. *Lewis* is exceeding glad, to haue surmounted his most malicious aduersaries: the Duke of *Guienne* his brother, the Earle of *Armagnac*, the Constable, the Duke of *Nemours*. All the house of *Aniou* was dead, *René* King of *Sicile*, *John*, and *Nicholas* Dukes of *Calabria*, and their Cousin the Earle of *Maine*, afterwards Earle of *Prouence*, whose successions he had gotten.

The Duke of
Nemours be-
headed.

C But the more the house of *Bourgongne* exceeded all the rest in greatnes and power, hauing with the helpe of the *English*, continually shaken the estate of this realme, for the space of thirty two yeares vnder *Charles* the 7. and their subiects being alwaies ready to trouble this Crowne by warres: so much the more pleasing was the death of their last Duke vnto him, knowing well, that being now freed of his greatest incomber, he should hereafter finde greater ease. Ye: he erred in his proceedings, not taking so good a course, as he had forecast, in the life of *Charles* of *Bourgongne*, in case he should die; for allying him selfe by the marriage of the *Dauphin*, his sonne, with the heire of *Bourgongne*, or at the least with some of his Princes, (for that there was a difference of age betwixt them,) hee had easily drawn vnto him the subiects of these large and rich Seignories, and had preserved them from many troubles, the which haue assisted both them and vs, by the same meanes: and freeing them from war, he had greatly fortified his realme, recouering with small toyle, that which he pretended to behis. The which he might easily effect: for the *Bourguignons* were very humble, without support & without forces: or able to make aboute fiftene hundred horse & foote, which were preserved at this generall ouerthrow. But these are humane discourses, wherein he had done better then thus, resolutely to haue sought the ouerthrow of that house, and by the ruine thereof, to purchase to himselfe friends, in *Germanie* or elsewhere, as he pretended, but without effect.

Lewis his en-
ror after the
death of
Charles.

Presently vpon his arriual, *Han*, and *Bohain* yeelded. *Saint Quentin* takes it selfe, and calls in the Lord of *Mouy*. Maister *William Bische*, (borne at *Melinsin Niurnois*, a man of base qualitie, but enriched and rayfed to great authoritie by Duke *Charles*.) Governour of *Peronne*, yeelds the place: and the Lord of *Cordes* inclines to the french party. They sayled of their enterprise at *Gand*, but yt succeeded at *Tournay*. The King had sent Maister *Oliuer le Dain* his Surgiō, borne in a village neere vnto *Gand*, not onely to carry letters of credit to *Marie* of *Bourgongne*, (who then was in the possession of the *Gantois*, that suffered no man to speake vnto her, but in the presence of witnesses,) perswading her to yeeld vnto the kings protection, seeing that both by father & mother, she was issued from the blood of *France*: (being well assured that hee should hardly obtaine her) whilst that hee provided her a husband fit for her qualitie, as also to worke some alteration in the Cittie, discontented with the Priuileges which *Philip* & *Charles* had taken from them: & the rigorous exactions they had made. *Oliuer* hauing staid some daies at *Gand*, is called to the Town-house to deliuer his charge. He deliue-
The Surgions
induction.

1477. deliuer his letter to the *Infanta*, assisted by the Duke of *Cleues*, the Bishop of *Liege*, and other great personages. She reads it, and they call him to deliuer his message. He answers, that hee hath no charge but to speake to her in priuate. They reply: it was not the custome, especially, to a young gentlewoman, that was to marrie. He insists, that he will deliuer no thing but to her selfe. They threaten him with force. Hee is amazed, and going from the Counsell, (considering the qualitie of the person) they doe him some disgraces, and if hee had not speedily escaped, hee had been in danger to haue had the riuer for his graue. Doublesse it is a great hazard, when matters of importance are managed by men of meane estate, and the people thinke themselves contemned, if they bee treated with all by men of base qualitie. This barber knewe something: for to prevent this inconuenience, he termed himselfe Earle of *Moulun* (others write of *Melun*) whereof he was Capitaine. But *Lewis* repoled great trust in two men of the same sort. Being gone from *Gand*, hee retires to *Tournay*, the which lies vpon the frontiers of *Hainault* and *Flanders*, a strong and a goodly Towne, but free and at that time a neuter: seated fitly to keepe those two Prouinces in subiection. *Oliuer* was there some dayes without suspect, during the which hee corrupted thirtie or fortie men, and fraught with their promises, hee sent secretly to the Lord of *Mons*, that at the breake of a certaine day appointed, hee with his company and some other troupes, would be in the suburbs. Hee comes at the appointed time, and maister *Oliuer* with his men, giues him entrance, to the content of the people, but not of the gouernours, of the which hee sent seuen or eight to *Paris*, who departed not whilest that *Lewis* liued.

To speake truly, *Oliuer* shewed both witt and valor in this stratageme, and for the action of *Gand*, he is not so much to be blamed, as he that employed him. *Conde*, a small Towne betwixt *Tournai* and *Valenciennes*, cutt of all vitrels from the french, and hindered the victualling of *Tournay*. It was taken and burnt, for that it did but imploy men which might serue elsiwhere, and *Tournay* was sufficient to keepe the Countie in obedience. It seemed that the prosperitie of the kings affaires and his great desirings began to trouble his spirit: for prooffe whereof, a gentleman of *Hainault* (the original doth not name him) associated with many others, offers to deliuer vp the principall Townes and places of the said Countie. Hee talkes with the King, who likes not of him, nor of the rest he named. The reason is, they would sell a good piece of senice very deere. Yet he referred them to the Lord of *Lude*, bred vp from his youth with him. But *Lude* seasoned with the same humour, transported with his priuate profit, demands at the first, what the townes would giue him to manage their affaires. So as the *Hannuyer*, (who would haue no competitor in his gaine) departed without effecting of any thing, and the enterprise proued vaine. Without doubt God would not giue us with felicitie, and it is needfull to haue some crosses, to make vs to know our selues. Moreover it was not reasonable to vsurpe any thing vpon this Countie of *Hainault*, for that it holds of the Empire, and in regard of the ancient alliances betwixt the Emperours and our Kings, whereby they ought not one to take from another. And for prooffe, *Cambray*, *Quefnoy le Conte* and some other places of *Hainault*, had willingly put themselves vnder the protection of *Lewis*: the which hee deliuered as freely, with the 40. thousand Crownes that they of *Cambray* had lent him, for the charges of the war.

Ambassage from Mary of Bourgongne.

Their propositions to the King.

Whilest the King was resident at *Peronne*, an Ambassage comes to him from the Infant of *Bourgongne*, consisting of the principall men about her: as namely Chancellor *Hugonnet*, a very wise man, and honorable: *Himbercourt*, a gentleman experienced in matters of waight: *Vere*, a great Nobleman of *Zeland*: *Cripture*, (otherwise called *Grutse* or *Grutur*): with other Ecclesiastical and secular men. They intreat the King to retire his armie, & that all controuersies might be quietly ended, according vnto right & reason. They shew, that by the customes of *France*, & the ordinances of his Predecessors Kings, the women did succeed in the Counties of *Flanders*, *Arthois* and other prouinces there abouts.

That remaining but one only daughter of the deceased Duke of *Bourgongne*, yong, & an orphan,

A orphan, he should rather protect, the oppress her. That the marriage of the *Dauphin* with her, should be more proportionable, then with the daughter of *England*. And for the more credit, they brought a letter, writt part of it by *Mary* the Infanta of *Bourgongne*, and some part by the *Douager* her Mother in lawe, Sister to *Edward* King of *England*, and some part by *Raualstein* brother to the Duke of *Cleues*, and neere kinsman to the yong Ladie: yet none of any credit but that of the Infanta. This letter gaue authority to *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt*, and fayed moreover: That *Mary* Duchesse of *Bourgongne*, was resolved to gouerne her affaires by the aduice of foure persons, The *Douager*, *Raualstein*, *Hugonnet*, and *Himbercourt*. *Mary* beseeched the King, that whatsoeuer it should please him to negotiate with her, should passe by their hands, and that hee should not impart it to any other.

The King (foreseeing that by the confusion of this people hee should settle his affaires) will cunningly make his profit of this letter, but not thinking it should cost two so vertuous heads, in sowing diuision betwixt the Duchesse & her subiects. Yet before he giues audience to these Ambassadors, he treats priuately with eyther of them, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt*, (whereof the first had all his liuing in *Picardy* and the other in *Bourgongne*.) & they desirous to be continued in their ancient authorities, giue care to the Kings offers: they promised to serue him; so as the foresayd marriage might take effect.

The rest, whose Estates were not vnder the Kings command, would not tie themselves by promise, but with the alliance of the houses of *France* and *Bourgongne*. This was most expedient for the King: but the violent conditions they propounded, withdrew his loue much both from her & them in particular: supposing he should soone haue all, without accepting of a part by an accord. Moreover he was possessed with a wonderfull desire to conquer *Arras*. The Lord of *Cordes* might do much. Hee was Lieutenant in *Picardie* vnder the deceased Duke, *Senechal* of *Ponthieu*, Capitaine of *Courtray*, *Boulougne* and *Hedin*, Governor of *Peronne*, *Montdidier* and *Roye*: he was younger Brother to the Lord of *Crenecour*, and already did these himselfe to bee french, his estate lying within the territory of *Beauuais*. The Townes vpon the riuer of *Somme*, by the death of *Charles* (the last issue male of the house of *Bourgongne*) returned to the King, & so *des Cordes* became the Kings liege man. His duty then bound him to yeeld vnto the King such other places as he commanded, but he was bound by oath to his mistresse senice. A dispensation will saue it. There is no hoale but *Lewis* finds a piane for it. Vpon his motion to the Ambassadors, that the deliuey of *Arras* would make the way plaine for a good peace: and request, that they would be a meane to *Cordes* to open the City of *Arras* vnto him, (for in those dayes there were both walles and ditches betwixt the Cittie and the Towne) *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* dispense *des Cordes* of his oath, and consent to the deliuey of the sayd Cittie.

Hee doth it willingly, and sweeres fealtie to the King, who presently stoppes vp all approaches to the Towne: then he goes to incampe before *Hedin*, leades *des Cordes* with him: whose men made a shewe to defend the place, as engaged by oath to their Ladie: for their credits sake they endured the battery some dayes: then seeing their defences taken away, and their loope-hoales battered, *Rasse* of *Launoy* looses que care to his Capitaine, and yeelds the Towne. The King for his reward gaue him a chaine of twenty linkes, and euery linke worth twenty Crownes in gold, and a good pension for his mainteynance. The taking of *Hedin*, brought the King to *Therouenne* and *Montreuil*, the which easily yeelded to his obedience. *Boulogne* being summoned refuseth, but being battered, it yeeldes the fift or the sixt day.

The Towne belonged to *Bertrand de la Tour*, Earle of *Anuergne*: the King, finding it commodious for the State of his Realme, compounded, giuing him a sufficient recompence, and as newe Lord of the Towne he did homage, without sword or spurs, bare headed & on his knee, before the virgin *Mary*, offering (as a duty to the sayd image) a heart of massie gold, weighing two thousand Crownes: vpon condition that he and

Should be betwixt Mary and the Gains.

Lewis's estate changed from Mary by the violent conditions that were propounded.

Arras yeelded to Lewis by des Cordes.

Hedin sold.

Therouenne & Montreuil.

Lewis purchaseth the colly of Boulogne and doth homage for it.

1477. his successors Kings after him, should hold the County of *Boullen* of the sayd virgin, & do homage vnto her image, in the Church dedicated to her name, paying at every change of a vassal, a heart of pure gold of the same weight.

Disimulation of the Arrasians. While the King remains at *Boullen*, those of *Arras* seeing themselves environed on all sides, write to their friends of *Lisle* and *Douay*, to succour them with some numbers of men, and moreover they send to the Duchesse of *Bourgogne*, to furnish them with some succors, meaning to put themselves into her hands. The Deputies being two or three and twenty in number, make shew to go to the King, to treat with him, and vnder this colour they obtaine a passport of the bastard of *Bourbon* Admirall of *France*.

The Deputies of Arras taken and many of them executed. But being discovered vpon the way to *Flanders*, they were taken, brought to *Hedin*, & deliuered to the Prouost of *Marshall*, condemned, and eightene of them beheaded: the rest were saued by the Kings arriuall. Amongest them that were executed, there was one *Oudard* of *Buffy* borne at *Paris*, and married at *Arras*. The King had in former time offered him the place of a Counsellor of the Court of Parliament at *Paris* then void, and since he gaue him the office of maister of the accounts at *Arras*. Hee caused his head to bee vnburi'd, and set vpon a pole in the market place, with a red hooded furred with menier, like to the Counsellors of the Parliament. A worthy punishment for so malicious an ingratitude.

The succors of Arras defeated. There were some fewe horsemen at *Douay*, of the remainders of *Nancy*: they arme three hundred good & bad, and some fewe foote: and march at noone day in the fight of *Arras*. The Lords of *Lude* and *Fou*: with the company of the Marshall of *Locheat*, aduertised of their approach, go to meete with them: they fight with them, kill and take in a manner all of them. The King at his arriuall, caused foure score of these prisoners to be executed, to terrifie those fewe men of warre that remayned in the Country. Some of them enter the Towne, but they were not able to stand out against so great forces. So as after a hard battay they yeeld by composition: That they should remaine vnder the Kings obedience, as their Soueraigne, for want of heires male, rights and duties being not performed. That the subsidies and tributs should be leuied by the Kings officers, and deliuered by them to *Mary* the heire of *Bourgogne*, untill she had doone homage and taken her oath of fealtie to the King her Soueraigne Lord. During which time the Inhabitants should receiue no garrison from the King. This was the 4 of May.

Arras yeelded. These things thus concluded, the King sent the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, the Chancellor of *Orléans*, de *Cordes* gouernor of the Towne, and *Guilot* Pot Bayliffe of *Vermundis*, to take the oath of fealtie of the Inhabitants. But after this oath, holily and religiously receiued by the Deputies, who tooke their repast in the Monastery of *Saint Vast*, behold an insolent troupe of desperate people comes crying, kill, kill: yet they were but terrified, and saued themselves presently in the City. This terror, together with the greedinesse of the Commanders, was the cause the composition was but ill obserued: for in the presence of *Lude* and *Cerisy*, many good Citizens and other rich men were spoiled and slaine, and the City set at threecore thousand Crownes fire to the King: the which they pay was afterwards restored. And to keepe these mutinies in awe, the King transported most of the Inhabitants of *Arras*, and planted it with a new Colony of *French*, commanding it should be called, *Ville Francoise*.

A mutiny at Arras and the Deputies in danger. At the same time the King aduertised, that the *Flemings* were in troupe, and lodged at *B'anc-fosse*, he sent to charge them: but they dislodge at the brute thereof: yet not so speedily, but they leaue about two thousand men slaine at the first charge, and the like number in the chase, being pursued eight Leagues within the County of *Flanders*. The *French* in their returne, razed *Mont-Cassell*, *Fiennes*, and some other places. The *Gantois*, (whome the seuer punishment of the *Liegeois* had kept in awe, (nowe breake. They make a ward of their Duchesse, force her to restore their ancient priuileges, which *Philip* and *Charles* had taken from them: and sodenly they retolue a deadly reuenge, vpon such by whome they say they had beene controuled. They lay hold vpon those whom they called their twenty & six Lawiers, whom *Charles* had established

1477. A established in the gouernement of the City, and puts them all, or the most part to death. They haue (saie they) cut off ones head without any authority, for their power ended with the death of *Charles*. And moreover they slew many good men within the City, that were wise and faithfull friends to *Charles* in his life. But they proceed yet farther.

Their barbarous cruelty.

The happy course of Lewis his Conquests doth much amaze them, wherevpon they assemble some forme of a Parlement by aduice whereof they make a motion of peace to the King, by an Ambassage, giuing him to vnderstand, that the *Infanta* of *Bourgogne* is determined to gouerne her selfe hereafter by the aduice and Counsell of the three Estates of her Countries: they request the King to desist from making of warre, and to appoint a daie when they may quietly pacifie all controuersies. There was nothing at that time able to withstand the violence of the Kings army. The lowe Countries were left naked of soldiars: those which suruiued, being inconstant, had forsaken the *Infantes* seruice. He was well acquainted with the inconstancie of this people, not able to digest any man of iudgement that had bin in any authority with their deceased Prince. Hee knew, that their inclination was to loue the declining of their Lord, so as it were not with the preiudice of their Countrey. And therefore he forecasts, if he might, to sow some seeds of diuision amongst them, wherby he should greatly incombere them. Hee staies the Ambassadors vpon their speeche, That their Princeesse would not conclude any thing without the Counsell of the three Estates of the Country: wherevnto he replies, that they spake without warrant, and that he is duly informed, her meaning is to gouerne her affaires by priuate persons, who desired no peace. And vpon their protesting to the contrarie, affirming that they were grounded vpon good instructions, the King opens *Maries* letters, brought by *Hugonnet*, *Himbertcourt*, and other Ambassadors, at their first Ambassage, and they returne with no other dispatch then this letter.

Ted by Lewis his policie.

Behold here a company vnexperienced in affaires, returne light with care, but fraught with reuenge and diuision: they make their report vnto their Ladie, assisted with the Duke of *Cleues*, the Bishop of *Leege*, and many other great personages. They strike on that string which they ment to play vpon: That the King had proued them liars, in that they mainteyned constantlie, that she referred the gouernment of her affaires to the resolution of the States. And for prooffe, as they maintained the contrarie, not imagining her letter to had beene produced, behold the *Pensionarie* of *Gand*, a brutish man and without respect, draws the said letter out of his bosome, and confounds this bathfull Princeesse before the whole assemblie.

The Dowager, *Rausselein*, *Hugonnet* and *Himbertcourt* were likewise present. The Duke of *Cleues* treated the marriage of his eldest sonne with the *Infanta*: hee sees himselfe now frustrate by the aboue named, so as he presentlie becomes a mortall enemy to *Himbertcourt*, from whome he expected fauour in this sute. The Bishop of *Leege* complained of manie disorders committed by him at *Leege*, whereof he had the gouernment. The Earle of *Saint Paul* sonne to him that was beheaded, loued neither *Hugonnet* nor *Himbertcourt*, for they had deliuered his father to the Kings seruants. The *Gantois*, according to their humors, hated them deadlie, for that they were men of merit, and had beene good and loiall seruants to their master.

Great enmities against Hugonnet and Himbertcourt.

To be short, the night after the letter was deliuered. *Hugonnet* and *Himbertcourt* were tumultuously seized on, and deliuered to suborned men of their Lawe: and so that they had caused the City of *Arras* to be yeelded by the Lord of *Cordes*, as they saied, or rather vpon certain corruptions in iustice, and bribes which (they saied) had bin receiued by them of the City of *Gand*, in a sute against a priuate man, and vpon many extorsions in their charges, and other things contrary to the priuileges of *Gand* (against the which (saied they) whosoever offends must die, these two reuerend and graue personages, were with a shadow of Lawe, condemned by the Sheriffe of *Gand*, and notwithstanding their appeale before the King in his Court of Parliament at

They are supposed crimes, or damned and beheaded.

A a a

Paris,

1477. *Paris*, supposing that this respect and delay, might giue their friends meanes to procure their deliuerie, they were vnworthily put to death. Oh vniust, barbarous, and inhumane people; That the humble and earnest supplication of thy Princeesse, being in the Towne house, nor her weeping, and desolate presence before that mountefull scaffold, were not of force to preserue and keepe the liues of these her two faithfull seruants.

Moreover ruled by the Gantois.

This execution ended, they sequestred from this poore Princeesse, the Dowager and *Rauaflin*, who had signed the Letter, they disposing absolutely of her. Poore without doubt, hauing not onely lost so many good and great Townes, but also sees her selfe now in the tyrannicall possession of the ancient persecutors of her house. A great corrosiue, to bee commanded by such as should obey. Afterward they banished whome they pleased, placed and displaced officers after their owne appetites, chate away indifferently all such as had best deserued of this house of *Bourgogne*. And to continue their popular furie, they deliuered out of prison *Adolfe* Duke of *Gueldres*, whom *Charles* had long detained, and making him their head, they made a leue in *Gand*, *Bruges*, and *Tyre*, of about twelue thousand men, the which they sent to *Tournay*, and burnt the suburbs, and then they retire. But the garrison issuing forth, put wings to their feete: so as *Adelf* a valiant Prince of his person, turning head to fliuour them that fled, and to make the retreat, was ouerthrowne and slaine, with a great number of his people with him. The *Infanta* was nothing greeued: for if this stratagem had succeeded for the first fruites of his armes, some hold they would haue forced her to marry this *Adolfe*.

The Gantois ouerthrowne, and *Adolfe* Duke of *Gueldres* slaine.

But we haue wandred long enough in *Arthois* and *Flanders*, let vs retire a little into *Bourgogne*, and consider how this Duchie became *French*. *John* of *Chalon*, Prince of *Orange*, was in great credit there. Hee possessed much land, both in the Duchie and Countie, he was a man of action, and much esteemed in the Countrie, and pretended some inheritances against the Lords of *Chauvergnon* his Vncles. *Charles* of *Bourgonne* had giuen sentence in fauour of his aduersaries, and (as he sayd) to his great preiudice, so as hee had twise left his seruice. Now the question is to winne him againe.

The conquest of *Bourgonne*

The King promisseth to inuest him in all those places which hee pretends to be long vnto him, by the succession of his grand-father, and to giue him good preferments in *France*. So he makes him in shew the head of that armie which the Lord of *Craon* commanded, being Lieutenant generall for the King in *Bourgogne*, whom the King trusted more then the Prince, being rashe and light in the change of parties. *Craon* hauing commandement to enter into *Bourgogne*, hee sends the Prince of *Orange* before, to practise the Towne of *Dijon*. Hee wrought so politickly, that *Dijon* and many other places, both of the Duchie, and Countie, did willingly submit themselves to the *French* command. *Auxonne* and some other places of strength continued still vnder the obedience of *Marie* of *Bourgonne*.

The reuolt of the Prince of *Orange*.

Craon, seeing himselfe in possession of all these places, desired rather to hold them vnder the Kings authoritie, then to deliuer them to the Prince of *Orange*, notwithstanding the Kings promise and instance: who desired to gratifie this Prince, and yet would not discontent *Craon*, who commanded the forces. The Prince hauing to doe with a man that would yeeld nothing without good consideration, and seeing himselfe frustrate of his pretensions, he ioynes with *Chastelauguion* his brother: and *Claude* of *Vaudry*, a braue Gentleman, raiseth some troupes, with the which he draweth from the King, the most part of the aboue-named places, with as great facilitie, as if hee had conquered them for him, and then followes the *Infantes* partie, whose age and weaknesse, required a great support by some worthy alliance.

There was some speech of *Charles* the *Daulphin*, but he was yet but nine yeares old. The Duke of *Cleues* laboured for his eldest sonne: the Emperour for his sonne *Maximilian*, King of the *Romains*. *Mary* desired much the alliance of *France*, but the King had

done

A done her a great disgrace, deliuering her letters to the *Gantois*, the which shee had secretly written: which caused the death of those two good men, and the banishment of her most affectionate seruants. Moreouer her Estate required a man to gouerne it. She would willingly haue married with the Earle of *Angoulesme*, if the King had beene so pleased.

The humours of the heire of *Cleues* pleased her not, nor such as were about her. The Emperour kept as a pawne, a diamond with a letter which the *Infanta* had written vnto him, by her fathers commande; whereby she promisseth to accomplish the marriage, in forme, according to her fathers pleasure. He sends it to the Duchesse, to auerre her hand and promise, demanding if she would persist therein. She doth auouch the contents, and agrees to make it good. So *Maximilian* comes to *Gand*, and there the marriage was consummated. A marriage, which should proue a firebrand, to kindle (by their descendants, both within this Realme, and in manie other Estates) the Combustious tumults, and furies which haue followed: the which happilie had beene auoided by a french alliance. But God had other wayes decreed.

This marriage was consummated during the *Orangeois* reuolt in *Bourgogne*, the which continued somewhat long, by the support the *Germanes* gaue him in fauour of *Sigismond* of *Austria* vncle to *Maximilian*, who (hauing his territories adioyning, and especially the Countie of *Ferrete*, the which he had retyred by the *Suisses* meanes) would gladly haue gotten somewhat of his neighbours. But the indiscretion of *Sigismond*, and the want of money to pay the *Bourguignons*, were a meanes that the King did more easily preuent the Prince of *Orange* his practises, who nowe called himselfe Lieutenant to the sayd *Germanes*. They supplied him with some troupes, with the which he recovered almost all the Countie, contynuing his course, vntill that *Craon* came to beseege him in *Gy*, a small Towne of the sayd County.

Marriage of *Maximilian* and *Mary*.

Chastelauguion seeing his Brother coop'd vp, and the place readieto yeeld to *Craons* discretion, posts thether with all the forces he can: and comes to charge *Craons* armie in front, whilest that the beseege should set vpon him behind. So charged both before and behinde, he found the match hard: yet by the defeat of *Djouene* or *fiftene* hundred men, for the most part enemies, and the taking of *Chastelauguion*, he wonne the victorie. *Craon* leads his army after this victory before *Dole*, the chiefe Towne of the County: but for that he did presse it but slackly, and neglected his enemy, whose forces he knewe to be but small, he had ill successe. For in a fierce fallie they slewe many of his men, and carried away a great part of his artilerie. This affront brought him in disgrace with the King, who fearing a more dangerous checke, hearing likewise complaints from all parts, of his great exactions and money vniustlie taken, puts him from the gouernment of *Bourgonne*, preferring in his place *Charles* of *Amboise*, Lord of *Chaumont*, a valiant, wise and vigilant Captaine. Loue preuayles more then force. He perswades the King to pacifie the *Suisses* and other *Germanes*, who followed the Prince of *Orange*, in fauour of the house of *Austria*: and to make the way more easie for the King, he him selfe doth practise the Commanders.

The Prince of *Orange* deterred.

Craon beaten before *Dole*.

He is in disgrace with the King.

Then began the *Suisses* first league with the King; the which he effected, by meanes of twentie thousand franks he gaue yearly among the *Cantons*, and the like summe to be distributed among some Captaines which he employed. And to please them, he made himselfe a bourgeois amongst them, and obtayned the title of the first allied to their Commonweale. A title which the Duke of *Sauoie* pretended to be due vnto him aboue all others. They likewise for their parts, promised to furnish six thousand men to serue the King continually, for foure *Germane Florins* and a halfe a moneth, a number which continued alwayes vnto the death of *Lewis*. The *Suisses* came vnder the Kings pay, and so the *Bourguignons* party much weakened, who asserbled the Nobility of the Country together, vnder the Prince of *Orange*, and defeated the companies of *Salezard* and *Coninghen* neere vnto *Grey*. But *Amboise* (being fortified

A league with the *Suisses*.

1478. with men and artillerie,) takes *Verdun*, *Montfaucon*, *Semur* in *Lauxois*, *Chastillon* vpon *A Seine*, *Bar* vpon *Seine*, *Beaulne*, and *Rocheport* neere vnto *Dole*, belonging vnto *Vanduz*. Thus hauing freed all the approches to *Dole*, he Campes before it, batters it, makes a breach, giues an assault, and takes it. Some troupes of the Townes last subdued thrust themselves into it, either to warrant it from spoile, or to haue a better share, but there enters such a multitude of franke archers, as it was impossible to saue it from sack and fire. Yet the King repaired the ruines about the walles, building a great part of the wall towards the riuer of *Doux*, with a great trenche, whereby a great part of the said riuer did runne forth, inuironing of that part of the wall: but this is nothing, in regarde of the fortifications which haue beene since built, whereby it exceeds most of the Cities of Christendome, beeing excellent at this day, in Senate, Vniuersitie B and armes.

Dole, with many other Townes, taken by *Amboise*.

Auxonne deserued a long and sharpe siege: but the wisdom of *Amboise* prevailed so well after the siege of *Dole*, that (giuing the chiefe offices of the Towne, to such as demanded them) it was yielded within fure or fixe dayes, and likewise the Castles of *Tou*, *S. Agnes* vpon *Salins*, *Champagnole*, *Arguel*, and some others, built vpon rockes. *Bezançon*, an Imperiall Towne, yielded to the King (by his Lieutenant General) the like duties as they were accustomed to doo the Earle of *Bourgogne*. Thus *Bourgogne* being conquered, remained some time in the Kings quiet possession. A young horse hath need of a gentle hand, to make him taste the Bit with delight. But *Verdun* and *Beaulne*, not able to endure the command of the *French*, began first to kick, yet by the Governours discretion, they were speedily subdued, and recouered from *Simon* of *Quinsey*, who led a troupe of fixe hundred men of foote and horse, *Germanins* and others, tumultuouſlie assembled in *Ferrette*, and thereabouts, to put into the abouenamed places. *Verdun* was taken by assault, and subiect to the accustomed insolencies in the like prizes. *Beaulne* yielded by composition, in the beginning of *Iuly*, with liues and goods saued, and for a fine they payed fortie thousand Crownes. These sodaine exploits did so terrifie the other Townes, as all kept themselves within their due obedience.

But how doth *Edward* King of *England* looke vpon this Theater, where our men play the pettie Kings? And how doth he suffer the King without any opposition, to enlarge his estate by the taking of *Arras*, *Boulougne*, *Hedin*, and so many other Townes, and to be lodged in many dayes before *S. Omer*? In truth our *Lewis* had a quick conceit, and very watchfull. He knew well that the *English* in generall, were wonderfully inclined to warre against this realme, as well vnder colour of their ancient pretensions, as for the hope of gaine, inticed by many high deeds of armes, wherein they haue often had the aduantage: and of that long possession, both in *Normandie* and *Guienne*, where they had commanded three hundred and fiftie yeares, vntill that *Charles* the 7. disposſessed them. That this baite might well perswade them to crosse his desseignes. These two mighty Princes neighbours, cannot see (without ieaousie) the one to growe great by new conquests, and the other to be at quiet. He therefore entertaines *Edward* with hundrie Ambassages, presents, and goodly speeches: causeth the pension of fiftie thousand Crownes, to be duly payed at London, and some sixteen thousand distributed among such as were in credit about him: so as the profit they drew from the iudicious bountie of *Lewis*, tyed their tongues, and blinded their eyes. Money was muck to him in regard of a man of seruice, and he was pleased to vaunt, that the great *Chamberlaine* (whereof there is but one in *England*) the *Chancellor*, *Admirall*, Maister of the horse, and other great Officers of *England*, were his Pensioners. So he gaue vnto *Howard* foure and twenty thousand Crownes in money and plate, besides his pension, in lesse then two yeares: and to *Hastings* great *Chamberlaine*, a thousand markes of siluer in plate at onetime, as appeares by their quittances, in the chamber of accountes at *Paris*.

Lewis had great need to vse this policie and bountie, for this yong Princeesse did infinitely presse *Edward*, who for her cause did often send to the King to demand a peace, or

The politike liberallitie of *Lewis*.

A or at the least a truce; and in the Court of *England*, there wanted not some to incense *Edward*, that seeing the terme was expired, by the which *Lewis* should send for the Infants of *England*, (whom they called *Madame the Dauphine*) hee would deceiue him. Yet no respect, neither priuate nor publick, could moue *Edward*: he was pursie, loosing his delight, vnable to suffer paine, glorious of nine famous victories, and fraught with home-bred enemies: and about all, the loue of fiftie thousand Crownes (so well paid in his Tower of London) kept him at home. Moreouer the Ambassadors that came from him, returned laden with rich presents, and alwayes with irrefolute answers, to winne time; promising speedily to resolute the points of their demands, to their maisters satisfactions.

The disposition of *Edward* King of *England*.

B But let vs obserue another ingeniuos policie: *Lewis* neuer sent one Ambassador twise vnto *Edward*, to the end that if the former had happily treated of any thing that tooke not effect, the latter knew not what to answer, and so ignorance serued him for an excuse, with delay of time. Moreouer, he instructed his Ambassadors so well, as the assurance of the marriage they gaue to the King and Queene of *England* (the accomplishment whereof they both greatly desired) made them take hope for payment. Yet the King had neuer any such meaning: there was too great an inequality of age: and thus getting a moneth or two by mutuall Ambassages, he kept his enemy from doing him any harme, who (without the baite of this marriage) would neuer haue suffred the house of *Bourgogne* to be so oppressed. An other reason dissuaded *Edward* from embracing of *Maries* quarrell. She had refused to marry with the Lord *Rivers*, brother to the Queene of *England*. The which match was not equall, hee being but a poore Baron, and she the greatest heire of her time.

Lewis feeds *Edward* with dilatorie hopes.

The reason why *Edward* neglects *Marie* of *Bourgogne*.

And the better to keepe *Edward* quiet, the King intited him to ioyne with him, and consented that he should haue for his part the Prouinces of *Flanders* and *Brabant*: offering him to conquer for him, at his owne charge, foure of the greatest Townes in *Brabant*, to entertaine him ten thousand *English* men for foure moneths, and to furnish him with Artillerie and carriages, so as *Edward* would come in person, and seize vpon *Flanders*, whilest that hee employed his forces else-where. But *Edward* found that *Flanders* and *Brabant* were hard to conquer, and painfull to keepe: and also the *English*, by reason of the commoditie of their trafficke, had no will to this warre. Yet (said hee) since it pleaseth you to make mee partaker of your victories, giue mee of those places you haue conquered in *Picardie*, *Boulougne*, and some others: then will I declare my selfe for you, and assist you with men at your charge. A wise and discreet demand: but those places were no lesse conuenient for *Lewis*, who was loth to beat the bush, for another to get the birds.

It appeares, that *Edward* did wonderfully affect the alliance of *France*, and feared to lose the King any occasion to infringe it; so (as some say) hee cauted his brother the Duke of *Clarence* to be put in prison, vpon colour that hee would passe the seas, to succour the Dowager of *Bourgogne*: for the which crime, he was condemned to haue his head cut off, and his body to be quartered, a punishment inflicted vpon traitors in *England*. But at the entreaty of their mother, *Edward* did moderate this sentence, and gaue him the choise of what death he would, wherevpon he was drowned in a Pipe of *Malmesey*. But this Duke was sonne in lawe to the Earle of *Warwicke*, whome *Edward* had slaine in battaile, as wee haue sayde. and it seemes the greatest crime they could obiekt against him, was the priuate hatred which vsurpers commonly beare, to those whome they doubt might but crosse their tyrannicall usurpations.

Looke the *Chronicles* of *England*.

And as wee haue recreated our selues beyond the Seas, let vs now passe the Alpes, and see what is done there, suffering our warriours to enioy a truce vntill the next year. There were at that time two mighty families at *Florence*, the one of *Medicis*, the other of *Pacis*. These were supported by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, and by *Ferrinand* King of *Naples*, to ouerthrowe the absolute gouernement of the Cities: they attempt to murder *Laurence de Medicis*, and all his followers, and gaue

Troubles at *Florence*.

1478. for watch-word to the murtherers, when as the Priest celebrating the high Masse, A should say, *Sanctus*, in the Church of *S. Rasperce*, where they should assist at a certaine day, *Laurence* escaped, but being maymed of many of his members, he saued himselfe in the vestry. *Julian* his brother was slaine and some of their followers. Then runne they to the Pallace, to murther all those which had the gouernement of the City: but being mounted, they see that some of their men had abandoned them, so as they were not about foure or fise, and which was worse, the gates were shut vpon them. The Senators (seeing these rascalls thus handled) put their heads out at the windowes, they see this tumult, and heare *James Pais* and others crying *Liberta, Liberta, and Popolo, popolo*, (words to moue the people, and to make them follow their faction) but they moued not: so as *Pais* and his companions fled from the place, and those that were entred were presently hanged at the barres of the Pallace windowes. *Francis Saluati* Archbishop of *Pisa*, hauing said masse with a cuirasse on his backe, was taken and hanged in the same habit. The Gouernours seeing the whole Towne to stand firme for them and the *Medicis*, they send presently to all the passages, to apprehend all such as should be found flying. *James* and *Francis Pais* were presently taken, with an other Captaine of the Popes troupes vnder the Earle *Ieronimo*, and hanged instantly, with other great personages to the number of fourteene: some groomes and other base people, were knockt downe in the streets. *Nicholas* Cardinall of *S. George*, nephew to the Earle was a long time prisoner.

The mutinie appeared and the murtherers hanged.

The Pope and the king of Naples send their forces against Florence.

Lewis begins to decline.

The battell of Guynegyste.

The King aduertised of this hurliburly, sends the Lord of *Argenton*, both to take (in C his Maiesties name) the homage which *Bonne Duchesse of Milan*, ought for the duchie of *Genes*, in the behalfe of the yong Duke *John Galeas* her sonne, and to receiue the men at armes, which they had granted in fauour of the *Medicis*.

The Pope aduertised of the execution done at *Florence*, doth excommunicate the citizens, and with the same breath commands his armie to march, & to ioine with that of *Naples*, being great and faire. It was commanded (for the Pope) by the Duke *Urban*, *Robert d'Armini*, *Constantin of Pesaro* and many others: and for *Ferdinando*, by his two sonnes the one Duke of *Calabria*, the other *Don Frederike*. They take many places about *Florence*, and almost ruine the whole state. There were few Commanders, of small experience, and weake forces. The Kings assistance did somewhat comfort them, being after much war, absolued and reconciled to the church, as also to reniue the Pope. *Lewis* had called a councell of the *French* Church at *Orleans*, for the restoring of the pragmatik Sanction in *France*, and to abolish the custome to carry money to *Rome* for the obtayning of Bulls: yet the assembly brake off without any conclusion, & was referred to *Lions* the next yeare, but without effect. Thus passe the affaires of this world, but many doe oppresse at the length. Our *Lewis* hath in a manner out-liued al his greatest enemies, and now he begins to decline. Troubles, care & waywardnesse, call him mildly to his graue: the vigor of his spirits faile him, & hereafter wee shall see a strange alteration in his humors. The truce ended: and seeing we must returne to warre, let vs begin it by some notable stratageme. The Archduke *Maximilian* hath now the *Flemings* hearts at his deuotion. To imploy the, he camps before *Therouenne*, with about twenty thousand *Flemings*, some *Germane* troupes, and three hundred *English*, ledde by *Thomas Abergieyn* an *English* Captaine. The Lord of *Cordes* Lieutenant generall for the King in *Picardy*, assembles what troupes he can, out of the neighbour garrisons, eight thousand franke archers, eleuen hundred men at armes, and makes haste to relieue it.

Maximilian vnderstanding of their approach raiseth the siege, marcheth towards the, & affronts them at *Guynegyste*. *Des Cordes* was the stronger in horse, but the weaker in foote. The forwards ioine without any stay, the Archdukes (being ledde by *Rauesslein*) doth not maintaine the fight, but is soone broken and chased euen vnto *Aire* by *Cordes* & *Tora*. The foote stand firme, supported by the Archduke himselfe, the Lord of *Rhomont*, the Earle of *Nassau*, & two hundred Gentlemen, all on foote: the franke Archers of the *French*, supposing that these footemen would flie with the foreward, fall vpon the baggage. The Duke doth charge them, forcing them to leaue their booty and fall to

A to armes. The slaughter was great, but most of the enemies. Eleuen thousand *Bourguignons* were slaine, sayeth the History, and nine hundred prisoners, amongst the which was a *Germane* Earle, and the King of *Polands* sonne: of the *French* there died fine thousand: and the small number of the Kings army, made the enemy continue master of the field, who gathering together the remainders of his troupes, tooke the Castell of *Malauoy* by assault, where Captaine *Remonet* (notwithstanding the faith which was giuen him when he yeelded) was hanged.

For satisfaction hereof, fiftie of the about named prisoners, were hanged by ten in a place, ten whereas *Remonet* was executed; ten before *Douay*; ten before *Saint Omer*, ten before *Arras*: and ten before *Lille*. *Des Cordes* did runne rashly to this battaile and without the Kings commandement: who was somewhat amazed with the first newes, thinking they had concealed the truth, & that it was quite lost for him. If it be so (saith he) farewell all my latter conquests: he was not accustomed to loose, but alwayes verie happie, being loath to hazard much in fight. But if any Captaine had meanes to sell him a good place, he was a liberall purchaser at what price soeuer: but the seller must afterwards take heede to his gossip *Triflam* the Hermit.

This blast made *Lewis* resolute to treat a peace with *Maximilian*; so as it might bee profitable vnto him; and that he might thereby curbe the Arche-duke, and by the helpe of his owne subiects, so as afterwards he should haue no meanes to annoy him. For this effect the King seekes to the *Gantois*, that by their mediation, a marriage might be made betwixt *Charles* the Daulphin, and the Daughter of the sayd Arche-duke, vpon condition to leaue him the Counties of *Bourgogne*, *Auxerre*, *Mafcon*, and *Charalois*, and to quit him *Arthois*, reseruing *Arras* in the estate hee had settled it, the City commanding the Towne, the which hereafter should be held of the crowne by the Bishop. As for the Duchie of *Bourgogne*, the Earldome of *Boulougne*, the Townes lying vpon *Somme*, and other places in *Picardie* there was no mention. The *Gantois*, (and by their soliciting, those of *Bruges* with some other chiefe Townes of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, who desired rather to suppress, then to fortifie their newe Lord,) gaue eare to this transaction, all intreating *Maximilian* and his wife all they could, being loath to submit themselves to his commande: first for that he was a stranger: secondly for that they knew more iudicious Princes, but not any more couetous then his father, whose son was seasoned with the same base couetousnesse, which carries with it great contempt. Notwithstanding this treating ended with a truce, attending the conclusion of a generall peace. In the meane time, our *Lewis* applies himselfe to order his realme, to reforme Iustice, and the Court of Parliament (especially for the tediousnes of suits) one of the principall points for the which he hated it) but without any diminution of the number of his officers nor of their authority. Moreouer he desired to bring into al the Cities of his obedience one custome, one waight, & one measure, to suppress those horrebleeches the practicioners, & the Marchants fraude. He had wonderfully oppressed his people yea wittingly: and neyther admonitions nor supplications could procure any releefe: the motion must come from himselfe, he is now whole addicted there vnto, but sometimes a burning feuer tending to furie, sometimes a cold palsey sometimes the trouble of the Emoroids, sometimes his speech fayling, sometimes some other fits or distemperature of minde, diuerts him from this good humor. To reach vs, neuer to defer that vntill to morrow, which we may presently performe: for we ought to feare, that God wil not giue vs the wil, & meanes to do wel when we haue once neglected it. All these ordinary infirmities made him siward and vnpleasing to his household seruants, causing him to take their seruices well ment in euill part. And being one day at *Torgues* neere vnto *Chinon*, about dinnertime, troubled with his ordinary fits, as he would haue draw ne towards the windowes, they hindred him: vpon his first recovery, he chased away all those that had by force stayed his approach to the windowes: neyther would he euer after admit the to his presence, holding themselves happy to enioy their offices. His iudgement being troubled, it made him thinke, that this maner of proceeding did derogate fi o his authority, which he sought to maintaine aboue al things: neither would

1479. Many slaine on both sides but the French left the field.

Cruelties against the laws of armes.

Lewis much perplexed.

Lewis seekes for a peace of Maximilian.

The Gantois and thole of Flanders and Brabant hate their newe Lord.

Lewis seekes to reforme his Realme.

Hindred by his infirmities.

Lewis jealous of his authority euen in sickness.

1480. he be disobeyed in any thing, doubting least in the end they should controule him in the government of his affaires, as distract of his wits. Vpon his amendement after any infirmity, he would still knowe what expeditions and dispatches they had made. He tooke the letters, and made shewe to reade them, although he had no knowledg, or very little. Yet must they please him in all things, being dangerous to offend him. This first sate continued about fiftene dayes, at the ende whereof he recovered both speech and iudgement. He sent the Cardinall of *Balue* at liberty, (a prisoner since the year. 1468.) at the request and pursuite of Cardinall *Saint Pierre de Vincula*, Legat in *France*, being sent to mediate a peace betwixt *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, and to solicit them to free the Christians oppressed vnder the Turkes persecutions, whom the King furnished with hope and good words.

Cardinal Balue
for a liber-
tie.

Lewis dis-
tressed all men
in his sickness.

But being come to *Peronne*, and having giuen *Maximilian* and the *Flemings* intelligence of his arrival, they would not admit him, & so his voiage proued fruitlesse. Neither admissions nor requests could euer moue the King to deliuer *Balue*: and now a sennel drawes him to it, seeking an absolution for that he had deteyned him so long in prison. And as he feales his strength and senses to decay, so iellousie and distrust (very incident vnto him) increased daylie: and apprehending death, he feares least his orme subiects should hasten it by some new practises. In this perturbation, he remembers that *Iohn Duke of Bourbon* had followed the Duke of *Gienne* in the warre of the common weale: and that he might ioyne with the Duke of *Brittain*, to raise vpon new troubles and to shorten his dayes.

He appoints certaine Commissioners ill affected to the house of *Bourbon*, who not able directly to touch the Dukes person, they sumō his Chancellor: his Atturney generall, the Captaine of his gards, and other principall Officers, to appeere in person before the Court of Parliament at *Paris*. Being examined and heard, and finding nothing wherewith to charge them, they were freed: and death did soone after free the layd Duke from feare he had conceyued of the Kings hatred.

He had imitated the Duke of *Bourgongnes* armie, and by the aduice of *des Corais* his Lieutenant general in *Picardie*, newly imposed fiftene hundred thousand francs, for the maintenance of ten thousand foote: whereof the six thousand *Suisses* before mentioned were a part: two thousand five hundred pionsers, and fiftene hundred men at armes of his ordinarie, to fight on foote when as neede should require, causing a great number of carts to be made to inclose them in, and tents to campe in, and therefore he called them soldiers of the campe. And for that they complained that the Franke archers did greatly oppress the poore people he did cassier all their companye. When this newe campe was readie, he went to see it ranged in battaile in a valley neere to *Pont de Larche* in *Normandie*, vnder the command of his layd Lieutenant general, causing them to lie in campe a whole moneth together, to the ende he might see what quantity of victuals were necessary for them: and then he returned into *Touraine*. Being at *Tours*, beheld a relap, which hee feared greatly. He looth his speech, they hold him for dead, he remains two houres couched on a pallet in agony. Being somewhat recovered, seeking to diuert his disease and to reuine his spirits by the change of aire, he went to *Argenton*, and then returned to *Tours*, but still languishing of his disease foretelling his approaching death. Then he vndertooke the journey of *Saint Chauld*, which many gentlemen had vowed being present at his fall. Vpon his returne, newes come of the death of *Muris* of *Bourgongne*, who going a hunting mounted vpon a stirring hobbe, was cast, and after died of a cotidian, having had by *Maximilian*, *Philip* Arche Duke, *Margaret* afterwards Queene of *France*, and *Francis* that died young. A vertuous Prince, liberall, respected and beloued of all her subiects.

The Kings
relap.

The death of
Lewis of
Bourgongne.

Fleeing vnto
King Lewis.

This death was wonderfull pleasing vnto our *Lewis*, in the midst of his afflictions, for who not dreaming that he had one foote in the graue, thinks now to do his busines the better: for (sayd he) the Emperour is miserable, and of small credit in *Germanie*: *Maximilian* young and of small experience, and ill beloued of his subiects: and moreover

A The pupilles are in the *Gantois* keeping, a people inclined to mutiny against the house of *Bourgongne*. Yet he repined much at the secret intelligences the Duke of *Brittain* had with the *Engls*: and now a new subiect thrusts him on to this enterprife, the which doubtlesse he had vndergone, if his health would haue suffered him. *Francis* Duke of *Brittanie*, vnderstanding that they made excellent armes at *Milan*, sent to buye a great number, and to the end they should not be discovered by the noyse, and breed a new suspicion in the King, (if he heard thereof) he caused them to be trusted vp in packages of flike with cotton. These armes passing vpon moyles through *Anaergne*, *Doyac* *Gouernor* of the Country had some intelligence, and aduertiseh the King thereof, who declares them forfeited to the benefit of *Doyac*.

The Duke of
Brittain
times testif-
ied.

B This buying of armes, made *Lewis* to gape, more then euer, after *Brittain*: but he desired the execution, to practise the *Gouernors* of *Gand* by the Lord of *Cordes*, and treats the marriage of the *Daulphin* his son, with *Marguerit* the daughter of *Maximilian* and *Marielare* deceased. The late surprise of *Aire* by *de Cordes*, amazed the *Flemings* and *Walons*, & made the willing to reeke an agreement with the King. To this end, *Maximilian* & they together send a great Ambassage to *Arras*, managed for the Arche-duke, by the Lords of *Bergues* and *Lannoye*, with some Secretaries: and for the Comonalties by the Abbots of *S. Britin* and *Saint Peter* of *Gand*. The King appoints his Lieutenant general in *Picardie* to heare the, with *la Truquerie*, lately created first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, and other graue personages. A peace is concluded by meanes of *Cordes* and marriage, in fauor whereof, they giue (as a portion to the layd *Marguerit*) the Counties of *Arthois* & *Bourgongne*, the Lands and *Seigneuries* of *Maisnois*, *Auxerrois*, *Charolais*, *Salins*, *Bar*, *Sens* and *Noyon*, to enioye them for euer. And in case that young *Edward* Duke of *Flanders* should die, *Marguerite* should succeed him in all the Lordships that belonged to her deceased mother, the souerainty of *Flanders* remayning to the King. By meanes hereof, the *Artsins* (that had bene confined), returned to *Arras*, and the City recovered her ancient name.

A peace be-
twixt the
King and
Maximilian.

This *Marguerite* was conducted into *France* by the Lady of *Ruassein*, the bastard daughter of *Philip* Duke of *Bourgongne*, and received by the Duke & Duchesse of *Bourbon*, who led her to *Amboise*, the place of the *Daulphins* abode, where the marriage was solemnly celebrated. *Edward* King of *England* was wonderfully inced at this marriage, seeing him selfe deprived of his position: and fearing least this disgrace should breed him great contempt, yea a rebellio of his subiects, seeing the effects of that which he would not beleue. Moreover he did finde, the King had newly planted strong detestances betwixt them two, and his conquests did stretch very neere vnto him. He conceived to great a griefe vpon all these considerations, as soone after he died, partly for sorrow, and partly of an Apoplexie. Soone after the death of *Edward*, *Lewis* received letters from the Duke of *Gloucester*, who (by the murder of his two Nephewes *Thomas* of *Edward* his brother) had vntured the Crowne of *England*, and was called *Richard*. This *Richard* sought the Kings friendship, but *Lewis* abhorring to barbarously, would not vouchsafe to answer his letters, nor to heare his message.

The *Daulphin*
marriage
with *Margue-
rite*.

Edward of
England dies.

E But he enioyed not long this tyrannous usurpation. God raised vp that Earle of *Rickement* (whome we haue seene to long prisoner in *Brittain*) who with some little money from the King, and 3. thousand men leuiued in the Duchie of *Normandy*, passed into *Wales*, & vntied with his father in law the Lord *Stanley*, with 26. thousand *Engls*, with which forces he encountered *Richard*: fought with him, and slewe him in the field, & then was crowned King of *England*. At the same time, *William* of *Marche*, brother to him whom they commonly called the Boare of *Ardenne*, (to install his sonne in the Bishoprike of *Lege*, leaves a great number of foote and horse, and beseegeth *Lewis* brother to the Duke of *Bourbon*, being Bishop there. The Bishop craues succors from the Arche-duke of *Austria* and the Prince of *Orange* his brother in lawe, who not able to come in time, and west by some secret partisans of *la Marche*, he goes forth in armes to fight with his enemy, & was slaine: whereby *la Marche* entred into *Lege*, but soone after he was surprised by the Lord of *Montigni*, aided with some troupes from the Arche-duke, & sodenly beheaded.

Troubles in
England.
Richard mur-
ders his two
Nephewes &
vnties the
Crowne.

Our

1483. Our *Lewis* is now well satisfied touching the affaires of *Flanders*: there remained no-
 The last of this life. thing but a reuenge of *Brittaine*. But oh how doth suspicion, feare, distrust, and finally death, breake off his great desseins? He is now at *Plessis* neere *Tours*: priuate, solitary, and shewing himselfe to few. He feares a decay of his estate, and yet is become vnable to gouerne a great Estate. The opening of a doore feares him: his owne shadow amazeth him, death terrifies him, but (the worst is) his conscience troubles him. Hee puts his most trustie seruants from him, hee doubts his neere kinnesmen, hee abhors them, hee suspects them, & suspects al the world. Those whom he doubts most, hee distrusts, with a couple of his gard to guide them, pensiuely, sad, dreaming, froward, peevish, and cholerick: euery thing displeaseth him, all is vnreasonable, all offends him, he knowes not what is fittest for him, either life or death, and yet would he liue & strange. He knows that he hath many enemies, and hath offended many: that the greatest of the Princes loue him not; that the meaner sort murmured, and that the people hated him: for he hath ouercharged them, yea more then any of his Predecessors; and hath not meane to ease them; and although he hath a will, yet it is now too late.

His disposition in his declining age.

Conscience mille te res.

Oh what a greuous testimonie, is the conscience of our misdeeds: fewe enter at *Plessis*, but his household seruants, and the Archers of his gard, whereof there are foue hundred daily in gard at the gate. No Noblemen lodgeth there, none come there but his sonne in law *Peter*, (afterwards Duke of *Bourbon*), (by the death of *John* his brother) and few of his followers: and yet he thinks still, that some one enters in to offer violence to his person: or that by loue or force they will pull his scepter from him. He causeth his sonne to bee straitly garded, and will not suffer many to see him, least hee should be made the head of a faction. His daughter hath no access to him. His son in law no credit. His sonne in Law returns from the *Daulphins* marriage. *Lewis* with a deuise, makes the Captaine of his gard to search such as are entred with the Duke to see if they were not secretly armed. He commands him to hold the Counsell, then he dissolues it: for in his absence they would make Monopoles. Who did euer see a mind more distract? more vnquiet? and fuller of cares? Hee distrusts his sonne, his daughter, his sonne in law, and generally all those that may commaund.

The Castle gate is safely garded, but they may leape ouer the walls: they must bee planted with gaddes of iron, with many points, and so thicke as no man might passe them: and moreover the ditch at *Plessis*, compassed in with great barres, with care engins of fire in at the corners: Canoniers, and fortie cross-bow-men were appointed to stand, teene a day and night sentinell in the ditch, with commission to shooe at any one that should approach in the night, vntill the opening of the gate in the morning. Doubtlesse, the iustice of God would that those cages of iron, and those of wood covered with plates of iron both within and without, those shakles, bolts, manacles, cheines, tyed to a great bowle, waighie beyond humane force: where hee had often times imprisoned many, (yea and of honour,) for very fitioulous causes, should now be so many tortures to his conscience, at the last point of his death: and as he had given them eight foote in bredth, and it may be so much in height, to stretch out themselves: so hee now retires himselfe into a little corner of the Castle, and like another *Terillus*, they were fatal to their first deuise: the Bishop of *Verdun* remained some teene yeares shut vp in the first that was made.

To conclude, no dispatch came to Court, during this lamentable estate. The King had but one or two about him, men of no credit, who knew well, that after his death, the best that could chance vnto them, was to be shamefully chased away. But a great confusion attends them shortly. These men made no report vnto him of anything that happened, but onely that which concerned the Estate and the realme, labouring to maintaine loue with all men.

Strange distempers.

As for his person, euery day a new grome of his chamber, euery day new seruants. Yet knowes hee not whome to trust. One onely amongst the rest gets some credit, but forced. It is his Phisition, *James Cottier* a *Bourguignon*: he giues him 10000. crownes monthly, and what offices, or what lands he will demand, be it from himselfe, or his friends.

friends: and for a nephew of his the Bishopricke of *Amiens*, and (as a man would say) 1483. his Crowne and his scepter, so as he will prolong his life. An odious, impudent, and audacious Phisition: who to continue his credit, sayed vnto the King. *I know well that one of these mornings, you will send me away with the rest, but (swearing a great oath, you shall not lue eight dayes after.* A strange hurt-breaking, to be braued by a rascally booke-astomany great Princes did yeeld him voluntary obedience. But oh vanitie, to thinke that the deuice of man can adde one minute to mans life. *Lewis* had neede to haue been put in mind of this Oracle: *I haue said, you are Gods, and all the children of the Lord: but you shall dislike men: and you that are the principall shall fall like other men.*

Lewis braued by his Phisition.

At that time liued *Francis* borne at *Paulin* in *Calabria*, a deuout Hermit, without learning, but of an austere life, and holy reputation, founder of the *Suirs* Monines. The King sent for him by a Steward of his house, in the company of the Prince of *Valentim*, sonne to the King of *Naples*: at the first sight hee kneeles vnto him, and desires him to prolong his dayes. In truth, we haue often zeale, but not according to knowledge. But, *Put no confidence in the chiefe of the people, nor in any of the somes of man, who haue no power to deliuer thee.* O how happie is he, whome the mightie God of *Israhel*, and whose trust is in the *Eterna*l. In the meane time, *Lewis* declines, and death follows him at the heeles: yet will hee not haue men to thinke so, and on its no intention to diuert this opinion, both within and without the realme. Within, he attires himselfe richly, contrary to his custome, and shewes him selfe, but onely in his Court, and gallerie: he makes seuerall lawes, to be feared: sends away officers, dischargeth men at armes, cuts off pensions, and takes some quite away. To conclude, hee passeth his time, to make and marre men. Without the realme, he payes that due in *England* which he owes, & in all other places, where he will haue them thinke that he is found and alive: he sends men vnder colour to buy something: Into *Spaine*, *Naples*, and *Germanie*, some horses, in *Sicile*, some good mules, but especially of some good officer of the Countie, and payed double for them. In *Brittaine*, gray-hounds, and spaniels. In the kingdome of *Valence*, little water-dogges. In *Denmarke* and *Sueden*, haukes. In *Burbye*, little Lions, of the bignes of foxes. To conclude, the more he feared the decay of his dignitie toward his latter end, the more he sought to be feared, and takes away all occasions to thinke that his end approached. Feeling his end drawe neere, hee sent for the *Daulphin* his sonne, whome he had not seene in many yeares, causing him to be noursished apart, least the colour of his presence should haue bred some faction, as there had rashly risen in his yong age against *Charles* the 7. his father. And experience hauing taught him, how dangerous a sodaine alteration was: he commaunded him expressly not to displace any Officer, and especially to maintaine *Oliuer le Dain* in the offices and goods hee had gotten in his seruice, as hauing assisted him well in his sicknesses. But as this man was haughty & too highly exalted, so must he and some others of like sort be shortly suppressed, and *John Doyac*, gouernour of *Auvergne*, from whome he had receiued good and notable seruices, to call maister *Guyot Pot*, and the Lord

His disordered zeale.

His intention to make himselfe thicke lued.

of *Bouchage* to Counsell, to follow *Philippe* of *Cordes* for armes: Not to beleue his mother, especially in the gouernment of his State. Who (as a *Sauoisien*) hee had found by experience, to fauour the *Bourguignons*, and generally to confirme all those in their dignities, whome he had aduanced. And to ease the people, whome hee had oppressed by the necessitie of the warres. Few dayes after the King had spoken to the *Daulphin* his sonne, his ordinarie infirmities takes him, & suddenly lost his speech, with a great debility of his forces. Hauing recovered (judging himselfe but a dead man) he sent the Duke of *Bourbon* to the king his son (so the he called him) giuing him the charge & gouernment of his said son. Then he sent the Chancellor with the seale, & part of the archers of his gard, & Captaines: al his hounds, hauks, & other things, & all such as came to see him, he sent them to *Amboise*. Yet was he not so wel resolved for his death, but he had some hope to escape, namely by the means of his Hermit, & a multitude of relicks which were brought from *Rheims*, from *Paris*, & from *Rome*, the holy oyle, the rodd of *Moses* & *Aaron*, the holy Crosse (were it true or false) & such like, vntill the diuines had

Lewis his ad-miration to the Daulphin his sonne.

The Diuines tell Lewis that he must die.

1483. had taken counsell to let him vnderstand, that he deceiued himselfe, and that his only hope must consist in the mercy of God. A hard sentence to a man that had so often commanded, that euen in the last pangs they should not pronounce that cruell word of death, the which he feared beyond the condition of man; and preuented by all the remedies that might be inuented. Yet behold he disposeth himselfe; *I haue* (said he) *hope that God will helpe me: but withall hee addes: yet happily I am not so fuke as you suppose.* Norwithstanding, he felt the helpe of heauen: for his speech was restored, his vnderstanding good, his memory perfect, whereby he pronounced many prayers, adding therevnto, by his last Will & Testament: That *de Cordes* should giue ouer the enterprife they had concluded vpon *Calais*: that they should suffer the Duke of *Brittany* to liue in peace, without feare of suspect, and likewise all the neighbors of the realme: that vnder the shadow of a peace of fife or sixe yeares, the people might breathe, and the King his sonne grow in age. Finally, on Saterday the 30. of August, he yeelds vp his soule quietly to God, hauing liued 61. yeares, and reigned three and twenty: he made chioise for his buriall at our Lady of *Clery*, the place of his deuotion.

A cunning Prince, wise, painfull, reuengefull, vigilant, industrious, of a great memorie, neuer hazarding that, which by policie, dissembling, money, or any other industrie he might obtaine: vnquiet in his raigne, vnquiet in his life, and vnquiet in his death, not able to resolute but in extremities. Deuout, but inclining to superstition. A great oppressor of the people, but to giue to the Churches, to forraigne pensioners, and to purchase them deere, whom hee had fitte for his purpose: as wee may easily perceiue by the discourse of his life. He was continent beyond the ordinary of great and generous Princes: and in truth greatly to be commended, in that he had so vermouthlie contained himselfe within the bounds of his professed vowe, and neuer to haue knowne other women then his owne wife. And if the 61. yeare, (the which hee alwayes apprehended as the fatall periode of his life, for that none of his predecessors, since *Hugh Capet*, had passed that terme) had not ended his life, hee had reformed the State, ordred iustice, and releued the people. Happy in his death, hauing changed a continuall toile, into an eternall rest: happy in that rest (which wee hope for in heauen): To haue left a Successor quiet of himselfe, young, but of great hope, and chiefly, for that he had scene the Church, during his raigne, freed from that long and inueterate three and twentie yeares Schisme, which had so long turmoiled it. Thus are we come to the end of this raigne: but before we proceed, we must succinctly view the Estate of the Church and Empire vnder his raigne, seeing the course of our historie hath drawne vs on thereto without interruption.

Wee haue scene, that by the renunciation of *Felix* the 5. *Nicholas* the fift of that name, remained in quiet possession of the Pontificall See. The most memorable acts of his Papacie, were the great Iubile, which he did celebrate in the yeare 1450. where there was so great a concurse of people, that about two hundred were smothered, going and coming out of the Churches, besides an infinite number of people that perished in the riuer of *Tyber*; through the fall of the bridge of *Saint Angelo*. This Pope loued learning, he gaue great pensions to learned men, sent them into diuerse places, to seeke out bookes which lay hidden in darkenesse, by the negligence of the ancient, or perished by the violence of the barbarous, filling his Librarie at *Rome*: he caused many *Greeke* Authors to be translated into *Latin*. He repaired many Churches and other buildings ruined at *Rome*, enriching them with vessels of golde and siluer, and crosses enriched with precious stones. Finally (griued for the taking of *Constantinople* from the Christians) he dyed of thought, of a Feuer and the Gout, (or as some will say, of poison) the 25. of March 1455.

Calixtus the 3. of that name, a *Spaniard*, of the age of 85. yeares, before called *Alphonfus Borgias*, Bishop of *Valence*, and Cardinall of the foure Crownes, succeeded by the consent of the whole Colledge: commended, for that in the first frutes of his Popedom, he had (according to a vowe he had made,) proclaimed a warre against *Mahomet*. And to induce the Princes, hee sent some notable Preachers in those dayes,

1483. *A dayes, John Capistran, and Robert de la Lize*, friars, to exhort Christians to relieue their bretheren, detayned vnder the Turkes tyrannie, and by ringing of the bell at noone day, to inuite them to pray for those that fought for this quarrell: yet blamed for that, vnder colour of his Indulgences and pardons, which were sold for fife ducats a peece, hee had gathered together, and left to his successor, a hundred and fiteene thousand ducats.

He died in Iuly, 1458. *Pius*. the 2. called *Aeneas Silvius*, a *Siennois*, a poore boy, hauing attained to much knowledge; by his laborious studie, obteyned the dignitie of Pope. He had bene the Popes Secretarie, at the Councell of *Basil*, and by writing had impugned the authoritie of *Eugenius* the Scismatick: and soone after was crowned Pope. Hee latest, by the Emperour *Frederic* the 3. and honoured by him with many Ambassages to diuerse Princes. *Nicholas* the 5. made him Bishop of *Triest*, and after of *Sienna*: and *Calixtus*, Cardinal. But vppon his entrie to the Popedom, he sought to suppress two bookes, which he had published for the approbation of the Councell of *Basil*, and afterward laboured very ambitiously to enlarge the *Romaine* sea: for the encrease and preferment whereof, the historie saith, he neither feared Kings, nor Princes, people, nor Tyrants. A great enemy to King *Lewis* the 11. whilst that he would not yeeld to the abolition of that Pragmaticke Sanction: who to crosse him in that yeere 64. did forbid to carrie any money to *Rome*; or to bring any bulls from thence, renewing the same Edicts in the yeare 1478. But in the end he was so flattered by this *Aeneas*, & by his successor *Sixtus* the 4. as he renounced all the rights of the Pragmaticke Sanction. He had likewise proclaymed a voyage into *Turkie*, by a Counsell assembled at *Mantua*. But the Ambassadors of King *Lewis* and of *René* Duke of *Anjou* (hauing laid open the rights which the house of *Anjou* had to the Realme of *Naples*, and the wrong was done him, vsurping it to the behoofe of *Alphonso* the bastard of *Ferdinand*, whom this Pope had by his absolute authoritie put in possession of the Realme) he grew so bitter against the *French*, for *Ferdinand*, as the sayd Ambassadors would not promise any thing in their masters name, for this warre: so as the assembly was dissolved, the eighth moneth, without any good to Christendome. An ambitious man, austere to Princes, a great persecuter of the enemies of the Clergie, curteous and officious to his friends, busie for the enriching of the Church, a great builder. And finally, as hee was readie to depart from *Ancona*, to march in person against the *Turke*, who was then entred *Italie*, a *Cotidian* ague seized on him, whereof hee dyed in the yeare 1464. Of him we reade thus much: as *Platina* and *Sabellius* doe report. *Priests are forbidden to marrye for a great reason, but yet there is a greater for the which they should bee suffered.* and moreover *Paraduventure, it should not be the worse, if many Priests were married, for many being Priests and married, should bee saved, the which in their barren Calibats are damned.* Hee likewise would haue abolished some Nunneries of *Saint Brigit* and *Saint Clare*, & caused the Nunnes to come forth, to the end (saith *Calixtus secundus*) that vnder the habit of religion they should not hide their adulteries.

Paul the second, borne at *Venice*, before named *Peter Barbo*, Cardinal of *Saint Mare*, succeeded. His first calling was marchandise, but seeing an vnckle of his chosen Pope, he applied himselfe somewhat to learning, and was first created Arch-deacon of *Boullen*, then Bishop of *Cerua*, after Cardinall, and finally Pope. A man of a good personage, but arrogant & proud; so as *Platina* obserues, that he first spake these wordes: *That the Pope carries within the circuite of his bosome all diuine and humane laws.* Exceeding all his Predecessors in attyre: but about all in his mitre, the which hee enriched with pearle and stones of an inestimable price, shewing himselfe proudly vpon solemne dayes; thus sumptuously attyred, followed by his Cardinalls with scarlet barres, (the which hee did forbid all others to weare, vpon greuous minishments) and mounted vppon mules with footclothes of the same colour: grosse and dull witted, louing neither learning, nor learned men: so as he declared them Hereticks that either in sport or earnest did pronounce this word Academy or Vniuersity. Couetous, dissolute, voluptuous, turbulent, giuen to cōuiring & the whole time of his raigne he troubled

B b b

Italie

In the second booke of the Councell.

The pride and pompe of Paulus the 2.

The Popes disposition,

1483. *Italie*, with combustions and homebred warres. Finally they report little good of him, but that he had bene pitifull to the poore and needy, to haue preferred *Rome* from famine, and reformed many Monasteries, reducing them to a better discipline. They say, that hauing one day read certaine poesies, made against him and his daughter, he began to grieve, and to blame the rigour of the law made by his predecessors, who did forbid Priests to marrie: so as seeing himselfe a scome to the people, hee resolved to giue Priests liberty to marry: but an Apoplexie tooke him suddenly out of this world, the 25. of Iuly 1471. leauing a rich treasure. In trueth, *They gather goods* (saith the Oracle) *and know not who shall enioy them.* Some impute this sodaine death to the Author of the Magicke arte, the which he practised.

Sixtus the 4. borne at *Sauonne*, and named *Francis of Ruere*, Generall of the Grey Friars, and Cardinall of *Sixte*, Legat of *Auignon*, was installed by the election of the Colledge, in the Pontificall chaire. Liberall and charitable to his owne, beyond the bounds of true zeale: for in their fauour he gaue Indulgences and pardons prodigally, and granted many other things against all right and reason: so saith the Historie. Amongst the rest, he aduanced *Peter of Ruere* to a Cardinallship: a monstrous man in his expences, who in two moneths deuoured in vanities, dissoluition and loosenesse, aboue two hundred thousand Crownes, besides the debts wherewith he charged his heires. He repaired many decayed Churches and Monasteries, built new, and gaue them great renewes. He restored the Abreuiataires, (which was a Colledge of learned men, and studious in diuine and humane lawes, Poets, Orators, Historiens, &c.) first instituted by *Pius* the 2. then abolished by *Paul* the 2. his succesor. Then did he institute anew the *Bullistes*, people fitter to get money, then for any other thing, and nine Notaries of the Apostolick treasure, appointing them certaine reuenues: which offices were sold in the beginning for five hundred crownes, and since for two or three thousand crownes: so well could they sell their marchandise. *Sixtus* made many vniuersal warres, against *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, for that against the Popes liking, he had succoured his sonne in law *Hercules* of *Este*, Duke of *Ferrare*, besieged by the *Venetians*. Against the *Venetians* whom he did excommunicate. Against the *Florentins*, excommunicated likewise with an interdiction of fire and water. But by the intercession & threats of the King, & the succours the *Venetians* gaue to the *Florentins* against the Pope (who had incensed *Ferdinand* King of *Sicile*, *Alphonfus* Duke of *Calabria*, and *Frederick* Duke of *Pybin*, Captaine generall for the Church) to make warre against them hee abolished them. Then being sick of a Feuer, hauing newes that a peace was made betwixt the *Venetians* and other Potentates of *Italy*, hee dyed suddenly. There flourished vnder him *Iohn of Mont le Roy*, a great Mathematician, *Ralph Agri-cola*, *Pomponius Latius*, *Ambrose Calepin*, learned men in humanitie. Let it suffice, to haue noted such Popes as haue reigned vnder our *Lewis*, and now let vs see that which concernes the Empire.

The estate of the Empire.

That great *Iohn Huniades*, a firme and sound rampier for the Christians against the *Turkes*, had left two sonnes, *Ladislaus* & *Matthias*. They had for an hereditarie enemy *Vlricke* Earle of *Cilie*, neere kinsman and a favorite to *Ladislaus* King of *Hongarie* and *Bohemia*, sonne to *Albert* of *Austria*, borne after his fathers death. *Ladislaus* the eldest, complaining one day to *Vlricke*, of the slanders wherewith he wrongfully charged him to King *Ladislaus*, they passed from words to blowes, so as he flue *Vlricke*: for the which the King of *Hongarie* caused him to bee publickly beheaded, and lead *Matthias* the younger prisoner to *Prague* in *Bohemia*, to put him to death, farre from the view of the Nobility of *Hongarie*, to whom the memory of *Huniades* was wonderfull deere and precious. But as *Ladislaus* prepared for his marriage at *Prague*, to be sonne in law to *Charles* the 7. beheld a blacke and deadly poison suddenly choakes vp the key which that new alliance had conceined. After whose death there did arise great quarrels for the succession. Some Noblemen of *Hungarie*, wished the Emperour *Frederick* the third for their King: the greatest part preferred *Matthias*, both for that he was of the nation, as for the happy memory of his father *Iohn*.

The

A The election being made, *Matthias* is set at libertie by *George Boiebrac*, the new King of *Bohemia*: hee demands the Crowne. *Frederick* armes himselfe with a constitution, which he had received from *Elizabeth* mother to *Ladislaus* deceased, when he sent him her sonne to bring vp. Vpon refusal they go to armes: but the *Germane* Princes pacified this quarrell, concluding, That *Matthias* should pay for his Crowne vnto the Emperour, foure score thousand crownes.

Warre for the Crowne of Hungary.

In the meane time there springs vp new seeds of warre in *Germanie*. *Pius* the 2. making the Emperour and his deuotion to the *Romaine* sea, his support, puts *Ditericke Isebourg* from the Arch-bishopricke of *Mayence*, establishing *Adolph* of *Nassau* in his place. *Isebourg* opposed himselfe vigorously against the Popes exactions, who spoiled (as he said) the Prouinces, vnder a pretext of warre against the *Turke*: and moreover, he would not tie himselfe by othe vnto the Pope, who would likewise binde the future Ecclesiasticall Electors, not to assemble the Electors of the Empire, for the election of any new Emperour, or for any other cause concerning the Empire, before they were duly informed, to the end his pleasure might bee preferred before all others. An audacious and vniuersall demand. *Frederick* the victorious Conte *Palatin* of *Hauten* administrator of the Electorship for his Nephew *Philip*, the sonne of *Lewis* his brother, being a pupill, stood firmly for *Isebourg*. *Lewis* Duke of *Bauiere*, surnamed the rich, ioynes with *Frederick*. The Emperour hated them both, and desired much to crosse them (although in his heart he had reason to fauour that party, for the which they fought): but hee feared the valour of *Fredericke*, and the wealth of *Lewis*. The Pope vergeth him to stirre vp some great Princes of *Germanie*, to oppose against the Protectors of *Isebourg*, rather then against *Isebourg* himselfe. *Adolph* of *Nassau*, was assisted by *Albert* Marquis of *Brandebourg*, *Lewis* of *Bauiere*, surnamed the black, *Charles* Marquis of *Bade*, and his brother, *Iohn* Bishop of *Mets*, with *Vlricke* Earle of *Wintemberg*: all which enuied the prosperitie of *Frederick*, and yet feared to trie his valour. *Frederick* was the weaker in men, but right hath a strong partie. They neglecting their enemies small forces, charge him disorderly: he resists them valiantly, beats them, defeats them, and puts them to flight, takes the Marquis of *Bade*, the Bishop of *Mets*, and the Earle of *Wintemberg* prisoners, the first of Iuly 1461. and to let them vnderstand that they had erred in the discipline of warre, spoiling the corne, & burning the Mills, he caused them to sup the first night of their imprisonment without bread.

Warres in Germany.

The end of this warre was the beginning of an other, more fatall for the Emperour. The Pope deposed *George Boiebrac* from the crowne of *Bohemia*, as fauouring the doctrine of *Hus*, and appoint *Matthias*, surnamed *Corwinus*: but the Emperour would not graunt it, depending of the Empire. *Matthias* was much moued, and the more, when as after the death of *George*, the Lords of *Bohemia*, and the Emperour likewise, leasing him, made choise of *Ladislaus* the sonne of *Casimir*, King of *Polland*, and of *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Albert* of *Austria*. In this warre, the imperiall Maiestie was not onely shaken, but through *Fredericks* misfortune almost ruined, and he in a maner expelled out of *Austria*, & it reduced vnder the power of a strange Lord, mighty and warlike: When as beheld *Albert* Duke of *Saxony*, sonne to *Frederick*, 2. Elector of *Saxony*, father to the Duke *George* and *Henry*, Grand-father to *Maurice* and *Augustus* Electors, leues a goodly armie at his own charge, assailes *Matthias*, & so weakens him in many battels, as he abandons the greatest part of *Austria*, & forceth him in the end to accept a peace with such conditions as *Albert* would impose. During these parties in the West, God raised vp some meanes, to crosse the *Turkes* exploits, if the diuisions of Christian Princes, for the most part procured by the Popes, whilst they fed themselves, had not conuerted their owne forces against themselves. Three yeares after this

Troubles in the East.

princell wound which the christian church receiued by the losse of *Constantinople*, *Matthias* the 2. besieged *Belgrade*, but to his confusion. A handfull of men, lead by that brave *Huniades*, in two dayes together giue him two bloody battailes, wins them, kills also it fortie thousand of his men, spoiles his campe, takes his Artillerie, & with some difficulty he saued his person, being wounded in the left pappe, and carried out of the fight as dead.

A great defeat of Turke.

B b b 2

Mahumed

1483. *Mahomet* seeing by this disgrace, that the land did not fauor him; he meanes to tie an other ayre: hee rigges a great fleet of gallies, to seize vpon the Islands of the Archipelagus. But he had purchased a mighty enemy, *Vssumcassan* of the race of *Asimberia Turke*, Lord of *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, & some other Countries adioyning, who had lately slaine *Molisonbre*, or (as some write) *Demir of Persia*, and by that victorie inuaded the Realme.

The Turkes
gouernour
twice in Asia,
won the
third battayle.

Vssumcassan hauing disapointed the desseins of *Mahomet*, grewe so proud, that to make the victory the more famous, he drewe rich presents out of the treasures of *Persia*, and sent them vnto *Mahomet*, requesting him not to attempt any thing against *Trebisonde*, nor *Cappadocia* (a conquerors request imports an imperious commande) countries which belonged vnto him by reason of the dowry of his wife, the daughter of *David Comnene*. *Mahomet* not able to digest that a meaner then himselfe should preferre him a lawe, employes all his wit to obfure the glorie of this newe King. Hee therefore sends a part of his fleet into *Asia*, directly to *Pontus* and *Sinope*, towards *Trebisonde*. And he himselfe with an incredible speed crosseth *Asia*, and camps neere to *Vssumcassan*. Three battailes are fought: *Vssumcassan* wins the first against *Amurath Bascha*, a Greeke by nation, neere to the riuer of *Euphrates*, which *Bascha* was slaine; and the second against *Mahomet*, where he was in person. These two battailes did wonderfully weaken the Turkes forces. In the third, the *Persians* amazed with the vnaccustomed noyse of the Turkish shot, vnable to endure the terrour of the harguebush, *Vssumcassan* and his men oppressed with this newe army, lost the honour of the two first dayes, and *Remald* the sonne of *Vssumcassan* was slaine with a shot.

Mahomet pursues his good fortune, beseegeth and takes *Sinope* the capitale Citie of the *Prouince*; and afterwards all *Paphlagonia*: then he camps before *Trebisonde*, batters it by sea and land, and in the end takes it; spoiles the treasors of King *David Comnene*: sends him prisoner with his two sonnes, and his Cousin *Iohn le Beau*, to *Constantinople*, to senie for a shewe, the day of his triumphe, carling them afterwards to be barbarously slaine, rooting out the race of *Comnenes*. In the same voiage he tooke *Cilicia* from *Piramet Carsman*, and being returned to *Constantinople*, hee conquered with his armie by Sea, the Islands of *Lemnos* and *Lesbos*: he vnpeopled *Mitilene*, and transported the Inhabitants of the Ile into an other country.

With his forces at land hee assayed *Dracula* Prince of *Valachia*: who with such small forces of foote and horse, as the shortnesse of time would suffer him to leue, did so surprise and shut vp *Mahomet*, as both he and his army were in a manner ruined: when as beheld *Mahomet Bascha*, Lieutenant Generall in the Turkes army, with a braue & hardie resolution opened the passage by force: but with great losse of his forces, the which (fortified with newe troupes,) hee sends into high *Misus* and *Selawonia*: chased *Stephen* King of *Bosnie*, out of *Laiue* the chiefe Citie: dispossessed him of his Realme, and in the end slewe him: about the yeare. 1463. A while after *Matthias* King of *Hongarie* recovered the sayd Citie and Realme, ouerthrew a great armie of Turkes spoiling the country of *Sirme*, tooke many places in *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*: and in the end expelled *Mahomet*, being come to beseege *Laiue*: spoiled his campe, and was master of all his baggage. *Scanderbeg*, (expelled his country,) was retired into *Italy*, where shewing that the diuision of Christian Princes was the meanes to confirme the Turkes estate, and that it was impossible to make him giue ouer this audacious and insatiable desire: beeing at *Lisse* vpon the riuer of *Drille*, hee was surprised with a feuer, whereof hee died, being threescore and three yeares old, in the yeare. 1467.

Scanderbeg
dies.
His vermes.

A Prince exceeding all men in valour, of an wonderfull courage: so as euen with vehemency his lippes did bleed, at the beginning of euery charge. Hee neuer retired battaile, neuer turned his backe: neuer was hurt but once, lightly in the foote with an arrowe: he neuer led about six thousand horse and three thousand foote, and had slaine with his owne hand about two thousand barbarians, striking with such force, as he cut many in two peeces.

Mahomet

Mahumed being freed by the death of *Scanderbeg*, vndertooke three warres at one instant: *Misithes* of the race of the *Paleologues*, had commission to go to *Rhodes*: *Acomath Bascha* into *Italy*, to conquer it, with *Rome*, and the Empire of the West: and *Mahumed* himselfe goes into *Asia*. *Misithes* being often beaten, was forced to returne with the remainders of his armie, languishing and in pittifull estate. *Acomath* lands in *Calabria*, takes *Otranto*, and so amazeth all *Italy*, as the Pope (neglecting all in regard of the safetie of his person) resolues to leaue *Rome*. *Mahumed* going into *Asia*, died of the Collick, neere vnto *Nicomedia*, in the yeare 1471. A happy death for the Christians: for *Otranto* besieged by the *Italians*, aided by *Matthias*, was yeilded by composition, with their liues and goods saued, without attending fine and twenty thousand *Turkes*, which *Acomath* pursuing his victorie, brought to their succours. Thus *Italy* was deliuered from imminent danger, and the Pope assured: we will now leaue the raigne of *Batazet*, second successor to *Mahumed*, to continue our worke in the West.

CHARLES the eight, the 56. King of France.



His raigne will not hold vs long, but after the Duke of Orleans league, the motiue of five yeares warre in *Brittanie* ended, by the Kings marriage with *Anne* the eldest daughter to *Francis* Duke of *Brittanie*, we shall be transported beyond the *Alpes*, to take the possession, which *René* King of *Sicile*, and *Charles* Earle of *Maine* his brother, had by their testaments left to *Lewis* the xi. to the rights they pretended to the realme of *Naples*: vpon the way wee shall see him entertained by *Lewis Sforce*, in the Towne of *Ast*; then hauing received the Forts of *Florence*, with the Citie of *Pisa*,
Bbb 3 from

1483.
A briefe re-
hearsall of
Charles his
raigne.

1483. from *Peter de Medicis*, he enters *Rome*, notwithstanding the gainsaying of Pope *Alexander*: & having vsed therein the rights of a conquerour, he treats an accord with the said Pope: receiues from him the title of Emperour of *Constantinople*, with the institution of the realme of *Naples*: and consequently causeth himselfe to bee crowned King of *Sicile*. And to augment his honour, hee makes his passage, maugre the forces of all the Princes and Potentates of *Italie*, at *Fournoue*: and laden with glorie and spoiles, retournes triumphantly to seeke some rest in *France*, after his wearie toyles. But alas, when as in the greene and vigorous season of his life, he shall meditate of a second voyage for the recouerie of his realme of *Naples*, (as easily lost as wonne,) and when as the *Easterne* partes liued in hope to haue the Christian church restored by him, oppressed now vnder the *Turkish* Traine. Death vniust and vnseasonable, according to man, shal with himselfe cut off all his goodly desseins, the which he had laid in the beginning of his flourishing youth, to carry him to the fruition of a better rest. The iudicious reader may iudge, if we haue reaped more honour & profit in the getting, then shame & hurt in the losse of so many Estates lying farre from vs. *Charles* came to the Crowne at the age of 13. yeares, delicate, weake, sickly in his youth, mild, gracious, deuout: but wilful in his humors. *Lewis* had bred him vp at *Ambaise*, attended on by few seruants, not visited by any, without any instruction, but bare reading, not willing to helpe nature by art. Yet the weaknes thereof hath often times more need of a prop to support it, & a spur to pricke it forward, then of a bitt to restraine it. Did he feare that learning should impair his health, or corrupt the good seeds which nature hap planted in his mind. He was content, that according to his fathers humour, his sonne should learne this only sentēce in *Latin*. *He that cannot dissemble, cannot rule*. But he did him wrong: for he was inclined to the reading of *French* books: & he came no sooner to the crowne, but they found in him a desire of knowledge, which made him to haue a taste in the *Latin* tongue. But as the aptest of his age was slippt away without profit, so did hee salute the Muses but a farre off: weake of bodie, but of a good wit, capable of counsell, & susceptible of the helpes requisite for the gouernment of a firme & solide State. His minority was the cause of a quarrell, betwixt the Duke of *Orleans* (a young Prince and neere to the Crowne, and the Earle of *Beauieu*, for the *Regencie*: which caused his Coronation to be differred vntill the next yeere: after the which an assembly of States should determine of the administration of the King & Realme. The Princes of the bloud attending this sollemnitie, hauing bin so often wronged by *Oliuer le Daim*, *Daniel* his seruant, & *Doyac*, who had wholly gouerned the deceased King, did without the Kings priuite (whose young yeares withheld him from gouernment) informed of their insolencies, proud carriage, vniust murders, thefts, extortions, & other crimes, which they had committed vnder the authoritie of *Lewis* the x. and by a decree of the Court, make *Daniel* forsake both bodie and goods, and his master like wife some few dayes after. *Doyac* whipped at the corner of euery street, lost one of his eares vpon the pillerie, at the *Halles of Paris*, then hauing his tongue peared with a whor iron, he was conuicted to *Mont Ferrant* in *Auuergne*, where he was borne: there they cut off his other eare, & whipt him likewise. Moreouer, the excessive rewards which *Lewis* had giuen to some persons, were reuoked, and they constrained to make restitution. To teach meane men, raised by the bountie of Kings, that man is mortall, but the memorie of indignitie is immortal with great men.

At the same time the Duke of *Brittaine* was wholly possessed by *Peter Landay* his Treasurer, (of whom we haue formerly spoken,) by whose flanders and suggestions he had suffered his Chancellor *Chauuin*, to die miserably in prison, of hungar, and cold: being a very honest and a reuerend man. *Landays* was the sonne of a poore Taylor in the suburbs of *Rachapt*, at *Vitry* in *Brittaine*, as it appeareth in his proces, quicke witted, and busie headed. His first accessse vnto the Duke was in the qualitie of a Taylor, and after hee vsed him to carrie his loue letters, the said Duke being of a very amorous disposition. In the end he makes him master of his wardroppe, and finally his Treasurer generall; then hee begun to manage the Treasor, Iustice and affaires of State at his pleasure to many, and preferre Officers by his letters without the Dukes appointment,

A pointment, to place or displace whome he pleased: proud, treacherous, reuengefull, implacable to such as had offended him. Presumptuous, declaring such Noblemen of *Brittaine*, as could no longer endure his arrogancie, guiltie of high Treason, for that they had attempted against his personne, forfeites their goods, banisheth their persons, and arming his maister to their destruction, the which they could not auoyd, but by a generall pardon and remission.

In the end their patience is moued. *John* of *Chalon* Prince of *Orange*, sonne to one of the Dukes sisters, and *John* of *Rieux* Marshall of *Brittaine*, the principal of his Court, hauing layed a plot, with the other *Barons* of the Country, at all aduentures to seize vpon *Landays*: they enter the Castell of *Nantes*, being secretly armed, seeke for *Landays*, and finde him not, being gone to *Pabottiere*, a house of his vpon *Loire*, neere vnto *Nantes*. The Duke is amazed at this insolent proceeding, and beleuees it is some practice against his person: One of his seruants goes vp to the batlements towards the Towne, and cries out aloud: That they seeke to force the Duke. The archers of his guard storme: the Officers and gentlemen of his house flie thether, the people troupe together. They plant such Cannons, as they finde in the Towne against the Castell, ready to batter downe the gate. The vndertakers (who had not foreseene so dangerous a consequence) shewe forth the Duke vpon the batlements, and cause him to speake. He assures them, that they haue not attempted any thing against his person: and to satisfie the multitude, *Philip* of *Montauban* enters by agreement, hee aduiseeth these Noblemen to absent themselves for a time, in the meane time the people would be pacified, and the Dukes wrath appeased. *Landays* on the other side hauing escaped a troupe that was sent to surpris him in his house, saues himselfe through the ditches of his garden, alone, and on foote: and so in the night recouers the Castell of *Poënné*, and giues the Duke notice of his aduenture. The Duke sends a Conuoie for him, and is more ruled by him then before. So *Landays* assembles all the Officers and men of Counsell in *Brittaine*. hee sends to the Vniuersities of *Italy*, layes open the violence done to the Duke in his owne house, by his vassalles and subiects, and demands what punishment this offence deserues. The Assemblée answers, as *Landays* desired: That they found them guilty of high treason, yea in the highest degree, and therefore deserued death and losse of goods. A decree followes, with condemnation of death, houses beaten downe, woods cut vp at the wast, with all the rigours which men condemned for such a crime might deserue. They flie into *France*, & offer their seruice to the countesse of *Beauieu*, the kings sister, cōplaining of the insolencies of *Landays*, without making further mention of their quarrel with the Duke. *Landays* discouers their retreat, he vnderstands of the discord betwixt *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, & the said Ladie, & causeth his master, by letters written to *Lewis* to accuse the disobedience & treachery of his nobility, who acknowledging *Anne* for *Regent* of the Realme, depriued him of the honor & right that was due to him rather then to a woman, as the first Prince of the bloud: he exhorts him not to relinquish his iustitle, & promisseth to assist him with his best meanes. The Duke of *Orleans* had

against his minde (as we haue heard) married *Ioane* the yongest daughter of *Lewis* x. deformed and vnfit for conception: and followed the onely aduice of the Earle of *Dunois*, sonne to *John* bastard of *Orleans*, a man of great foresight, aduised, & a good and a valiant captain. This Earle did presently forecast, that (by the meanes of *Landais*, who did so secretly inuite Duke *Lewis*) forsaking *Ioane*, he might marrie with *Anne* the eldest daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Brittain*. This hope drew him soone to *Nantes*, where hauing heard the cōplaints of the *French*, and contented the with words and promises, without any meaning to accomplishe the, moued rather with desire to gouerne the state, he retournes into *France*, to assist at the Kings coronation at *Rheims*, whereof the day appointed. There were present at the Kings coronation, the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Alençon*, *Bourbon*, & *Lorraine*, the Earles of *Beauieu*, *Angoulême*, *Vendôme*, *la Roche sur Yon*, *Montpermier*, *Lorgueuille*, *Foix*, *Dunois*, and those that were fled out of *Brittain*, the Prince of *Orange*, *John* Lord of *Rieux*, & *Ancenis*, the Earle of *Aumale* *Ponceet de la Riviere*, who was created *Mayre* of *Bourdeaux* the lord of *Vrfe*, (who was created master of the horse) & others of their troupe, al which brought him with pompe to make his entry into *Paris*,

1483.
His proud
proceeding
against the
Nobility.

An attempt
against him
which succed-
ed not.

Landays escapes
and comes to the
Duke.

He condemns the
Noblemen of
high Treason.

Lewis causeth
his matter to
incense the
Duke of *Or-*
leans against
the Countesse
of *Beauieu*.

The Duke of
Orleans goes
into *Brittain*.
The Kings
Coronation.

Charles his dis-
position, and
education.

The Duke of
Orleans and
Earle of *Beau-*
ieu contend
for the *Re-*
gencie.

Oliuer and *Dan-*
iel charged.

Doyac whipt,
and his
eares.

Landays goes
into the
house of *Brit-*
tain insolent.

1484. and to prepare for a generall Parliament to bee held at *Tours*, with more free access then had beene vsuall, yet not so effectuell as was expected: euery one seeking rather to mainteine his priuate authoritie, then to procure the peoples ease. The Pragmatick Sanction was restored, to vse it as they had accustomed. The Constables sword was giuen to the Duke of *Bourbon*, the gouernment of the Kings person to his sister, a cunning woman, and somewhat of her fathers humour: but the name of Regent was forbidden to them all, to preuent ialousies. There was a Councell erected of twelve, by whom matters should be dispatched in the Kings name: of the which *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* should be president.

The Countesse of *Brabant* the Kings sister hath the gouernment of his person. *Lewis* put from the Regencie.

Lewis discontented with this deuice, seeks to hold his ranke, hee pretends that being the chief Prince of the blood, the Regencie belonged vnto him, assists at the Councell in Parliament, and in the assemblies in Towne, and notwithstanding the last will of King *Lewis*, and the decree of the Estates, yet will hee by force haue the name and effect of Regent. But our Kings (who may not to preiudice the elder, or for want of issue, their neereft kinsman, being a male and legitimate,) dispose of their Crowne: haue they not then power to comit the gard of their children, being yet pupils, & the Regencie of the Realme to whome they please? Morcouer was it reasonable that hee which was not yett five and twentie yeeres old, who liued vnder his mothers wing, who by right had yet need of a gouernor, should bee declared capable for the gouernment of this Realme? So, want of yeeres depriued his grandfather of the same dignitie, during the phrenesie of *Charles* the 6. This discontent is nourished by a newe accident: *Lewis* playing one day at Tennis, where the Ladies were present, there fell a blow in controuersie, the which *Anne* iudged for the aduersie part. *Lewis* otherwise mooued, casts out some word, importing a lye. *Anne* discontented herewith, causeth it to be decreed in Court, that the Duke should bee committed prisoner: hee is aduerted thereof by *John Louen* (or *Louuaine*) a gentleman of his house, and so retires to the Duke of *Alençon*. The Duke of *Lorraine* was come to demand the Duchie of *Barre*, (the which *Lewis* the eleuenth had possessed,) and the Earldome of *Prouence*, which hee pretended to be his, as sonne to the daughter of *René* King of *Sicilie*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Earle of *Prouence*, and by consequence, the neereft kinsman to *Charles* Duke of *Anjou*, (who by transaction and testament had made *Lewis* the eleuenth D his here) who was but nephew to *René*, and sonne to *Charles* of *Anjou*, Earle of *Amaine* his brother. *Barre* was restored, and the *Lorraine* had a hundred men at armes entertained, with thirtie fixe thousand franks for foure yeeres, during the which they should looke into the title of the said Earldome. During this terme, some well acquainted with the Estate of *Prouence*, produce certaine testaments of *Charles* the first of that name, brother to *Saint Lewis*, and Earle of *Prouence* by his wife, and of other Kings of *Sicilie*, which had beene of the house of *France*, by the which, the house of *Lorraine* was not onely excluded from the succession of *Prouence* (not lyable to the daughter, while there remained a sonne of the race) but that also the Realme of *State*, and all other *Seigneuries* possessed by the house of *Anjou*, belonged to the King. That King *René* hauing regard to the said testaments, had at his death preferred his neyphew *Charles*, before the said Duke of *Lorraine*, sonne to his daughter.

The Duke of *Orleans* greued to bee thus excluded from his pretensions, and that *Anne* alone gouerned the King her Brother: he practiseth the Dukes of *Boulon*, *Alençon*, and *Brittaine*, (the cheefe support and refuge of the discontented French) the Earle of *Angoulême*, *John* Count of *Narbonne*, *Francis* Earle of *Longueuil*, and many others. *Alain* Lord of *Albret*, hoping, by the meanes of *Lewis*, whome he found to haue great credit with the Duke of *Brittaine* to marie with *Anne*, the eldest daughter of the said Duke (hauing not duly examined the heart of *Lewis*) enters easily into this faction. Thus all things threaten a horrible and pernicious war, but more in show then effect. *Lewis* with his allies assembles some troupes, and thinking to put them into *Orleans*: the Inhabitants giue him to vnderstand by the Lord of *Joyeuse*, deputed there on his behalfe, that hee might wel enter with his household, but not with his four-

A League made by the Duke of *Orleans*.

A foolish warre.

Anno. Regencie was then his retiring place.

Anne & the twelve Counsellors, cause him to be besieged by *Francis* Earle of *Vendôme*, *Lewis* his brother, Earle of *Roche-sur-Yon*, *René* Duke of *Lorraine* (whom the sayd *Lacie* had wholly wooen vnto her, knowing him to be resolute, vehement, & of fashion) and *Peter* of *Rohan*, Lord of *Gié*, Marshall of *France*. In the end this waire was pacified by this agreement: That the Duke of *Orleans* should come to Court, and inioy the place that belonged vnto him: but *Francis* Earle of *Dunois*, the Dukes right hand) a busie bodie & the first author of the trouble, should retire himselfe into the Countie of *Ast*, belonging to the said Duke, or to what other place he pleased without the realme. Must *Lewis* then bring his confederats in disgrace with the king, & now abandon them? Behold the Duke of *Bourbon* & the Earle of *Angoulême* leading, 300. Lances, 8. thousand foot, and about eightene hundred gentlemen of *Anuergne*, *Bourbonnois*, *Forest*, *Beauuetois* and *Angoulême*, & *Alain*: 8, or 9. thousand fighting men. If *Lewis* had attended them in some place of strength, how dangerously had he shaken the new Estate of *Charles*, not well settled during his minoritie? But hee had too good a mind to reare out his owne bowels, in their persons, whom the law in time should submit vnto him, and dismember the Crowne, which he should weare in his turne. *Anne*, to disperse this storme, causeth the Earle of *Beauuetois* her husband, to incounter their troupes, & force the Duke of *Orleans* to march in person, against those that came to his seruice. They were all Frenchmen: & as they were lightly armed, so were they as lightly disarmed: the Marshall of *Gié*, and the Chamberlane of *Grauille*, shall easily reconcile them.

Alain being stopt in his passage of *Garonne*, at *S. Basille*, by the Earles of *Vendôme*, & *Roche-sur-Yon*, was admitted to the same accord, vpon charge to furnish the King a hundred men at armes for his seruice: the which he deliuered vnder the command of *S. Cyr*, and *Forcés*. They are all dispersed: the King at *Amboise*, *Lewis* at *Orleans*, *Alain*, in *Bazadais*, and all the rest to their houses: the Vicont of *Foix*, and *Peter* his brother being Cardinal, at *Nantes*, vnder colour to visit their sister, wife to the Duke of *Brittaine*. They find their brother in law much incensed against his Nobilitie, & they resolute to defend themselves. But as both armies were ready to ioyne, an accord is made by some mediators: That considering the Dukes age & weaknes of iudgement, the State should be gouerned by the aduice of his neereft kinsmen, and friends. *Landais* is reiected, and it comes he drawes letters patentes in the Dukes name, & declares al those of the Dukes army, that had entered into capitulation with the enimies troupes, guilty of high treason, forfeiting all their goods as traitors: he carries this patent to the Chancellor *Francis Chrestien*, to be sealed, & brings a comandement from the Duke to that effect: the which the Chancellor refused to do. Behold *Landais* hath purchased two enemies for one, & both haue sworne his ruine, but they must countenance it with iustice. They depute the Lord of *Pont Chasteau* to summon the Chancellor to do iustice vpon *Landais*, to appoint Iudges for his triall, and to force him to appeare. They make informations against him, wherevnto they decree to apprehend him. It is bruted throughout the towne, that *Landais* by sentence should be committed prisoner. The people runne by heaps, they fill the Castle yard, & will not depart vntill *Landais* bee deliuered. He takes himselfe in the Dukes châber. The Nobilitie doth force the Châcellor to repaire to the Castle and to demand this man. The Duke being constrained, deliuers him, but vpon condition that he should not be vsed contrary to Iustice, & commands vpon paine of death, that he suffers no outrage be done vnto him, vnder colour of Iustice.

The Nobilitie being aduertised of his taking, posts to *Nantes*, and offer themselves vnto the Duke, like humble subiects, suing for his fauour. *Landais* proceesse being made with that of *John* of *Vitry*, one of his seruants, by certaine Commissioners, they were hanged. This done, the people were pacified, and the Nobilitie, by the intercession of the Earle of *Comminges*, returned into fauour, & obteyned letters of pardon. Then returns the Earle of *Dunois* to his Towne of *Parthenay* in *Poitou*, but without the Kings permission. The King, (that is to say, the twelve vnder his authoritie) suspect his returne, and (fearing least the Duke of *Orleans* had sent for him, or that he

1485.

An accord.

To the preiudice of this Confederats.

Troubles in Brittain.

They are reconciled to the ruine of *Landais*.

The Duke forced to deliuer *Landais*. *Landais* hanged.

The Earle of *Dunois* causeth a few combustions.

1485. he practised some new worke,) sends for the Duke. Hee sends backe the messenger A with promise to followe, & vpon a second charge by the Marshall of *Gie*, doubting the humour of the Countesse of *Beauieu*, and moreover mad at his ill vantage, keeping in as it were confined within *Orleans*, without libertie to go forth in safety; he parts from *Orleans*, vnder colour to go a hauking; he takes the way to *Fontenay*, and from thence to *Nantes*, whether the Earle of *Dunois* went to meete him. This departure was presently knowne, and *Parthenay* was suddenly besieged, taken and razed, with many other places in *Guienne*, belonged to the Earle of *Cominges*, and others that were in *Brittain*. These men slept not. A league is presently made vnder the Dukes of *Brittain* and *Orleans*, whereinto there enters the Prince of *Orange*, *Francis of Laul* Ladie of *Dinan* and *Chastebriant*, *John* Lord of *Rieux* & Earle of *Aumale* Marshall of *Brittain*, the Earles B of *Angoulême* and of *Dunois*. The Duke of *Lorraine* who findes no great satisfaction of promises, is easily drawn into it. *Maximilian* King of the *Romains* giues his consent, *Charles* opposeth *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Earle of *Roche-sur-Ton*, great grand father to the Duke *Montpensier* that nowe liueth, and makes him his Lieutenant general in this war: with *Lewis* of *Bourbon* the yongest brother of the Earle of *Vendôme*, he giues them for assistant, maister *Lewis* of *Tremouille* Viconte of *Thouars*, who had married *Gabrielle* of *Bourbon*, sister to the sayd Conte *Lewis*.

Francis Duke of *Brittain* had no great reason to be a Sanctuary for these mutines, & by receiving them to drawe all the forces of *France* vpon his decayed age, attending nothing but his graue. But supposing to protect himselfe from the Kings surpries, C he must ruine his Country, his Nobility, and his subiects. But then fallies out another accident. The Lords lately reconciled grewe in ialousie, that the *French* were come to reuenge the wrong done vnto their Duke: or else with their ruine and the Dukes to make their peace in *France*. They desired to send them home for two respects; the one to content the King and his Sister, the other, for that they should not growe in any such credit with the Duke, as in the end he might employ them against themselves, wishing in a manner for *Landais*, to oppose him against them. Moreover they feared *James Guibé*, a Captaine of the Dukes men at armes, and in good credit, Nephew to *Landais* and his seruant, least hee should seeke some reuenge for his Vncles death. If it should be so, how could they subsist? The King discouers this secret D ialousie, and findes a good expedient, to thrust the men on to their owne mutuall ruine. To this end he sends *Andrew* of *Espinay* Cardinall of *Bordeaux*, and the Lord of *Fouchage*, with instructions to *Rieux* Marshall of *Brittain*, and comission to offer them men and meanes to expell the *French* out of *Brittain*.

The best aduised discouer the Kings intent, that accepting of this offer, they make the way open for the King to enter into *Brittain*. But in the end they agree: That hee should not send into *Brittain* for this succour, aboue foure hundred lances, and foure thousand foote, and that at the Barons request. That the King should pretend nothing to the Duke, whilst the Duke liued. That he should not besiege nor take any towne, Castell, or fort within the Country: and that his soldiers should take nothing without paying. That when as the Duke of *Orleans*, the Earle of *Dunois* and others should retire out of *Brittain*, the King should be bound to withdrawe his forces. And for the Brittons: That the Noblemen of *Brittain* should arme with him, and accompanie his armie to expell the *French*. The confirmation of these Articles is seconded with foure hundred lances, and six or six thousand men led by the Lord of *Saint Andé*, who enters *Brittain* on the one side: the Earle of *Roche-sur-Ton* on another, and the Vicant of *Tours* on the third. All the Country is suddenly filled with *Frenchmen* at armes, and the *Orleanois* are amazed, being vnfurnished both of force and counsell to resist.

The Earle of *Dunois* being of more iudgement then the rest, considers, that the company of a hundred lances belonging to *Alain* of *Albret*, was a part of those foure hundred commanded by *Saint Andé*: that it was conuenient to winne him, and with this dessein to put him in hope of the marriage of *Anne* of *Brittain*. An inuentio according the necessity of the time, but this was not the Earles intent, who labored to winne

A woman her for the Duke of *Orleans*; neyther the Prince of *Orange*, who vnder hope: 1487. of this alliance, had drawne the Arche-Duke *Maximilian* into this league, whereby he should enter into *Bourgonie*, with a mighty army led by the Duke of *Lorraine*, whilst that he himselfe should annoy the King in *Flanders* and *Picardie*. But great shewes and stratagems. He was so poore and needy, as the King might easily disappoint all his practices and stratagems. Nowe are we deeply ingaged in warre. The Duke of *Brittain* accompanied with *Lewis* of *Orleans*, the Earles of *Dunois* and *Cominges*, the Lords of *Montmery*, *Joyeuse*, *du Lis*, *Saint George*, *Dampierre* and *Beauuau* tooke a viewe of his army at *Malestroit*, consisting of six hundred lances and sixteene thousand foote, great and bad, ill armed and ill trained: whilst the *French* and *Brittons* being ioyned together, take *Redon*, & to terrifie *Rennes* they spoile the Country euen vnto *Maye*, besiege *Pleimell*, batter it, and in three dayes take it, spoile and ransom it. The Dukes armie marched, to succor this Towne, when as *Maurice* of *Mené* being great of body and courage, sayd. (Whether go we my friends? Our Duke is onely governed by the French, by whose perswasions we march against the French, who at their first encounter will betray him to their nation, whereof I am well aduertised. Were we not better to remaine in our castles with our wiues and children, then to be thus led by the humours of others?) A speech of great consequence. He was of the best allied in *Brittain*, issued out of the house of *Guerlesquin*, and had well serued *Lewis* the xi. as gouernor of *Guise* and Captaine of a hundred men at armes in the warres against the *Flemings*: a man of valour and counsell, and well aduanced by the sayd King, hauing the profits of *La Ferté-Bernard*, *dequismortes*, *Beuuyage* and *Gorlanniere*: but very in constant in his changing of parties. At this speech they all scatter: so as of sixteene thousand, scarce the fourth part keepe the field: the Duke amazed here with, leaues *Malestroit*, and recouers *Vennes*: but he was pursued so speedelie, as he looeth his baggage, being fauored in his retreat by the Prince of *Orange*, who had posted from *Nantes* to his succor, very happily: for otherwise hee had bene besieged and taken. *Vennes* being beleagard, yeelds for feare. The Duke at his departure had left two thousand, eight hundred horse in it, vnder the command of *Coetquen* Lord Stuard of *Brittain*, & of *Amaulry* of *Moussay*; & for Captaine of the Towne *James le Moine*: who vnable to maintaine the sege, retired in haste. D *Coetquen* went to *Dinan*, where he commanded; *la Moussaye* with his horse to *Nantes*, where the Duke was, and the Kings army did bend that wayes. *Adrian de l'Hospital* a Captaine of men at armes, meetes him vpon the way, defeated him, killeth a great number of his troupe, and takes many prisoners: some six hundred recouer *Nantes*. This was about *Wintontide*. The Duke thus pressed, being weake in his person, & weake in his subiects: being diuided, weake in friends, weake in those who had ingaged him in this warre for their quarrell, sends the Earle of *Dunois* and *Oliuer* of *Coetman* (who soone after fell to the *French* and was made gouernor of *Auxerre*) to craue succors fro *Henry* King of *England*. But to increase his misery, *Henry* was not yet in quiet possession of his Reaine, crossed by some remainders of *Richards* party, the which he must suppress. E The King resolved to besiege the Duke in *Nantes*, he comes in person to *Antenis*, thether sometime associat *Brittons*, repenting their indiscretion, for that they had taken Townes, & spoiled the Country, contrary to their promise; and their owne Lands sufficed the like ext: emities. Thus *Nantes* was besieged the 19. of Iune, well battred, well assailed, & as well defended. The deputies of *England* were foure times shipped to cross the seas, & foure times put back, by tempest of wether. In stead of *English*, they brought fiftie thousand *Brittons* of the commons, greened to see their Duke besieged. The Kings army, eyther holding themselves vnable to fight with them, or neglecting them as fruitlesse forces, or doing it of purpose, the sooner to furnish the Towne, gaue them free passage, and holding it likewise impossible to force a Towne well furnished with Commanders, men and victuals, they raised the sege the 6. of August, to go without losse of men to *Dol*: the which was taken and spoiled without resistance, the *Brittons* and other soldiers were put to ransom. F During the sege of *Nantes*, *Peter* of *Rohan* Earle of *Quintin*, of the *French* faction, surprised

A league made by the *Orleanois*.

The King seeks to diuide the *Brittons* from their Duke.

A secret treatie of the Nobility of *Brittain* with the King & Court.

The Conditions.

The French enter *Brittain*.

The Duke of *Brittain* army.

Moussaye defeated.

Nantes besieged.

1487. surpris'd *Montcontour*, & summoned *Guingamp*, a passage for succors that came to the Duke from the Bishopricks of *Treguer*, *Leon* and *Cornouaille*. *John of Coetmen* Lord of *Chasteaugui*, Capitaine of the Towne, was at *Nantes*. He flies thither, and turneth the place with men sufficient to defend it, and having intelligence that *Plusquache* with about fiftie Gentlemen, *Bretons* of the Kings armie, spoyling the countie and drawing the Nobility to their partie, dined in the Abbie of *Begar*, having called together the neighbour parishes, and assembled some troupes, he charged them, overthrew them, and led them all prisoners to *Guingamp*: where the Judges of *Goello* and *Quincamp*, by the Dukes expresse commandement, began to informe against them, and had finished their processe, if some friends and kinsmen had not found meanes of delay, vntill the Dukes death ended that proceeding.

This prise gaue courage to the Captaines of *Dinan*. They assemble about five thousand men, and beseege *Montcontour*. But the *Vicount of Rohan*, and the Earle of *Quintin*, offering to succour it, and moreouer the siege of *Nantes* requiring force and expedition, they retire to *Rennes*, to ioyne with the other forces, consisting of fix or seauen thousand men. At the same instant *Yvon of Rorcs*, Lord of *Bois de la Roche*, & *Peter Long* Lord of *Karuegues* (inticed with the great welch which the Earle of *Quintin* had lett in his Castell,) assemble some soldiers with many peasants, and beseege *Quintin*: they take it, and against the composition sworne, spoile the Towne and Castell, and (in hatred of the Earle, who followed the King) burnt it to ashes. The Earle by meanes of his subiects recovered it soone after: and *Coutequet* capitaine thereof before, expelled them againe, and spoyled the Towne.

But to what end serued this cruell stratagem, seeing that *Rorcs* had a house in the country, and the Earle good meanes to be reuenged: as he was a yeare after, by the taking of *Rorcs* himselfe, and the spoile and burning of his house? The *Phrigians* grow wife too late; sayeth the Prouerbe. The Nobility of *Brittain* finding their error, by drawing their Kings forces into the country, to their owne ruine, they send to the Duke, protesting to be no way associat with the King, but to defend themselves against the *French* that were neere his person, who they doubted had bene drawne in to preiudice them: they offer to serue him hereafter, and against all men, so as he will pardon them. The Duke receiues them, and graunts letters of abolition, deliuey and restitution of all their goods and dignities, as before the warres namely to the *Vicount of Rohan*, to the Lords of *Anagour* and *Rieux*, (lately put from the Office of Lieutenant generall and Marshall of *Brittaine*) as well for themselves as their assistants. *Rieux* enjoyed it, but the rest persisted in the Kings seruice. In the meane time the Kings armie prepares to go into *Basse Brittain*, and to beseege *Guingamp*: but the Marshall of *Rieux* changing his partie, makes them to change their proiect.

Rieux was at *Ancenis*, wonderfully perplexed to see the *French* entred the Countie, by a breach which the Nobility of *Brittain* had voluntarie made them, deuising some meanes to repaire these confusions, drawne therevnto by his reception into grace. The Earle of *Cominges* going Ambassador to the King, passed by *Ancenis*, and confirmed *Rieux* in this good resolution, perswading him to go vnto the Duke, with assurance that he should be gratiofully receiued. *Rieux* thinking to strike two strokes with one stone, sends *Francis du Bois* to the King, who at that time was at *Font de Larche*: giuing him intelligence that the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange* and others retired into *Brittain*, were willing to leaue the Country, so as they might rest safely in their houses, without touch for that was passed. Which being concluded, he beseeched his Maiesty to retire his men at armes, according to the treaty he had signed with his owne hand.

Anne hearing this proposition. My friend (sayed she vnto the gentleman) say vnto my Cousin the Marshall of *Rieux*, your master, that the King hath no compassion: and seeing he is entred so farre, he will make it good. The Earle had no better satisfaction. An answer discouering the Kings intentio: which was to incorporate this Dutchie to the Crowne: the which caused the Marshall to yeeld to his Prince without dissembling.

He

A He drawes some souldiers from *Nantes*, in October, and deliueris his Towne of *Ancenis* into their hands, swearing they should keepe it for the Duke. In the end, *Francis of Laval*, Baron of *Chasteaubriant*, sonne in law vnto *Rieux*, suffers him to enter the Castell, holding him to be the Kings seruant. Being the stronger, & ledging his troupe within the Towne, hee commands, (seeing that the King had broken the contract) all those that would not sweare fidelitie and seruice to the Duke, to retire the next day with bag and baggage. Could he be ill receiued of his maister, carrying with him the deliuey of two so good places? The Prince of *Orange* hauing ioynd with some *Germaine* succours, sent by *Maximilian*; and lead by *Balarwin*, bastard of *Foucamp*, and some three thousand men of the countie of *Cornouaille*, *Leon*, *Treguer*, & *Goello*, resolved to besiege *Quintin*, where the *Brittons* (ioynd with the *French* that were commanded by the Baron of *Pont-Chateau*) did wonderfully annoy *Guingamp*: who being in a towne vnfit for warre, left the place, and gaue the Prince meanes to campe before *la Chaize*, a Castell belonging to the *Vicount of Rohan*. But weakened by the losse of many of his men, part of them going daily to the *French*, & part disbanding by reason of the winter; he retired his armie to *Montcontour*, resolute to take a view, & to punish such as were departed without licence. Yet notwithstanding all his care, and the Dukes seuer command to the gentle men, to returne to the Campe within two dayes, vpon paine of the losse of their goods and honors, and to others of corporall punishment, those few forces which remained, vanished soderly.

C Thus the Duke wauers, betwixt hope and feare, fortified on the one side, but weakened on the other, seeing his estate incline to ruine. He had two pillars, which in his conceit might raise him, or at the least support him; *Anne* and *Isabell*. The Prince of *Orange*, wooed *Anne* for *Maximilian*: *Rieux*, the Lady of *Laval*, and the greatest part of the Nobilitie, for *Alain of Albret*. The first promised greater conditions, yet the King had incombred him much in *Flanders*, supporting the *Gantois* against him, so as he could not succour his pretended father in law, neither with his person, nor his subiects; having small credit amongst them, and lesse money: for that they would not assist him to preiudice the King. *Alain* (whom others call *Aman*) had some forces in hand; and fed with this plausible hope, he brought about a thousand men out of *Castile*, & three thousand *Gascons*. The Duke would willingly haue made two sonnes in law of one daughter: & vrgent necessity forced him, (like vnto *Charles of Bourgonne*) to promise her to many, whom he could giue but to one. euen as *Erisichton* satisfied his gluttonie and continuall hungar, wherunto *Ceres* had condemned him (hauing cut downe her groue) by the many sales of his daughter *Mnestra*. In th'end *Anne* is promised to *Maximilian*, who should come to marry in *Brittain*, & withall he should bring great troups of men to succour the Duke against the oppression of the *French*. But hee abuseth no lesse then he is abused. Herevpon *Alain* comes with his *Castilians* and *Gascons*. At his first arriual he went to salute the Duke at *Nantes*, and then his Mistresse, this king to haue the greatest interest in her loue. But oftentimes two braue Grey-hounds courting a Hare, a third crosseeth them, and carries away the game, as we shall see. The Marshall of *Rieux* being arriued, gaue his consent in fauour of *Alain*, at the Countesse of *Laval*s request, sister in law to the said *Alain*. It was no time now to leaue this Marshall newly reconciled idle. The Duke giues him the charge of his armie, with commission to take *Vannes*, where *Gilbert of Grassai*, & *Philip of Moulin*, (of whom we shall make mention in the battaile of *Tournouë*) commanded. He marcheth thither, batters *Vannes* by composition, the third of March. Then *Sir & Forjus* (who led the hundred men at armes of *Alains* company) declared themselves *Brittons* by their Capitaines commandement, building foolishly vpon this marriage: yet some of the company retired to the King. The Kings armie wintered, but *Lewis* or *Bouillon* aduerted the taking of *Vannes* by *Rieux*, requires him by the surpris of *Ancenis* and *Chasteaubriant*, places razed neere the riuer, to make the siege of *Fougères* more easie, on the one side, being a frontier towne, and of good defence: and on the other side, that of *S. Alank Cormier*. The *Brittons* army had bin eightene moneths in field without rest,

Ccc to

1488. to make head against the *French*, but now they must shew what courage is in them. A The Duke of *Orleans*, *Alain* of *Albret*, the Earle of *Dunois*, the Marshall of *Rieux*, the Lord *Scales* an *Englishman*, (commanding some 300. men of his nation, sent by *Henry* King of *England*, by the means of the Lord *Maupertuis*) the *Seignior* of *Leon*, eldest sonne to the Vicount of *Rohan*; the *Seigniors* of *Chasteaubriant*, *Crenetes*, *Pont l'Abbé*, *Plessis*, *Paliczon*, *Montigni*, *Baliues*, *Montuel*, and other Captaines of bands, go forth of *Nantes*, with an intent to raise the siege. Their armie was 400. Lances, & 8000. foote, (besides 300. *English*, and 800. *Germanes*, sent by *Maximilian*) with good store of Artillerie, for this great rable armed, and tumultuously assembled by the Earle of *Dunois*, had bin in a manner all sent back, as an vnprofitable burthen vpon the earth.

But the matter is of importance, the *French* are not so easily forced to rise, and if an B occasion of battaile be offered, shall they accept it? The Marshall of *Rieux* (best experienced in matters of warre) with some others, are not of that opinion: for to what end (say they) should we hazard the estate and country, vpon an euent which may be avoided. If we loose the day, by what means shall we releue our selues? The Souldiers that shall remaine after the ouerthrow, wil want courage, and change their minds: the people would be amazed, the Townes stand in suspence, the conquerour would become maister of the Country, and take all Townes hee should attempt without resistance. It were best to temporise, & to incampe at *Rennes*, being well furnished with victuals, and things necessary: and in the meane time, to keepe the enemy occupied, forcing him to lie in field, tying him with their horsemen, & cutting off his forrage: or C elie to lodge the army in the frontier townes, to shut vp the victuals, & attend the winter: which being come, the enemy shall haue no means to lodge abroad, but must of force dislodge: & in the meane time, we shall see what profit will grow by the leagues of the Kings of *England* & *Castile*: of the Archduke, & the Duke of *Lorraine*; all which giue the Duke great hope, to countermine the Kings practises in *Brittanie*. The rest (rashly thrust on, partly by a yong and boiling humor, partly with desire to maketiall of their forces) make answer. That the souldiers are wearied with this long bearing of armes without effect: that hauing now an oportunitie to do well, they obserue a great joy in their resolutions: the which it was more fit to nouish then to quench: that their forces were altogether, and asked nothing but imploiment: & that delay would make D them leaue their Ensignes by little & little. In the meane time, *Fougeres* was at the last galpe: a towne of importance, and one of the keyes of the countrie, that to leaue it in this extremity, were to shew a manifest proofe of cowardise to all the rest. To conclude, they say in a manner, that to temporise, were to play the cowards.

Division in the *French* armie.

The first opinion was most probable, but the vehemencie of the Earle of *Dunois*, and the heat of yonger heads carried it. All march, but see the pittifull first fruits of their first lodging at *Andouille*, a village vpon the way to *Rennes*, from *S. Albin*, a contention falls betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, & the Lord of *Albert*, a man of great reuenues, father to *John* the last of that name, K. of *Nauarre*: but his mistresse did not affect him, a good schooller in dissembling, to vse the power of *Albert*, for the benefit of the Duke her E father. The Duke of *Orleans* did flie a higher pitch, and by the mediation of the Earle of *Dunois*, was very farre in fauour with *Anne* of *Brittanie*: *Alain* discouers some good shewes of *Anne*, to the Duke of *Orleans*: wherevpon they grow to bitter words, as the next day they are ready to fight. But the enemy being at hand, was it now time to contend? to the prejudice of a whole armie. But now the foresight of the Marshall of *Brittanie*, doth pacifie all vpon this diuision: they receiue two seuerall aduertisements. *S. Albin* of *Cormier* was battered by the *French* with 3. batteries, and yeelded by composition, with their liues & goods saued: a small towne, but furnished with a very good Castle, but at that time vnfurnished of men, victuals & munition: & *Fougeres* yeelded vpon the like accord. *S. Albin* was commanded by *William* of *Rosnewinen*, an ancient F Captaine, who had had a command of men at armes vnder *Charles* the 7. and *Lewis* the 11. but in the warres betwixt *Charles* the 8. and the Duke of *Brittanie*, he returned to serue his naturall Prince. The *Brittons* armie marcheth to recouer this place: & the *French* to preferue their conquests, when as behold there riseth a mutiny among the

A the *Brittaines*. It is secretly murmured, that the *French* Commanders their associates, 1488. had intelligence with the heads of the *French* armie, the which suggestion did euen then hazard all: and if the *Brittons* had beene farther off, without feare of charge, they had easily disbanded. The Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange* aduertised of this conceit, had great paine to worke any other impression. What do they? to giue an assurance of the contrarie, they leaue their horses, and sweare all to fight on foote with the *Brittons* and *Germanes*. A more bold then wise resolution, but necessitie did force them, to appease this mutinie which tended to sedition.

They order their troupes to fight. The Auant-gard to the Marshall of *Rieux*: the B Battaille to the Lord of *Albret*, with some horse to couer his flanks. The reereward to *Chasteaubriant*, and on either side, their carriages of artillerie and baggage to couer some of their foote, being fauoured on their flanke with a small groue betwixt *Saint Albin*, and the village of *Oranges*. And to make the small numbers of strangers seeme great, they attire twelue hundred, (some say, seuteene hundred) *Brittons*, with cat-tails bearing a red crosse, the *English* liuerie. *Lewis* of *Tremouille* in the absence of *Lewis* of *Bourbon* his brother in law, commaunded the Kings armie. Hee giues the C forward to *Adrian del Hospital*, an old *French* Captaine, and famous in this warre: he takes the battaile to himselfe, and giues the reereward to the Marshall of *Baudricourt*, pressed by a more sodaine charge then he expected. *Gabriel* of *Montfauçois* with tenne or twelue horsemen, sent out to obserue the *Brittons* countenance, makes report of C their good order.

The two armies approach, the artillerie thunders, and kils many men of either side: askirmishe continues about two howres, which giues the *French* leysure to order their battaile. The two forewards ioyne, the *Brittons* endure the shooke so courageously, as the *French* yeeld to the resolute valour of the Marshall of *Rieux*, who goes to charge the battaile: at the first they kill *Claude* of *Montfort*, a braue Captaine, sent by the King of *England* to succour the Duke, and the Lord *Scales*, a valliant Knight, with some others of the foremost ranke. *Blaise* a *Germane* Captaine, to couer himselfe from the *French* artillerie, changeth his quarter, marching backe-wise with his barrailon, like vnto a Croissant: but he is sodenly charged in flanke by fower hundred *French* horse, broken, D and many of them slaine. At the same instant, two hundred horse charge those which had the baggage in charge, and force them to retire. The *Brittons* horse that flanked the armie, growes amazed, and leaues the foote naked. They charge them, and force them all giue way, and all flie, some here, some there, the *Brittons* horse into the wood, and likewise their foote. The Duke of *Orleans*, and Earle of *Dunois* fighting unhappely on foote, doe what possibly may be expected, from such gallant Princes, but the Duke flying among the *Germanes* was taken in the wood: the other seeing this generall ouerthrowe, toare of his blacke crosse, the liuerie of *Brittanie*, and hid himselfe among the dead bodies: an Archer (that had beene of his company) knew him, and both of them were led prisoners to *Saint Albin*, whence the Duke of *Orleans* E was soone after carried to the great Tower of *Bourges*. The Marshall of *Brittanie*, and the Lord of *Albret* saued themselves in *Dinan* by the swiftnesse of their horses: All the countesseit *English* with red crosses were slaine without remission.

The Lord of *Leon* (sonne to the Vicont of *Rohan*) *Pont l'Abbé*, the Lord *Scales*, (an *Englishman* issued from that braue *Talbot*), *Montfort* (kinsman to the Prince of *Orange*), with six thousand souldiars of their armie were slaine. *Mosen* *Cralla* (an *English* fauouring of the Iewe) Lord Steward to *Ferdinand* King of *Castill*, and chiefe of the *Spanish* troupes, was taken prisoner. Of the *French*, *James* *Galeot*, a *Napoli* taine, a valliant and renowned Captaine: and others to the number of a thousand or twelue hundred men, but few of any marke. This was on monday, the 28. of *July*. I A day of great import for the State, the which did wonderfully shake the Dukes affaires, being troubled in mind, and his subiects tured with toyle and terror, whereof they follow practises of places, yeelding vp of Townes, and finally, euery one frames himselfe to follow the Conquerors fortune: a day eternising the happy memorie of that Noble

The order of the *Brittons* armie.

The order of the *French*

The battaile at *S. Albin*.

The Duke of *Orleans*, and Earle of *Dunois* taken prisoners.

The cheefe that were slaine.

1488. noble Knight, *Lewis of Tremouille*, great great grandfather to *Claude* Lord of *Tremouille*, now living, Duke of *Thouars*, Prince of *Talmund*, Earle of *Guines*, &c. and of the noble Princessse, *Charlotte Katherine of Tremouille*, Princessse of *Condé*, Countesse of *Taillebourg*, Baronesse of *Suile*, *Craon*, *Boufmiere*, *S. Hermine*, *la Chaise*, in the Vicountie, &c. mother to the most high and mighty Prince *Henry of Bourbon*, Prince of *Condé*, first Prince of the blood, and first peere of *France*, &c. hauing at the age of 25. or 26. yeares, by his incomparable valour and vertue, wonne the honor of so memorable a victory. The next day, the Lord of *Tremouille* turnes towards *Renues*, summons the Towne, and (to terrifie the inhabitants) he lodgeth his armie in the Villages of *Agenné*, *Chasteaugiron*, *Veru*, *S. Supplie*, and others thereabout. The Heralds returne an answer; That the King had no right to the Towne, and that he wrongfully made warre in *Brittanie*; That notwithstanding his forces and happy successe, God the gardian of their right, might well doo vnto him, as he had in former times to King *Iohn* before *Poitiers*, and to *Philip of Valois* at *Creey*. That if *Tremouille* come, he shall find twentie thousand men to resist him.

Dinan yeelds. So the armie leauing *Renues*, marcheth to *Dinan*, vnder the command of the Vicount of *Rohan* *Amaury of Mousay*, gouernour of the Towne, compounds at the first summons, to deliuer it into the Kings hands, vpon the accustomed conditions in like cases: to commit the gard thereof to whom he pleased, and the inhabitants to sweare vnto the King: which done, the *French* armie should retire. On the other side, *Guy* the 15. of that name, Earle of *Laval*, causeth some *French* troupes to enter by night into his Castle of *Stré*, and so they became maisters of the Towne. and by the same meanes he drew his brother *Francis* Lord of *Chasteaubriant*, and *Montplaisant* to the Kings party. The Baron of *Pont-Chasteau*, brother to the Vicount of *Rohan*, followed the example of *Francis* of *Auanguor*, the Dukes base sonne, who had already deliuered the Towne & Castle of *Cliffon* into the Kings hands; and the greatest part of the Nobility followed the same course. Hereafter we shall see a ciuill warre, rather then a forreine. And for the last worthy exploit of this army, *Tremouille* besiegeth *S. Malo*, both Towne & Castle, one of the strongest places in *Brittany*, beautified with a goodly hauen. It was able to hold out against the forces of a mighty army, as well for the feat thereof, as for the fortification: but they easily enter into composition. The Kings affaires aduanced thus, as the Dukes declined: his Maiesty being at *Angers*, hee propounds in counsell whether he should proceed to an absolute conquest of the duchie, seize vpon the dukes person, and his daughters, giue them some pension, and marry them at his pleasure. He wanted no fire-brands in Court, to kindle these combustions, disperfed throughout all *Brittanie*. My Liege (say they) if you once get the father and his daughters into your hands, you shall easily obtaine the whole country, without striking stroke, & reduce the nobility at your discretion. *Guy of Rochefort* Chancellor of *France*, a iust man, and of a good conscience, shewes: That the Duke of *Orleans* retreat into *Brittanie*, had bin the chiefe motive to draw downe the Kings forces. That his Maiesty hauing now the said Duke in his power, the cause ceassing, the effect should cease. That the Duke

Cliffon yeelds. was somewhat to be excused, if by the bond of alliance & affinitie, he had bin intangled in the disgraces of these noble men, fled vnder the shadow of his wing. Moreover, the King had no iust cause, to pursue his owne vassall with such violence, to ruine his estate, to inuade a pupils patrimony, & to spoile her of her grand-fathers inheritance. If the King were not satisfied, to haue the chiefe motives of these confusions in his power: he armed himselfe with a transport made to *K. Lewis*, by the Lord of *Bouffie* and *Nicole* of *Brittanie* his wife: that he must then examine the titles, and appoint men to looke into the rights of the one & the other: if the Kings pretensions were iust, it was in him to put them in execution: if not, the people would exclaime against this violence, and God the protector of the oppressed, would soone or late, raise vp some to reuenge it: for the peoples voyce, is the voyce of God, who cries to Princes; Doe right to the needy and Orphelins: do iustice to the afflicted and poore.

The Kings proposition in Council. The Chancel- lord diuulges him from the inuasion of *Brittanie*. The Duke of *Orleans* retreat into *Brittanie*, had bin the chiefe motive to draw downe the Kings forces. That his Maiesty hauing now the said Duke in his power, the cause ceassing, the effect should cease. That the Duke was somewhat to be excused, if by the bond of alliance & affinitie, he had bin intangled in the disgraces of these noble men, fled vnder the shadow of his wing. Moreover, the King had no iust cause, to pursue his owne vassall with such violence, to ruine his estate, to inuade a pupils patrimony, & to spoile her of her grand-fathers inheritance. If the King were not satisfied, to haue the chiefe motives of these confusions in his power: he armed himselfe with a transport made to *K. Lewis*, by the Lord of *Bouffie* and *Nicole* of *Brittanie* his wife: that he must then examine the titles, and appoint men to looke into the rights of the one & the other: if the Kings pretensions were iust, it was in him to put them in execution: if not, the people would exclaime against this violence, and God the protector of the oppressed, would soone or late, raise vp some to reuenge it: for the peoples voyce, is the voyce of God, who cries to Princes; Doe right to the needy and Orphelins: do iustice to the afflicted and poore.

This aduice made the Lords of the Counsell pause a while, and many in the end conclude: That it was more conuenient to agree vpon Iudges, to decide this contenti-

trouerie judicially. Doubtlesse God holds the heartes of men in suspence, and makes them yeeld to what he pleaseth: But our Countesse of *Beaumen* was not well pleased with this resolution, hoping to haue the Earldome of *Nantes* for her share. They let the Duke vnderstand, what the Counsell had decreed. The crosses, distemperatures, age, and weakenes of iudgement, hindred the apprehension of his affaires. Yet will he deale surely. He chargeth the Earles of *Dunois* and *Cominges*, with offers and submissions to the King. The King refers them to *Verger*, to confide: thereof a house belonging to the Marshall of *Gyé*. Behold there growes great pretensions. The King pretends the proprietie of *Brittanie*, by reason of the grant made by *Bouffie*. The Vicount of *Rohan* did not renounce his interest. Hee descended of *Marie* of *Brittanie*, sister to *Marguerite* the Dukes first wife, the onely heire of *Francis* the first, and *Marie* preceeded the Duke that then was, in degree of blood. But the pittie was, she was a woman.

As for the pretended rights and grants of *Bouffie*, they answered: That the matter had beene fully decided by the treatie made at the Abbie of *Victorie*, and many others: To the Vicount of *Rohan*. That it was ended by the contract of marriage, testaments, and ordinances of Dukes their Predecessors, and decrees of Parliaments. But the King hauing two strings to his bow, like a Conquerour, grew wilfull, and his sister *Beaumen* more then he. If one sayled, the other was readie bent. *Charles* demands the wardship of the Dukes daughters. It was of purpose, that obtaining this wardship, he might marrie *Anne* at his pleasure, being twelue yeares old, and his Sister leueh. This might not be: the Nobilitie would neuer haue endured it. Moreover, *Charles* discouers, that forraigne Princes repined thereat, and were readie to imbrace this quarrell. They must therefore agree vpon Iudges, and a certaine place. Yet leauing nothing of this conquests of *Brittanie*, and being seized of some Townes won by their swords, let the Iudges determine what they will, we will doe what we please. In the end they draw articles. The King accepts them, & sends them to the Duke at *Coyron* vpon *Loire*, wher the Duke remained. He signes the, some willingly, the rest by force: reioying this happines in the end of his daies, to haue changed this wretched war into a publike rest.

So, a peace is concluded, and sworne on either part, the twentieth one of August. The King promiseth to call home all his men at armes, and the Duke to dismishe all strangers: he promiseth to giue the King for hostages, the Lord of *Montplaisant*, *Raimond*, and the sonne of the Lord Steward of *Brittanie*: and within a certaine time, to assemble the Estates of the Countrey, and to make them confirme this treatie. But *Francis* the second of that name, Duke of *Brittanie*, oppressed with greefe, melancholie, and age, and fore bruised with a fall: fallies sicke and dies the ninth of September, leauing the Marshall of *Rieux* gardien of his daughters, the Earle of *Cominges* for an assistant, and *Francis* of *Laval*, Ladie of *Chasteaubriant*, for gouernesse.

Presently after the Dukes decease, the King sends Ambassadors to *Anne* the new Duchesse, who giues her to vnderstand, that the Kings intention was to main- taine the treatie made betwixt his Maiestie, and the Duke deceased: but to make it more firme, it was expedient for her to yeeld in three points to the King. The first: That seeing they were allyed vnto the King, reason would, that hee should haue the gard, or wardshippe, and during their minoritie, the disposing of their landes, and *Suzerainies*. The second: That Commissioners appointed should decide their contentie, touching the principalitie of *Brittanie*, by the first day of Ianuarie next ensuing: and in the meane time, neither the one, nor the other, should carie the name nor the authoritie of a Duchesse, nor receaue the oath of fealitie. The third: That all strangers should void the Countrey, as was conteyned in their covenant. *Anne* makes answer: that shee desires to satisfie the treatie betwixt the King and her deceased Father, without any other conditions: And for confirmation of her words, shee calls a Parliament the 29. of December following, as the Duke was bound, to haue them ratifie the conuentions of peace. In the meane time there were robberies, taking of ransoms, massacres, thefts, desolation of the Countrey,

1489. sale of Townes, euen as in open warres.

New troubles
by the Vi-
count of
Rohan.

The Brittons
ouercome.

Fougeres
taken.

The pittifull
estate of Brit-
tanie.

The Vicount of *Rohan* labored to winne the Townes by sweet wordes, and amiable letters, hee shewes vnto them the miseries of this warre, far from any end, by the de- cease of their Duke: that at his request, the King had retyred his armie, attending, if the Nobilitie and commons, would put themselves into the hands of the said *Rohan*, vnder whose commaund his Maiestie ment they should remaine, other wise he was ready to reduce the obstinate to reason by force. *Rennes*, *Guingamp* and others: (to whom he had particularly writtē) answered. That neither they nor the rest, can or ought acknow- ledge any other commander then the Duchesse: to whom during her fathers life, and since his decesse they were bound by oath. Moreouer they were aduertised that the King was resoluēd to entertaine a peace with their Princesse, in the same manner as had bin accorded. They beseech him to rest satisfied with this answer, vntill they be infor- med of the Duchesse intention, of the Counsels, and the Marshall of *Rieux*: and in the meane time, to haue the good of the Country, and the peace in recomendation. This answer puts the Vicount into chol- ler, and the Earle of *Quintin* his brother thrusts him on, being desirous to be reuenged for the often taking, and spoiling of his Towne. Hee goes to field with his troupe, and neere vnto *Pontrieu* hee encounters some men gather- red together, with an intent to go to succour the Duchesse: hee dorth charge them, de- feats them, and kills a part of them, being abandoned by some gentlemen that condu- cted them: then he takes & sackes *Pontrieu* and *Chasteaulin* vpon *Tricuf*, and so makes his way to *Guincamp*. He summons *Chero* & *Gouicquet* Captaines, to yeeld the Towne. C They answer, that they will not obey him, so long as there shall be a Duke or Duchesse in *Brittanie*. Vpon this refusall, he sends a Captain called *S. Pierre*, Seneschal of *Tholose* & *la Forest* to belegar it: who being repulsed out of the suburbs of *Treguer*, takes them of *Montbareil* and *Pontauquen*, spoile and burne them, and *Rohan* being aduerted, hee takes the suburbs of *S. Croix*. then he lodgeth in *Montbareil*, from whence he discou- reth the whole Towne so plainly, as hee might shoote point blanke into the market place: he burnes a part of the suburbs, & lodgeth his artillerie; he plants another bat- terie in the *Taubins* garden, to batter the curtain of the wall betwixt the ports of *Renes*, and *Fontanie*, and hee makes a breach, but not sufficient, yet hee giues an assault, and is repulsed. The next day he changeth his batterie, and plants it at the vpper end of the D friers garden: hee plays a whole day, beats downe a part of the wall, betwixt the Ports of *Montbareil* and *Treguer*: he offers a second assault, but it was as valiantly defended, as allailed. *Gouicquet* thrust into the thigh with a pike, is carried out of the fight. The night brings counsell, & those which had withstood 2. assaults, will be vnable for the 3. being now weakned of one of their chiefe supports, who was made vnable to serue, by rea- son of his hurt: morning being come, a truce is graunted, to take aduice of their Du- chesses. *Rohan* presseth it, & the Captaines seeing their men decayed in number as well by the taking of the suburbs, as at the two assaults, cōpound for ten thousand Crownes to the Generall to retire his armie, and to receiue them into his protection, promising E to furnish victuals and munition for the siege of *Concq*, the which he had charge from the King to besiege, and for want of present money, by reason of the losses sustained by the warre, to giue hostages. But this parle was friuolous. During which time Captaine *Boissel* declares himselfe for the French, seizeth of the gate of the Tower *Quentic*, and brings in the Earle of *Quintin*, (who gaped onely for reuenge of this place) hee takes and spoiles the Towne, and ransomes the inhabitants, and amongst them Captaine *Chero*: *Gouicquet* saues himselfe at *la Roche de Rien*. This chanced the 23. of Ianuarie, after fīue dayes siege. *Concq* yeelds vpon the approach: and *Brest* followed, a most strong place, and the key of all the Countie.

Thus *Ploermel*, *Chasteaubriant*, *Malestroit*, *Vitré*, *Fougeres*, *S. Malo*, *Dinan*, *S. Aubin*, *Guingamp*, *Concq*, *Brest*, and other places, are in the Kings power. The Nobilitie dis- possessed for the most part of their best places, shroud themselves vnder the conque- rors: there is small hope of succours. The English are diuided amongst themselves.

The

1489.

A the King of the *Romains* hath worke at home, and those small succours that come from both, preuaile nothing: there is no money in the Treasury, the Souldiers are not paid, the Crowne is worth eight Frankes: *Anne* is forced to sell of her reuenues for the maintenance of her house: and to aggrauate theise mischieties, her counsell is greatly diuided about her maiage. The Marshall of *Rieux*, and the Lady of *Lauah*, hold for *Alan* of *Albret*: but she will none of him. She protests, that what soeuer she had done in her fathers life, was in respect of him, being loth to disobey him, or to cause his grieles; and causeth the said protestation to be signified vnto him. The Chancellor & the Earle of *Cominges*, support her against the Marshall: he flies to armes, and besie- geth the Chancellor at *Guerrende*, (being seized of *Annes* person, to keepe her from B falling into his hands, who would marry her against her will, where he pleased,) but he could not enter. All these confusions made an easie way to the King, for the exe- cution of his enterprises.

Being thus oppressed, she sends to her allies, the Kings of *England*, *Castile* and *Ro- manes*: the English succours her (and in a manner beyond her expectation) with an army of nine or ten thousand men, vnder the command of *Chene* Master of the horse, accompanied with the Comptroller, and Ambassador of *England*: not for any ha- tred he bare vnto the King, but for feare of too mighty a neighbour, if hee vnted this goodly Prouince to the Crowne. The Marshall of *Rieux*, (hauing an other meaning apart, seeking to tye the English commanders vnto him, and to draw them to his fac- C tion, sends the master of the horse of *Brittanie*, and the Lord of *Kaëron*, to *Penmarch*, to receiue this Ambassador, and to offer him a conuoy to go to the Duchesse, (who to haue this armie neere vnto her person, makes it to land at *Croisie*, a port neere vnto *Guerrende*.) And to haue the people at his deuotion, *Rieux* giues out, that the Earles of *Dunnis* and *Cominges*, the Chancellor and others, had laied a plot to deliuer the Duchesse to the King of *France*. *Anne* fortified with this new supply, goes to field, desirous her selfe (being a Virgin) to attend the Marshall of *Rieux*, if he presented him- selfe: and being preuented of her entry into *Nantes*, by the Marshall, shee retires to *Rennes*, to giue order for the recovery of *Guingamp*. For this effect, she assembles some troupes, being assured that the French garrison could not be sodenly releued, the D Kings armie being imploied farre off in the conquest of the Townes of base *Brittaine*. These troupes were seized of *Pontrieu*: and to stop the courses of *Guingamp*, had sent some Gentlemen, with a number of the common people. Those of *Guingamp*, incu- ter them, charge them, ouerthrow them, & kill many of the chiefe gentlemen of note, *William* of *Rostrenen*, Lord of *Breledi*, *Yvon* of *Ploesqueler*, *Seigneur* of *Kaërgabin*, *Yvon* of *Lesuerault*, *Kaërloët*, *Pontglou*, *Kaerneckyon*, *Potloy*, *Pregent* the eldest sonneto the Lord of *Lanchriou*, and an infinite number of the commons. They presently take *Pontrieu*, sack it, and burne it. This was the 7. of Aprill.

The next day, *Gouicquet* aduertised that about 1500. men of the English armie, ap- E peared at the Isle of *Brehat*, he went vnto them, and so wrought with the commanders, as they landed at *Pontrieu*. The French, hauing notice hereof, being about 1500. horse, being loth to ingage their honours in a place not to be held, without succours, and ill furnished with victuals and munition, they set fire of many places of the towne, carry away what they can, exact 12. thousand crownes of the inhabitants, and retire them- selves, leading eight hostages, for the security of fifty thousand Frankes, granted by the inhabitants to the Vicount of *Rohan*. This English armie was presently followed by another of Spaniards, commanded by *Don Diego Peres* of *Sarmiento* Earle of *Salmas*, con- sisting of 2000. men at armes, and a great number of foote. Now *Anne* is strong, for- tified with two new armies, and the king feares, that in steed of inuading another mans country, he shall be forced to defend his owne. To preuent all danger, he fortifies his F frontiers, & sends *Francis* of *Luxembourg* Vicount of *Martignes*, & *Charles* of *Marigni*, to *Henry* the 7. K. of *England*, to draw him from the alliance of *Brittany*, considering his bound vnto the King, by whose meanes he was installed in the royall throne: but they were fruitlesse admonitions. The King calls for his Nobilitie, and all his companies of

Ccc 4

ordinary;

Anne succour-
red by the
English and
Spanish.

1489. ordinary; and resolves to enter *Brittaine* with the greatest forces of his Realme. In the meane time he puts two thousand foure hundred foote into *Chastillon*, and *Prouence*: *John of Bellay*, with his company of fortie Lances into *Brest*. Into *Coneq* *Claude of Montauson* and *Bongars* Capitaine of foote, with artillery, victuals and munition: and foure thousand *French* and *Suisses* were distributed into *Dinan*, *Fougères*, *Saint Malo*, and *Vitré*. But this was not sufficient to assure these places: a man of seruice doth oftentimes import more, then the whole bodie of a Towne. He therefore practiseth with *John of Quellenec*, Vicont of *Fou*, Admirall of *Brittaine*, by the meanes of the Vicont of *Rohan*. This Admirall armes some shippes, to keepe the *Brittons* from besieging of *Brest* by sea, and *Maurice de Mené* (of whome we haue made some mention) with the Lord of *Chastel* (newly reduced to the Kings seruice, by the Lord of *Kaerisac*) tooke the gard of the sea coast, to hinder the enemies landing. In the meane time the *Brittons* lodge their strangers at *Lamballe*, and assemble all into one bodie. The Marshall of *Rieux*, impatient to haue bene left Tutor vnto *Anne* by testament, and not to haue her in his possession: being too weak to take her by force in regard of *Alain*, hee seeks to the *English*, and sends *Sourdeac* to *Henry*, to let him vnderstand that *Albret* might assist him much in the recouery of *Guienne*. That it were good to binde him vnto him by the marriage of *Anne* of *Brittaine*, and to sequester those from her that were opposite. If he please, hee hath the meanes to drawe her into his Capitaines power, vnder colour to perswade her to visit these great and goodly succours, that were come to serue her.

The Admirall of *Brittaine* for the King.

The Marshall of *Rieux* seeks to win the *English*.

Yet could he not preuaile, in this point. She had already conceived some jealousy of the *English*, for her Treasorer (carrying them six thousand Crownes, which they had required, attending their pay,) had discovered, that they treated with the Kings men, & that they were now in speech of a truce. Being moued here with, she doth aduertise *Henry*, & beseecheth him to giue order, beleeuing that this dealing was not with his consent. She complains moreover, that the Marshall of *Rieux* detayned *Nantes*, from her kept her reuenues; placed, and displaced her officers. Beseeching the King, to command the Lieutenants of his army, to giue no support nor fauour vnto *Rieux* against her: but to pursue him as a rebell, and disobedient to his Princess, attempting against her and her authority. *Henry* wonne by the Marshall, assures the Duchesse of the continuance of his great loue, and that hee will answer at large to that which her Ambassadors had propounded, by some that hee would send vnto her. In the meane time, he desires his army should go to *Rennes*, or that she might go to them: to the ende she might visibly see, if those forces were sufficient to succour her. And he giues her to vnderstand by *Yusbourche* Secretary of state, that he had sent his army to succour her against all men: and especially against *Rieux*: so as the army with the commanders may come to her to *Rennes*, or that she may go to the army, as she shall thinke best. A grosse policie, easily discovered at the first sight, that this was but a practise to put her and the chiefe of her Counsell into strangers hands, to rule her at their pleasure. *Anne* findes this condition of hard digestion. And *Henry* fearing, least this distrust should make her to sue for an accord with the King; aduerteth, that the surest meanes to fortifie the Duchesse partie against the *French*, was the Marshalls reconciliation with her: and wrought therein so politicly, that by mediation of *John of Coëtman* and other Noblemen of *Brittaine*, an accord was made betwixt the Duchesse, the Earle of *Comingen*, and others of that party: with the Lords of *Albret* and *Rieux*, & the Lady of *Lanville*. So as in the beginning of January all quarrells were pacified, and all were vnitd in the common seruice of their Country.

The Marshall reconciled to the Duchesse.

England in posture.

During this treaty of re-union, the Marshall well informed that *Brest* and *Coneq* wanted both munition & victuals, went to beseege the fortresse of *Brest* by land, with his troups, & by sea with three score *Britton* shippes. & the *English* went to *Coneq*. The King knowing how much these places did import, sends *S. Pierre* and *Chazeron* with five thousand foote, to ioyne with the forces of *Rohan*, *Saint André*, the Seneschals of *Loz* and *Caracassonne*: and to draw forth part of the garrisons of *Vitré*, *Fougères* and

A and *Dinan*; and five and twenty shippes by sea, which put all the galleys of *Brittaine* to flight; and after their example, the army at land retires so hastily, as they leaue part of their Cannon wherewith the Towne was furnished, victualed, and releued with fresh men: and *Coneq* likewise was freed from the seige of the *English*. Winter approached, and the cold & raynie wether forced both armies to leaue the field. And therefore a newe truce was concluded, during the which, Iudges should be appointed to examine the interest of all parties: who for that effect should be sent to *Avignon*, a newe Towne, and they should name a newe Prince (who according to the report of the Iudges) should decide the controuersie. *Maximilian* was chosen. Doubtlesse it was a folly to dispend much in spies, and want good intelligence. The King being vpon the point to consummate his marriage with the Arch-dukes daughter, relied on him. But in whose fauour should he giue sentence, being in no good tearmes with the King: and hoping on the other side to ioyne vnto his ordinarie titles, the quality of Duke of *Brittaine*: *Charles* and *Anne* send their deputies vnto him, who are referred to *Francford*. The Iudges come, and pronounce a sentence, but not definitiue: That the King should deliuer all such places as he held, vnto the Duchesse, except *S. Aubin*, *Cormier*, *Dinan*, *Fougères*, and *Saint Malo*, which should be sequestred into the hands of *Maximilian*, and the Duke of *Bourbon*: to yeeld them vnto him to whome the Duchie should be adiudged: and all *Frenchmen* that bare armes, should leaue the Country, and the Duchesse likewise should dismis the *English* and other strangers. Taking a newe assignation at *Tournay*, to iudge continually of the cause, but all this was but to winne time, *Maximilian* makes his peace with the King, for his owne regard, whereby many places he held in *Flanders* were deliuered: and during these treaties, *Isabell* the sister of *Anne* of *Brittaine* dies at *Rennes*, the x. of June.

Truce accorded.

Maximilian made Arbitrator betwixt King *Charles* and *Anne* of *Brittaine*.

Isabell sister to *Anne* of *Brittaine* dies.

Anne married to *Maximilian*.

Newe cause of warre.

Anne remayning sole heire, the King of *Romains* loue increased, and the Duchesse desire to bee supported against the King made her willingly to yeeld. And for that *Maximilian* could not go in person, he deposes the Earle of *Nassau*, *Wolfgang* Baron of *Pohem* in *Austria*, *James Condebaux* his Secretary, and *Lopian* Stuard of his house, with authority, to treat, and conclude the marriage and to wed the sayd Duchesse. Notwithstanding the truce, no man will leaue his hold, neyther will the King giue ouer the places hee holds, nor the Duchesse dismis her strangers: but some part of them, and puts the rest into garrisons. She sends not to *Avignon*, fearing perhaps the surprize of her writings. The garrison of *Nantes* runnes ouer *Poitou*, *Anjou*, and other Countie. The Kings troups commit the like acts of hostility. Some *Germanes* enter into *Brittaine*. The Chancellor of *Montauban* goes to sollicite in *England*. *Charles* will haue *Anne* first to discharge her *English* and *Castilians*. *Anne* replies, that in like sort he ought by the treaty of *Francford*, to yeeld her her places, & to leaue the other foure as before mentioned, as newters. She imputes the spoiles of *Nantes*, to the former diuisions betwixt her and the Marshall of *Rieux*: and promieth that hereafter the like insolencies shall not be committed. That the *Germanes* comming was onely to force some of her subiects to obedience. That the Chancellors going to the King of *England*, was to agree vpon the charges due for the succors he had sent. That in truth, seeing the King to make newe preparations to the prejudice of their treaty, shee had giuen the Chancellor commission to treat for some succors of men. The King is discontented herewith, so as *Gueméné* and *Coëquen* her Ambassadors retorne with no other answer but a newe assignation at *Tournay*. In the meane time the King armes, and makes great preparations at *Pont-See*. *Anne* serues him with the same fauce. Shee solicits the Kings of *England* and *Castille*, and her newe spouse, to ioyne their forces, and to inuade *France* with a mighty army. Hee that cannot circumuent his enemy with the Lions skime, must vse the Foxes. *Charles* is aduertised of his newe alliance of *Austria* and *Brittaine*. The neighbourhood is dangerous, being thus fortified. He must auoide this, and by some meanes get that for himselfe, which an ill neighbour pretends. Hee therefore sends to treat with the Duchesse, but she cannot affect him, that had she wedd himselfe to violent an enemy. Yet he finds an other expedient.

Alain

King *Charles* seeks to haue *Anne* to wife.

1490.

Alain of *Albret* was frustrated of his hopes, and this deniall had mightily discontented him: he was therefore easily drawne away. The Duke of *Bourbon* gouernes him so absolutely for a time, that vpon certain promises and other preferments, he winnes him for the King, who promiseth to deliuer him the Towne of *Nantes*: wherein hee might doe much, being armed with the Marshall of *Rieux* fauour. The effects follow: *Alaine* surpriseth the Castell of *Nantes*, and in hatred of *Annes* disdaine, he spoiles the Treasurie of the Dukes of *Brittaine*, in the which were all their pretious stones, and the Duchesses Jewels, and deliuers both Towne and Castell into the Kings hands, yielding him the right hee pretended to the Duchie, by reason of his wife *Francis* of *Brittaine*, daughter to *William* Vicont of *Limoges*, a younger brother of the house of *Ponthieure*, for a pension of six hundred pounds a yeare, issuing out of the lands of *B. Gaure*, neere *Theloufe*, wherunto the Chamber of Accoumpts at *Paris*, with the Kings Proctor generall, and the inhabitants of *Gaure* opposed, maintaining, that there was no recompence due to the Lord of *Albret* for that interest, seeing he had none.

Nantes taken
for the French

The King (who was in *Sentinell*) marcheth thether in person with his armie, the 4. of *April*, hoping now to finish this warre, and to send home the *English*. He marcheth, with an intent to besiege *Anne* in *Rennes*, whether this new terror had drawne her. But they had so sodenly pestred all the approches with numbers of trees cut out off the neerest Forrest, as they were forced to giue ouer that enterprife, to vndertake the siege of *Guingamp*, being the key of base *Brittaine*. The inhabitants were reduced to extreame pouertie, hauing lodged the *English* armie almost a yeare, who for want of payment, had spoiled them of all their goods, and left it ill garded with men for defence. *Tremonille* Lieutenant for the King, had this charge, who sent *Adrian l'Hospital* before, with part of the armie, to beleagar the place. At his approche the inhabitants demanded a composition: the Lieutenant receiues them, with assurance of life and goods. But in his absence, he cannot saue the towne from spoile.

Guingamp
taken.

Then fell out the appointment for *Tournai*: *Anne* sends sixteene Deputies, who findes the gates shut against them, and no lodging but in the Suburbes: the King disdaineth this treaty, hauing intelligence of the marriage of *Maximilian* with *Anne*: foreseeing, that from this stock might spring a plant, which hereafter might crosse his estate. *Maximilian* was now much moued for the taking of *Nantes*: the Emperour *Frederick*: his father held a Diet at *Noremberg*, to prouide some meanes to recouer this losse, and to encounter the French forces. The Princes of *Germanie* promise him twelue thousand *Lausquenets*, which the Colonell *George of Terreplaine* should bring to him by August following. The King of *England* should augment this armie with a leuie of six thousand *English*. But the discord that fell out betwixt these two Princes, and the tediousnesse of the *Germanes*, who are wonderfull heauie, gaue the King meanes to effect his desire, and to supplant *Maximilian*.

The Duke of
Orleans freed
from prison.

Anne much
discontented
with King
Charles.

At that time the King freed the Duke of *Orleans* from prison, and by the same meanes the Prince of *Orange* and the Earle of *Dunois* were reconciled vnto him. These men were great meanes to put the King in *Maximilians* place, being onely married by a Deputie. The Countsell found no better expedient, to quench all these quarrells and troubles. But the Duchesse was strange: what meanes is there (saith she) to loue a Prince, who these three yeares hath made such cruell warres against mee? being a pupill and vnder age? Who detaynes my Townes vniustly? Who spoiles my subiects? Doth outrage and kill my Officers, vpon refusall to pay him my rents and reuenues? Who (notwithstanding former transactions passed betwixt vs) spoiles my Country, makes desolate my Townes: and hath sought tyrannically to seize vpon my person.

It was needfull to imploy many great personages to pacifie this discontented minde. The King sends the Duke of *Orleans* to that ende, who cunningly doth practise the Marshall of *Rieux*, the Chancellor of *Montauban*; and others of the Countsell; with the Ladie of *Laval* (gouernesse to the Duchesse,) and other Ladies her familiars, who both publickly and priuately lay before her her forepassed dangers, the miseries in the

which

A which her subiects had bene plunged through warre: the neighbourhood of so mightie a King, who would continually oppress her; and the farre distance of *Maximilian*, a poore Prince, full of affaires, and of small credit, who hath no meanes to raise her, neither could he erer succor her with about two thousand men. That she had no better meanes to purchase rest to her selfe and peace to her subiects, then by imbracing the alliance of King *Charles*, whereby she should not onely recouer her places, but of a Duchesse of *Brittaine*, should become a peaceable Queene, and well beloued of the whole Realme. If they were both married, it was but by Attorneyes, finally, in such accidents, the Church doth willingly dispence with such couenants not personally performed, to preuent the miseries that growe by warre.

1491.
Her Countsell
perswade her
to imbrace
the alliance of
France.

Maximilian was farre off, vnacquainted with these practises, no man sought to preuent it: and these perswasions did ring dayly in the eares of *Anne*, so as in the ende shee yeelds to follow the resolution of her states. They were wonderfully toyled and wearied with the warre, the people turmoyled, the Nobility impouerished, the Clergy oppressed, some Townes taken, and some waiering; and moreover they did see a great Prince demand their allyance with force, and the chiefe Noblemen inclyned to the French faction. These reasons made it seeme more conuenient, and to be preferred before the slowe succors of *Maximilian*.

This was *Anne* Duchesse of *Brittain* perswaded, and a peace concluded and ratified by a happy and agreeable treaty of marriage, by the which (to maintayne the subiects of the Country in peace that were armed for eyther side) it was sayd. That all exploits and offences committed and done vpon assurance, or otherwise, during the warres on eyther side should be forgotten, and remayne without reproch to any, as remitted, abolished, and recompensed: every man should returne to his home, and all soldiars depart the Countrey. A wise aduice to mainetaine these two Countries in loue and concord. The Cittie of *Rennes* yeelds at this happie composition, where the King entred in November; vpon the assurance and conduct of the Duke of *Orleans*, with his simple traine, and without any men at armes, (for so it was agreed) to see the Duchesse and to raise the treaty, making the Prince of *Orange* (for that he had bene a chiefe instrument in this busines) his Lieutenant generall in *Brittaine*: then he tooke the way to *Langais* in *Touraine*, whether *Anne* was conducted by the Chancellor *Montauban*, Coetquen Lord Steward, and by the Lord of *Chasteaubriant*, and the marriage was consummated the 16. day of December.

A small peace
in Brittain
by a treaty of
marriage.

The articles of the contract are to be seene in the Originalls. If this marriage were pleasing to God or not, let vs leaue it to the iudicious reader: so it is, that of three ionnes they could not bring vp one. Soone after *Francis* of *Orleans* Earle of *Dunois* died, the chiefe fierbrand of this warre, and likewise the principall motiue of this peace. From him are issued the Dukes of *Longueville*; and a little before *John* the second Duke of *Bourbon* was deceased, without Children, to whome succeeded *Peter* Earle of *Beauieu*, who hereafter shall be Duke of *Bourbon*, the eleuenth of that name.

The marriage
to Charles with
Anne.

This yeare was borne *Gaston* of *Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, sonne to *John* of *Foix*, Vicont of *Narbone*, and of *Mary* of *Orleans*; one of the greatest Capitaines of his age, who shall giue ample testimonie of himselfe in the warres of *Italie*, which now we approach. There died also at *Rome*, *Peter* of *Foix*, Cardinall, brother to the sayd *John*, and Vicie to Queene *Katherine* of *Nauarre*. *Henry* of *England*, wonderfully incensed at this marriage, sought by all secret practises to surprize some of the chiefe places of the Province: and at the first retreat of his army out of *Brittaine*, hee caused it to make an offer at *Port-blans*, and some other ports, but they were still repulsed by the faithfull care of the Noblemen of the Country: namely by the Chancellor of *Montauban*, of *Bertrand d'Acigné*, and other sea Capitaines. Thus the *Englishmen* seeing their attempts like to take none effect, bent their course to go towards *Calais*, in the company of their King: who was making warre in the Countie of *Gumes*, whilst that *Maximilian* should enter the Realme, with forces on the other side: then

The practises
of the English
vpon Brittain.

1492. then they besieged *Boullen* by sea, being kept from landing by the Lord of *Cordes*, A and the bastard of *Cardonne*, Captaine of *Arras*, with such small forces as they could suddenly oppose.

But oh Bastard, whilest thou repellst this common enemy, how prejudiciall shall they absence be from *Arras*? Four young gallants (saith the history) make false keyes to the gates, and give *Maximilian* intelligence, bringing him by night into the Towne, unknowne to *Carqueleant*, Lieutenant to *Cardonne*. Some write that one of those, in whom he trusted for the opening of the gates, made this Stratagem. But (howsoever) he was taken in his bed sleeping at his ease; and for a second token of base cowardise, he yeelded up the Castle, without attending the succors that came unto him. The Towne was spoiled, without sparing of the Churches, or the traitors houses. A worthy reward of their treachery. Thus can we preferre our Conquests.

A while after they attempted *Amiens*. A shame to soldiers; that a woman should heare the first report, & that by her advertisement to the watch, in ringing the great bell of *Bessroy*, should put the Towne in armes. And as the first aduice came from a woman, so are they honorable qualified in the history. To haue borne weapons and armes with their husbands, who by the care and command of *Rubempré* and of *Anthoine Clabault*, Maire of the Towne, did their duties so well (euery one repaying to the quarter, which had bene formerly assigned him) as the enemy returned amazed. A duty which made them as famous; as their descendants infamous, by the notable treachery they committed in our dayes. *Henry* loued peace, and was imbarke more at the instance of his subiects (least they should thinke him more gracious to the French then the ancient quarrells of both nations required) then for any desire he had, to haue the King his enemy, to whom he had a great and strict bond, as we haue heard. The chiefe cause of his grudge was a great sum of money, which he sayd he had lent to the deceased Duke of *Brittaine*. The King hauing discovered it, commands the Lord of *Cordes* to treat with him, and payes him the money: and so sends him home satisfied into *England*.

Peace with
Henry.

And with
Maximilian.

This peace made *Maximilian* willing to bee reconciled. Moreouer the Princes of *Germanie* laboured in this pacification, and the affaires of the Empire, in the which his father had associated him, since the yeare 1486. began to call him. The *Swisses* D laboured it, and the people, especially those of the Lowe Countrye (as well through the French warres, as by their owne private diuisions) were so toiled, as they detested the warres. In the end, a peace was concluded for foure yeares onely, by the meanes of the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Lord of *Cordes*. So he receiued his daughter *Marguerit* againe, with the Counties of *Artois* and *Bourgogne*, receiuing the reuenues and homages, and the King keeping the Castles, to place garrisons in them, vntill the end of foure yeares. Behold this estate doth now enioy a happy rest, by the vnion of this goodly and great Duchie, to the Crowne of *France*, and by a peace confirmed with *Henry* and *Maximilian*. But as *Charles* had enlarged his Diadem, with this new acquisition, so the vrgent importunitie of his Scholemaster, *Lewis* of *Ambosie*, E Bishop of *Albi*, and of Doctor *Maillard*, made him to restore the Counties of *Roussillon*, and *Perpignan*, too religiously vnto *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, the which *Lewis* the x. his Father had gotten, hoping by this meanes to tie the Spaniard to a perpetuall peace. What should *Charles* do then with his Nobility and his youth, he being young, vigorous and of no idle complexion? Now a great desire makes him to cast his eyes beyond the Alpes, and thrusts him to the conquest of goodly and rich Estates. But let vs examine the causes and proceedings farther off.

The first motive of the
voiage of
Italy.

We haue sayd before, that *René* Duke of *Lorraine* was in Court, and demanded restitution of the Duchie of *Bar*, and the County of *Prouence*. During his abode, the Realme of *Naples* being reuoluted, the Nobility and the three estates of the Realme, F put themselves vnder the Protection of the Church; as holding of it in fee. The Pope sends for *René*, to inuict him in the Realme, vpon some right which he pretended. The Gallies of *Gennes* attended him: the Cardinall of *Saint Pierre* was there to conduct him,

A him, and men from all the Noble men of the Country prest him therunto where they expected him so long, as the Pope was forced to make an agreement with *Ferdinand*, being assisted by the *Florentines*. Vpon assurance of this accord, which the Pope, the *Venitians*, the King of *Spaine*, and the *Florentines* had sworne, and were bound to see obserued, the Barons of the Realme returne home to their houses, and were all taken prisoners. The Prince of *Salerne* cheefe of the house of *Saint Seuerin* escapes, and three of his Nephewes with him, sonnes to the Prince of *Basignan*, who retire them selues to *Venice*, and demands of the *Seigneurie* what refuge they would wish them to choofe, to the Duke of *Lorraine*, or to the Kings of *France* or of *Spaine*. The *Venitians* answer. That the Duke of *Lorraine* was a dead man, vnable to support so heauie a burthen. B That the King of *Spaine* was already strong at sea, and the realmes of *Naples* and *Sicilie* would make him too mighty, that they had liued in good correspondency with the Kings of *France*, who in former times had possessed the said realmes. The delays of the *Lorraine*, being but poore, made the thus to qualifie him long for he wanted neither courage nor valour. They were ialous of the Neighbourhood of a mightie Prince, and did not consider that to call in a King of *France* to these Estates, was the meanes to ruine them. So they passe into *France*, where the affaires of *Brittaine* held them about two yeares in their pursute. One called *Stephen de Vers*, a man of base sort, who had serued the King well in his infancie, as a grome of his chamber, and now made *Seneschall* of *Beaucaire* and President of the Accountsof *Paris*, with the Generall *Brissonnet*, afterwards Cardinall, ruled their master.

The *Neapolitains* gouerne them, and they imbarke him in this voiage, who of himselfe was flexible. The wisest dissuade him, as a dangerous enterprife for the French, and alwayes farall: He wanted all necessarie things. The King was yong, and weake of complexion, he hath few good Commanders, and fewer wise men: no money, and himselfe wilfull, the best was he had a gallant Nobilitie and yong, but ill commanded, nothing obedient, and too wilfull, like to their head, the which notwithstanding purchased to the King an immortall glorie. The leading and returne of this army doubtlesse was the worke of heauen. Before his departure, *Charles* requires ayde and Counsell of the *Venitians*. Aide we cannot giue you (saie they) for feare of the Turke, yet were D they in peace with him, and the Turke then reigning, was of small reputation. As for counsell, it were presumption for vs to counsell so wise a King, assisted with so good counsel notwithstanding we wil helpe you rather then hurt you, and you shalbe very welcome.

The motives of the voiage of Naples.

Wants for this voiage.

In truth GOD will haue vs confesse, that neither the wit nor pollicy of man can disappoint that which his eternall prouidence had decreed. This succeeded otherwise then that common weale expected, first they conceiued not, that the King would undertake this voiage in person. Moreouer they hoped to be reuenged of this house of *Arragon*, whome they hated exceedingly, imputing it to *Ferdinand*, as the means to drawe downe *Mahomet Othoman*, who conquered *Constantinople*, and had done many outrages to the *Venitians*: and *Alphonse* sonne to the said *Ferdinand* had stirred up the Duke of *Ferrare*, to make that chargeable warre against them, the which had almost ruined them: to haue sent a man to *Venice* to poison their celskernes, with many other complaints which they framed against this house. But the chiefe motive was for that by their meanes they could not extend their dominions, as wel in *Italy* as in *Greece*. Thus they thought to vse the King as a scourge to whip their enemy, but not to ruine him, and by their shipwracke to haue meanes to seaze vpon some Townes in *Apulia* lying vpon the gulfes: as it happened.

This was one motive to transport the French forces beyond the Alpes. An other was, that *Bonne* a daughter of *Sauoie* & widow to *Iohn Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, a woman both without honor and iudgement, was chiefly gouerned by a Secretarie of hers named *Chico* bred vp in that house, and by her Caruer, *Antonie Tassinio*. *Chico* to assure the estate of the yong Duke *Iohn Galeas*, sonne to the said *Iohn*, had expelled all his fathers brethren, vncles to the Sonne: and among the rest *Lodowike Sforce*; and *Robert* of *Saint Seuerin*, sonne of a bastard Daughter of the house of *Saint Seuerin*: *Tassinio* D d d. (who

1493. (who had a great interest in his Ladies bed and fauour) calles them home with her consent. Being returned they take *Chico*, and against their promise to offer him any violence, they put him in a pipe, and dragging him through the City of *Milan*, send him prisoner to *Paule*, where he died, & they modestly dismissed *Tasino Lodowicke* and *Robert*, freed from these two obstacles, fortifie them selues neere the Duchesse, and euen then did *Lodowicke* practise to vsurpe the Duchie of *Milan*. For the first fruits of this proiect they sequester the two sonnes of *Bonne* and lodge them in the Castell, and seize vpon the Treasor (which was then held to be the greatest in Christendome). They make three keys, whereof thee kept one, but they had the gard of all. They force her to renounce the wardship, and *Lodowicke* was created Tutor. This was not all, the Castell was carefully kept, and the Captaine went not without the turnepikes. *Lodowicke* and *Robert* were not admitted, but with one or two followers. But two great Princes cannot raigne long together in one State without ieaousie. *Lodowicke* supplants *Robert*, & puts him from all gouernment. Thus *Lodowicke* commands *Milan* absolutely, and *Robert* serues the *Venetians*: yet *Galeas* and the Earle of *Caiazza*, children to *Robert*, shall returne and doe *Lodowicke* good seruice in the State of *Milan*. Then began *Lodowicke* to increase in authority, grauing the Dukes picture on the one side of their coyne, and his owne on the other, not without the muttering of many, namely of *Isabell* the wife of *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, sonne to *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, as proud and haughtie a woman, as her husband was weake of iudgement and without courage. This repyning made *Lodowicke* hasten his resolution. And thus he proceeded: when the Duke went forth of the Castell, his brother remained within, and *Lodowicke* conducting him home, the captaine did vsually come forth vpon the bridge to receiue him. One day among the rest *Lodowicke* staies him purposely a little without the bridge, to drawe forth the Captaine, whome *Galeas* and the Earle *Caiazza* seize vpon, and on such as followed him. They within drawe the bridge, *Lodowicke* lights a candle, & swears to cut off their heads that were in his power, if they yeeld not the place before the light be burnt: The which they do. He enters, and placeth men at his pleasure: he putts the Captaine in prison: arraignes him, vpon colour that he meant to deliuer vp the Castell to the Emperour. He staies some *Germaines*, and makes them beleue, that they treated in fauour of the house of *Austria*, which of old time pretended some right to the Duchie: yet afterwards both he & they were set at liberty. *Lodowicke* is now master of the fort. He must seeke means to maintaine this vsurpation: yet least he should growe too odious, he makes all dispatches in that name of *John Galeas* Duke of *Milan* his Nephew, a Duke in name only, but he in effect. In the meane time *Isabell* sollicit her father and Grandfather, to reuenge the iniustice and tyrannie of *Lodowicke*. *Lodowicke* vnderstood well, that this acte would offend many Princes: that his intolent and not accustomed exaction of money made his name odious to all the people of the Duchy: and that *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* with his sonne *Alphonso* would not faile to embrace the quarrell and right of *John Galeas* and of their *Isabell*. To crosse them, he cunningly (to the prejudice of the ancient confederacie of the Estats of *Italy*,) makes a league betwixt the Pope, the *Venetians*, and *John Galeas* Duke of *Milan* his Nephew (arming himselfe alwaies with that name) for their common defence, and namely of *Lodowikes* gouernment, vpon condition, that the *Venetians* and the said Duke should either of them send presently two hundred men at armes to *Rome*, and greater forces (if need were) for the recouery of such places as were detained from the Church by *Virgilius Trifinus*, in fauour of *Peter of Medicis* his kinsman, associat with *Ferdinand*, & *Alphonso*. And more to crosse their estates, *Lodowicke* (who could not subsist in the midst of their vinted forces) sends an honorable Ambassage to the King, whereof the Earle of *Caiazza* was the chiefe, assisted by *Charles of Balbiano* Earle of *Belzoiso*, & *Galeo of S. Seuerin*, who had married a bastard of *Lodowicks*: who greatly vrge the title he had to this goodly and pleasant countrie of *Naples*. They safely drew the king to taste a vaine glorie of *Italy*, perswading him by great offers of seruice, succors of men, money, and munition. But before we passe the Alpes, let vs examine the estate of *Italy*, & the right which our *Charles* pretended. Since the declining of the *Romaine* Empire, *Italy* neuer enjoyed

Lodowicke
vsurpes
the Duchie of
Milan.

Lodowicke
vsurpes
Milan
and surprizeth
the Castell.

A enjoyed a more happy prosperity, then about the yeare 1490. A long peace had made the most barren places fruitfull, it abounded in people, riches, great men of state, and good wits, in learning, industrie and military fame, such as that age could produce, beautified with the state of many Princes, not subiect to any other command but of themselves. *Laurence of Medicis* a Citizen of *Florence*, was a great meane to hold things in this prosperous estate, a man of a quiet spirit, experienced in affaires, iudicious of great authority aboue all his fellow Citizens, & for that he gouerned Pope *Innocent* the 8. his kinsman absolutely renowned throughout all *Italy*. He knew that the greatnesse of other Potentates, would mightly shake the Common weale of *Florence*, and therefore he fought by all meanes to hold them equall, by a generall obseruation of peace. *Ferdinand of Arragon*, King of *Naples*, a wise Prince, and of great reputation, did much affect this publike quiet, but he had worke at home: *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* his eldest son, being much discontented, seeing that *John Galeas Sforce*, Duke of *Milan* his sonne in Lawe, should carry but the naked and simple title of Duke, vnder the oppression of *Lodowicke* his Vncle. But *Ferdinand* hauing yet a fresh impression of the late reuolt of his subiects of *Naples*, not ignorant that at the first motion they would open their armes to the house of *France*, considering the affection which most of his subiects bare vnto it of old: he feared least the diuisions in *Italy* should drawe the *French* to invade the Realme of *Naples*: preferring a present benefit before the indignation of his sonne, desiring rather to vnite himselfe with the other Estats, especially that of *Milan* and *Florence*, to countermine the *Venetians* greatnesse, being then fearefull to all *Italy*, putt vp with the late ouerthrowe of the Duke of *Ferrara*, father in law to *Lodowicke*, after a long and dangerous hazard of their estate. *Lodowicke* was in the same predicament with the rest: and moreover peace was farre more necessarie then warre, for the preseruatiou of an authority lately vsurped. Herevnto that commendable inclynation to peace which he found in *Laurence of Medicis*, did moue him. And considering, that in regard of the inueterate hatred betwixt the house of *Arragon* and the *Venetians*, they should hardly make any firme League betwixt them: he therefore concluded, that *Ferdinand* and his sonne should not bee at neede assisted by any other, to crosse him in his desseins: and hauing them alone opposite, he should easily withstand them.

The Estate of
Italy, 1490.

So *Ferdinand*, *Lodowicke* and *Laurence* continued the alliance cherefully which they had renewed in the yeare 1480. for 25. yeares: all the meaner Potentats in a manner leaning vnto them: to whom the *Venetians* greatnesse was wonderfully suspected, managing their affaires apart, not imparting their counsells to the body of the comon league, watching onely opportunity to growe great by the publike discords. Being all thus vnited, they were too strong for the *Venetians*: yet were they full of enuie and mutuall ieaousie, one prying still into an others estate, and continually crauing desicines, so as they could not long liue in true and faithfull friendship.

Troubles by
the death of
Laurence of
Medicis.

The death of *Laurence of Medicis* was a great cause of the breach of this generall peace. An vnseasonable death for him, hauing not yet liued 44. yeares compier: for his Country, the which (by his wisdom and iudgement) flourished most happily in all the benefites which a long peace doth vsually bring forth: and for *Italy*, as well by reason of the affaires which he did wisely manage, to the generall good of the whole Country, as also for that he was a notable instrument to temper the diuers humors and ieaousies which sprang vp daily betwixt *Ferdinand* and *Lodowicke*, and to quench the flames which might easily cause a generall disorder.

This peace beeing well shaken by his death, was presently quite broken, not so much by the death of *Innocent*, who by his sloth was growne vnprofitable as for himselfe, his friends and the publike, after hee had retyred his armes, the which hee had displayed at the instance of the Barons of *Naples*: as by the succession of *Roderike Borgia*, who was then called *Alexander* the sixth, a Spaniard, chosen vnder the factious discords of *Afcianus Sforce* brother vnto *Lodowicke*, & *Julian* of *S. Pierre*, buying the suffrages of many other Cardinalls, partly with ready money, suon

Pope *Alexander*
s disposal
of *S. Pierre*.

1493. and partly by promises of Offices and benefices. He was subtil and quicke witted, excellent in counsell, vehement to perswade, and a great man of state. But (sayd the Originall) his vertues were surpassed by his vices, dishonest in manners, no sincerity, no shame, no truth, no faith, no religion in him: but an insatiable covetousnes, an immoderate ambition, a cruelty more then barbarous, and a violent desire to advance by what meanes he could his children, which were many in number. Peter the eldest sonne of Laurence of Medicis, was successor to his goodly honors, but not to his fathers good humors. Peter differed as much from Laurence, as that Hector drawne dead at a chariots taile, from Hector returning victorious, honored with the spoiles of Achilles.

The peace of Italy turned by Peter of Medicis.

At his entrance to the government, following an aduice directly contrary to his father, without any other counsell then of Virgilius Vrsinus, of whose humour Peter depended (both their Mothers being of the family of Vrsins) he made so strict a League with Ferdinand and Alphonso, as Lodowike (a vigilant and subtil man) conceived presently that the Florentin forces might easily bee drawne to prejudice him, in fauour of the Arragonois. This ieaousie was layed open by this accident. The confederates according to their custome, must send to congratulate and acknowledge the newe Pope. Lodowike had wisely aduised, that all the Ambassadors should enter Rome together in company, and likewise into the consistory before the Pope, and that one should speake for them all. for (sayd he) by this manner of proceeding we shall make knowne to Italy, that there is not onely a singular loue and League betwixt vs, but also so firme a coniunction, as we shall seeme to be but one body and one Principality. Ferdinand approved this aduice. Peter did not publicly gainsay it, but in priuate hee could not digest it, being one of the Ambassadors chosen for the common weale of Florence, hauing resolved to beautifie his ambassage, with a proud and stately traine. He considered, that entering into Rome, and presenting himselfe to the Pope in troupe, his traine would appeere far lesse than in so great a company. And therefore he caused the King of Naples to frustrate his dessein, as not to be done without confusion. But Ferdinand loath to displease one to please another, doth aduertise Lodowike, that he did not recall his first consent, but at the instant request of Peter of Medicis.

There was yet another reason, which made Lodowike to suspect some secret intelligence betwixt Peter and the Arragonois. Francisquino Cibo bastard sonne to Innocent, D after his fathers death had retired himselfe to Florence, to Peter of Medicis, brother to Magdalene his wife. Being planted there, Virgilius Vrsinus bought of him, by Peters meanes, Languillare, Cerverre, and some other places neere to Rome, for fortie thousand ducats. The money was in a manner all lent him by Ferdinand, of purpose, to the ende that Virgilius being his kinsman and entertayned soldiary, growing great about Rome, he might reape the more profit. Ferdinand found no better foundation for his safety, then to tye all or the greatest part of the Noblemen, within the territories, to suppress the that Indies head, if it should rise too high. This he labored more carefully, doubting that Lodowikes authority would proue great hereafter with the Pope, by the meanes of Cardinall Ascanius his Brother.

The vanity of mans conceites must needs discover the weakenesse of his iudgement. Of two mischiefs Ferdinand did choose the greatest, & grounding vpon a light profit, he did not foresee, that he layed the way open to his owne ruine. For the more discovering the Arragonois intentio, & pretending that by the alienation of these final places lying in his Iurisdiction, done without his privity, they were by right forsaide to the Apostolike see. He exclaimes and complains against Ferdinand, Peter, & Virgilius, protesting to omit no meanes that may serue for the defence of his dignity, and the rights of the Romaine see.

Lodowike embraceth this occasion, and seeing the Pope to study of some great reuenge against Ferdinand, he feeds his passions, by the loane offorty thousand ducats & three hundred men at armes, leuied vpon the common treasure. Yet apprehending new troubles, he aduiseeth Ferdinand, to perswade Virgilius, to content the Pope by some honest composition, to preuent the inconueniences & scandales this diuorce might breed, and

1493. A and counsellor Peter to follow the domestical example of his father, and to be a mediator, as he had bene, betwixt Ferdinand and him, rather then a fire brand to kindle diuision: but he talked to a deaff man. Ferdinand promisseth to do it: but he ruined with one hand, what hee raised with the other. he secretly sollicitis Virgilius to take possession of those Townes and not to yeeld the Pope any thing, but some certaine summe of money, by meanes whereof he should remaine peaceable Lord of the layd places, promising to warrant him from all troubles.

Lodowike findes hereby, that it behoues him to fortifie himselfe with newe supports and newe alliances. He hath a good opportunity: the disdain of Alexander against the King of Naples, and the affection the Senat of Venice seemed to haue to the Disunion of this League, whereby their proiects had so long bene made frustrate. But the Pope loued his children deere: and contrary (to the custome of others, who called them Nephewes, as a more modest name) he impudently called them Sonnes. He hoped to obtaine one of the bastard Daughters of Alphonso, for one of his bastards sonnes (Grafte crabbe vpon crabbe, and you shall neuer reape good fruit) and whilst this vaine hope possessed him, he opened his eares rather then his heart to Lodowikes motion. Ferdinand gaue his consent, but Alphonso hated the ambition & pride of Alexander. The Pope being thus frustrate, turnes all his thoughts to Lodowike, moued partly with disdain, and partly with feare, seeing Vrsin, by the exceeding great fauours which he receiued from Ferdinand and the Florentins, to bee growne mighty in all the territories of the Church.

A league betwixt the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan.

The Venetians had yet fresh in memorie, the Leagues made against them in the war of Ferrara, in the which Sixtus had intangled them: and yet to withdrawe them, hee employed both his spirituall and temporall power. They had no more confidence in Alexander. Yet the policy of Lodowike did in the ende worke this League, betwixt the Pope, the Senate of Venice and the Duke of Milan, in the moneth of Aprill. 1493. Thus Lodowike is fortified on the one side: but he had an other meaning then the Pope or Senat of Venice: and foreseeing that he could not long build vpon the foundation of this newe alliance, he resolues to assure himselfe by forraigne forces, seeing that both his owne, and his friends in Italie were doubtfull vnto him. He therefore conuerts his thoughts on this side the Alpes, seeking to drawe the King to seize vpon the ancient inheritance of the house of Anion. But let vs see by what right? Urban the 4. gaue the Realmes of Naples & Sicile (vniustly detayned by Manfroy bastard sonne to Frederic the 2. to Charles Earle of Provence, & of Anion, to hold in fee, being brother to Saint Lewis, who obtayned this title that was giuen him by armes. Charles the 2. succeeded his father, who left it to Robert his son, and this man died without heires. Ioane daughter to Charles Duke of Calabria (deceased before his father,) enjoyed the succession. Being distayned not so much for her sexe, as for the lewdnesse of her life: she adopts Lewis Duke of Anion brother to King Charles the wife for her sonne, and then died of a violent death. Lewis passing thither with an armie, died of an ague in Apulia, seeing himselfe almost in possession of the kingdome: so as the house of Anion reaped no profit by this adoption, but onely of the Earldome of Provence, which was continually possessed by the successors of Charles the 1. Notwithstanding Lewis of Anion son to the first Lewis, and after the grandchild of the same name, thrust on by the Pope, as often as they had any quarrell with the Kings of Naples) haue often (but unfortunately) binuaded this Realme. By the death of Ioane the Realme was transported to Charles of Durazzo issued likewise from Charles the 1. to whom Ladislaus his sonne succeeded: who dying without issue left his sister Ioane the 2. for his heire: an vnfürfortunate name in that place, whose indiscretion and impudency of life made them purchase the name of folles. Lewis the 3. making warre with the helpe of Martin the 5. against Ioane, fearing the government of the Realme, to those to whom she had abandoned her body, she adopted for her sonne and sole refuge, Alphonso King of Arragon and of Sicile. Afterwards hauing reuoked her adoption, vpon colour of ingratitude she adopted the same Lewis: who employing his forces for her against Alphonso expelled him from the Realme.

The right of France to Naples and Sicile.

1493. realme: but he died the same year, leaving *Joane* in quiet possession the remainder of her life. Then dying without children she instituted *René* Duke of *Anjou*, and Earle of *Prouence* for heire, being brother to the said *Lewis* her adoptive sonne. This institution displeasing some Barons, who said that the will was forged by them of *Naples*, they called backe, *Alphonso*. Hence sprang the warres and factions betwixt the *Aragons*, and the *Aragons*, nourished so long, by the couetousnes of Popes, who according to the oportunitie of times, haue oftentimes granted their inuicestures diuersly. *Alphonso* carrying it by force, and dying without lawfull heires, left *Ferdinand* his bastard to succeede, as a purchased good, not belonging to the Crowne of *Arragon*. *John* sonne to *René* assisted by the chiefe Barons of the Countie, came to assault him: but the hapines and valour of *Ferdinand* giues him the repulse. *René* furnishing his sonne *John*, and dying without an heire male, names *Charles* his brothers sonne for heire, who dying without children, resigned all his inheritance to *Lewis* the xi. Father to *Charles* the eight.

Charles was but two and twentie yeares old, little experienced in affaires, conetous of glorie, and thrust on with a valiant desire: he often neglected the wholesome counsell of the wisest, namely of *Lames of Grunille*, Admirall of *France*, preferring the advice of some or base qualitie that possessed him, corrupted by the *Neapolitanes* that were retired for reliefe, & by the Ambassadors of *Lodowick*. The Nobilitie of *France*, commended the wisdom of *Lewis* the xi. who refused to accept of the *Genewis* whē they offered themselves, being alwaies loath to attempt any thing vpon *Italie*, being both painfull, and fatall to the Realme. They knew *Ferdinand* to be a wise Prince, rich in money, and of great fame: and his sonne *Alphonso* to be valiant and well scene in the art of warre. (but these were but shewes, and all their reputation turned into a ridiculous sioake.) That for the gouernment of warre, and state, the Kings counsell was but weake, and their experience small that had most credit with him. Hee must haue a huge masse of money, and there was none in his Treasorie. Moreouer they objected the craft, and policie of the *Italians*: that *Lodowick* himselfe for a light profit would breake his faith. That hee would be loath to see the Kingdome of *Naples*, in the King of *France* his power: finally to make any conquest beyond the *Alpes*, were to vnfurnish the Realme both of men and money.

All this was but to cast oyle into fire already kindled. *Charles* reiects all advice of peace, and without the priuie of any but *de Vers* and *Prisonnet*, hee agrees secretly with *Lodowicks* Ambassadors: That an armie passing into *Italie* for the conquest of *Naples*, the Duke of *Milan* should giue him passage through his Countie. hee should accompanie him with five hundred men at armes maintrayned: he should suffer him to arme what fitting hee would at *Genes*: and before hee should march, hee should lend the King two hundred thousand Ducats. On the other part. The King should defend the Duchie of *Milan* against all men, and should especially maintaine *Lodowicks* authoritie: and during the warre, he should maintaine two hundred Lances in *Ast*, a Cittie belonging to the Duke of *Orleans*, to supply all necessaries in the Duchie. This he signed with his owne hand, and promised moreouer vnto *Lodowick*, That going to the Conquest of *Naples*, he should giue him the principallitie of *Tarentum*.

But did not *Lodowick* feare the power of so great a king, lately fortified with three goodly Provinces of *Bourgonie*, *Picardie*, and *Brittaine*, the which his father *Francis Sforze* would haue doubted, if a poore Earle of *Prouence*, had conquered the realme of *Naples*? and did he not apprehend him who had publicly protested, That he would neuer suffer the oppression of his cousin: for *Charles* and *John Galeas* were sisters children? Doubtlesse now the time was come, when as that should bee verified which *Laurence of Medicis* spake a little before his death, vnderstanding of the vision of *Brittaine* to the Crowne. That if the King of *France* knew his owne forces, *Italie* could suffer much. and the publike predictions of *Enri Ierosme Sauonarola*, whereof we will speake hereafter.

The King now takes his way to *Lions*, to assemble his forces, and diuides them into two

two armies at land, and at sea. In that at land were about sixteene hundred men at armes, two archers to a Lance, sixe thousand Archers on foote, six thousand crossbowmen, sixe thousand pikes, eight thousand hargrebufiers carrying two hundred swords, twelue hundred pieces of artillerie, of iron and brasie, sixe thousand two hundred pioneers, two hundred expert Canoniers, six hundred maister Carpenters, three hundred matons, eleuen hundred men to cast bullets, to make coale, cordes & cables, four thousand carters, and eight thousand horse of the artillerie. The armie at sea consisted of eighteene gallies, six galeons, and nine great shippes. The chiefe commanders that did accompany the King, were, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* Lieutenant general for his Maestie by sea, the Earle of *Angouleme*, the Earle of *Montpensier*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Nemours*, *John* of *Foix* Vicount of *Narbonne*, the Earles of *Neuers*, *Ligni*, *Boulougne*, *Bresse*, the Lord of *Albret*, *Lewis* of *Tremouille*, Vicount of *Tonnars*, the Marshalls of *Gié*, *Rieux*, and *Baudricourt*: the Lords of *Crusol*, *Tournon*, *Piains*, *Silli*, *Guise*, *Chandenier*, *Mauleon*, *Prie*, *Montafon*, *d'Alegre*, *Bonneuil*, *Genouillac*, *Franczles*, *Chaumont*, *Chastillon*, *Palice*, *Fergi*, *d'Hospital*, *Beaumont*, *Myolans*, *Mattheu* bastard of *Bourbon*, the bastard of *Bourgonne*, with a great number of Noblemen, & voluntarie gentlemen. The Lord of *Cordes*, (so famous in our historie, for his singular valour, wisdom, and loyalty) died at *Bresse*, three leagues from *Lions*. The Lord of *Prise*, master of the Kings horse, prepared all things necessaie for the fleet at *Genes*.

Some infection transported the King from *Lions* to *Vienne*, from whence the Duke of *Orleans* parted for *Genes*, and there the voyage was fully concluded: for vntill that time the dissuasion of the best aduiled, and the defect of the cheefe sinewes of warre, had held them in suspence: for that a hundred thousand *Frankes*, borrowed vpon great interest, in the banke of *Soly* at *Genes*, could not long maintaine the ordinary charge of his house. Yet fifty thousand Ducats lent him by *Lodowick Sforze*, and the lively impression of the Cardinall *S. Pierre*, the fatall instrument of the miseries of *Italie*, did somewhat reuiue the fainting courage of *Charles*. What shame (saith he) what infamie, to giue ouer so honorable a resolution? an enterprise published throughout all the world? the Popes amazement? the terror of Peter of Medicis? the ruine of the *Aragons*? who can stay the violent descent of this armie? euen vnto the marches of *Naples*? Doth he doubt the want of money? At the fearefull thunder of his artillerie, yea at the lesse brunt of his armes, the *Italians* will bring vnto him: and the rebels spoiles shall feed his armie: what shadow then? what dreame? what vaine feare doth cause this inconstant change? where is that magnanimitie? where is that courage, which did but euen now brag to ouercome all the forces of *Italy* united together? In the end, the King marcheth the 23. of August, leaving *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, his brother in law, for Regent, who conducted the Queen from *Grenoble* into *France*.

Doubtlesse, we must obserue a singular and fauourable prouidence of God, in the end of this voyage, vnder taken vpon borrowed money: but where God workes, all things are eie. For a third parte of his need: being at *Turin*, the King borrowed the Jewels of the Duchesse of *Sauoy*, daughter to *William Marquisse* of *Montferrat*, & widow to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*, & pawned them for 1200. Ducats: & for a fourth, being at *Casal*, he pawned the Jewels of the *Marquisse*, widow to the *Marquis* of *Montferrat*, for the like summe: women worthy doubtlesse of our historie, hauing loued our *France* with a singular affection. At *Ast* the King was toucht with the small poeks, & a feuer, which did hazard his life, but within fixe or seven dayes hee was recovered. Thither came *Lodowick Sforze*, and *Beatrice* his wife, daughter to the Duke of *Ferrare*, to salute him, and withall came very fauourable newes.

Ferdinand was lately deceased. *Alphonso* his Sonne had two Armies in field: one in *toingny*, towards *Ferrare*, the which *Ferdinand* his Sonne Duke of *Calabria*, commanded, accompanied by *Vingil Vrsin*, the Earle of *Petilliano*, and *John Laques* of *Tunale*, who afterwards serued the King. This Armie had to encounter them the Earle of *Catanzo*, and the Lord of *Aubigni* a *Scottishman*, who stopp their passage. The other at Sea, led by *Don Frederick* brother to *Alphonso*, accompanied by

Obietta

All the wisest of the Kings Countell, dissuade him from the enterprise of *Italie*.

Articles betwixt *Charles* his and *Lodowick*.

Charles himselfe takes this enterprise without money.

1494. *Obietto* of *Fiesque* a *Genevois*, and others, by meanes whereof they were in hope to drawe the city of *Genes* into their faction. But the Bayliffe of *Dijon* entring with two thousand *Swisses*, assured it for the King. *Obietto* with three thousand men had taken *Rapale* twenty miles from *Genes*. The two *S. Severins* brethren, and *John Adorne* brother to *Augustin* Gouvernor of *Genes* ioyned with the Duke of *Orleans*, and a thousand *Swisses* charged them, ouerthrew them, and slue a hundred or six score: (It was much in that age, for then their warres were not bloody) tooke some prisoners, and all that escaped were stript by the Duke of *Milans* people: so as *Fredericke* could neuer gather them againe together. A disgrace which did much distast the *Florentines*, being alwaies more inclined to the house of *France*, then to that of *Arragon*, & encouraged the king to proceed, inimated therunto, by the perswasions of *Lodowick*. My Lord, saith he, doubt not of this enterprise: there are three great parties in Italy: you hold the one, that is *Milan*: the other stirr not, these be the *Venetians*: you have no business but at *Naples*, hauing conquered that realme, if you wil giue me credit, I will assist you to become greater then euer was *Charlemagne*, and we will expell the *Turke* out of *Constantinople*. He spake well, if Christian Prince, had bin well intited.

The first ouerthrow of the *Arragonois*.

Lodowick perswasions to Charles.

Finally, *Charles* makes his entry into *Paui*, in quality of a king, vnder a Canopy, the fleets hanged, & the People crying, *God saue the King*. Then grew there some ieaousie, they wold haue the King rest satisfied with the towne for his lodging: but in the end, the castle was opened vnto him, where he did visit *John Galeas* his cousin, being sicke, & at the point of death: not without great compassion of such as thought the course of his life would be soone cut off, by the notable treachery of his vnle.

The death of John Galeas.

Plaisance receiued him as willingly as *Paui*, and thither newes was brought of the death of the Duke of *Milan*, leauing a sonne and a daughter. *Lodowick* posting thither, with promise to returne, vsurped the Duchie absolutely with the title. Thus all *Lombardy* marched at the bruite of this *French* army, some for loue, and some for feare. They held our men to be religious, loyall and full of bountie: but couetousnesse, robberies and other insolencies of souldiers, made them soone to alter their conceits, & the horror of the artillery (whose thunder was yet strange vnto them) amazed them. The *Florentine*, a cunning dissembler, had sent twise vnto the King, before he parted from *France*, at the first came the Bishop of *Rhegin*, and *Peter Soderini*: of whom they onely demanded passage, and a hundred men at armes maintained: at the second time, *Peter Caponi*, and others, who made answer, that by the commandement of King *Lewis* the xi. they had renounced the alliance of *John* of *Aniou*, (if he were associate with *Charles* of *France* in the warre of the common weale) to enter into league with *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, and therefore they could not rashly leaue it. But in either of these troupes, there was full some enmy to *Peter* of *Medicis*, who gaue the King intelligence of the peoples desire, lifting vp their hands for the recovery of their liberty oppressed by *Peters* gouernement, entred euen by his nearest kinsmen, and the best families, as the *Carpenters*, *Soderini*, *Nerli* and others.

Great practices against Peter of Medicis.

And for a second baite, *Laurence* and *John de Medicis*, cousins to *Peter*, came secretly to the King at his departure from *Plaisance*, vowing great loue in generall to the house of *France*, and much hatred to their kinsman, against whom *Charles* was greatly incensed, for the excuse he made to his Ambassador, which was sent from *Asi*: That the chiefe Cittizens were in their houses in the country, and could not so speedily returne him an answer, but they should shortly let him vnderstand their resolution, by speciall Ambassadors. In the meane time they arme ioynly with the Pope. The King must not leaue *Tuscan* and the Estate of the Church behinde him as his enemies. The army passeth the *Appennin* at *Pontremv* upon *Magre*, the which diuides *Liguria* (which is the Country of *Genes*) from *Tuscan*, and is vpon the marches of the *Florentines* country, of purpose to force them to plant the Standard of *France* vpon their walles, or else to take the weakest places to winter in.

The second exploit of the Kings armie, was at *Fiuzane*, a towne taken by force, sackt, and all mercenary souldiers, with many inhabitants slaine. A hard stratagem, for men

A man, who (as we haue said) made warre rather in pompe and bravery then with bloudes.

Serezane was sufficient to withstand, yea to ruine a great power: *Serezane* was more strong a fort built vpon the hill about the towne: but the *Florentines* diuisions had hindered all necessary prouision, but men. And indeed they were loath to make warre against the house of *France*, of whom they had of old time depended: & the rather for that they were forbidden to trafficke; & their men banished out of all *France*, by the especiall aduise of *Caponi*. The armie could not continue there, the countrie is straight and barren, compassed in by the sea and mountaines, no victuall but what was brought from *Parie*, and great store of snow. But the way must be laide open to *Pisa*, and if they had neglected the first place that resisted, what village but would haue held out? *Paul* vsurped some horse, with three hundred foote (meaning to put them into *Serezane*) who are incountred, beat, & in a maner all slaine or take prisoners, by some troupes of the foreward going to forrage beyond *Magre*. This terror made the *Florentines* to protest publicly, That they would no longer incurre the Kings displeasure, nor the Duke of *Milans*. Whereupon they send fiftene or sixteene Cittizens; and offer the King free entrie into their City, whose onely desire was to expell *Peter* of *Medicis*.

The Florentines offer the King free entrie into their City.

Peter practised for his part (by the meanes of *Laurence Spinoli* his factor in the barke at *Lion*, the Earle of *Bresse*, & *Myolans* the Kings Chamberlaine, Gouvernor of *Daulphinie*). They procure him a safe conduct, and at the first treaty he graunts the King all his demands: That the forts of *Serezane*, *Serenazelle* and *Pietresaint* (the Keyes of the *Florentine* dominion of that side) those of *Pisa*, and the port of *Liorno* should be put into the Kings hand, who should be bound to redeliuer them after the conquest of *Naples*. That the King should receiue the *Florentines* into his alliance and protection, vpon the loane of two hundred thousand ducats, and the assurance of these promises should be concluded in *Florence*. A facility which discouered a wonderfull feare and trouble of minde: for the King wold haue bene well satisfied with more easie conditions.

Peter de Medicis graunts the King his demands.

Lodowick was present at this Capitulation, who to reape some benefit of *Charles* his conquests, obtaines from his maiesty for thirty thousand ducats, a transport for him and his heires, of the possession of *Genes*: (which the King some yeares before had granted to *John Galeas* Duke of *Milan*) yet discontented that *Charles* would not giue him *Pietresaint* and *Serezane* in gard (which places he demanded (as forcibly taken away by the *Florentines* from the *Genevois*, and had serued him as a meanes to lay hold of *Pisa*) he returned to *Milan*, and did neuer after see the King, leauing notwithstanding *Galeas* of *S. Severin*, and the Earle of *Belfoiozo* nere his maiestie.

Lodowick Sforce discontented with the King.

Thus by the confiscation of these strong places, the ports of *Romagna* are opened vnto the King, he enters *Luques* being very honourable receiued by the Cittizens, crying *God saue the King of France Augustus*. From *Luques* he goes to *Pisa*, *Galeas* of *S. Severin*, following the instructions giuen him by *Lodowick Sforce* (who did not foresee that the like accident would be the cause of his ruine) called the chiefe Cittizens, and aduised them, that rebelling against the *Florentines*, they should craue liberty from the King: hoping by this meanes that he should one day draw *Pisa* vnder the Duke of *Milans* command. To who they were subiect, before the *Florentines* held it; this was in the same yeare the *Venetians* conquered *Padoua*. Through this aduice the people troupe together, men, women, and children: they flocke the next day about the King going to masse, crying with open throat, *Liberté, Liberté*, beleeching him with hands lift vp, and teares in their eyes, to free them from the *Florentines* oppression, by who (say they) they were most tyrannously intreated. *Raboa* Councillor of the Parliament of *Daulphinie*, and Maister of requests, said vnto the King, that their demand was iust, & that it was a pitifull thing to see the hard subiects that did oppress the. The king (who did not consider the importance of this action) breaking the treaty of *Serezane*, & that he could not giue liberty to a towne that was not his, into the which hee was receiued onely by curtesie, rashly lets slip these words: *I am content*.

Pisa revolts against the Florentines.

Fauoured indirectly by the King.

Pricks

1494. Prick forward a strong headed horse, and he will runne at randon. This multitude doth presently change their crye of liberty, into cryes of ioy: and running to the bridge vpon the riuer of *Arne*, they beat downe the *Mazorce*, (this was a great Lion, planted vpon an high pillar of Marble, with the armes of *Florence*) and cast it into the riuer, and in the same place they set vp a King of *France*, holding a sword in his hand, and treading this *Mazorce* vnder their feet. But oh the lightnesse of *Italians*: fewe yeares after, at the entry of the King of the *Romans*, they shall deale with the King as with this Lion.

This ignominious and rashe wound, giuen to the estate of *Florence*, by *Peter of Medicis*, contrary to the example of his predeceffors, without the aduise of the Citizens, and without any decree of the Magistrates, had wonderfully incensed his fellow Citizens. Being returned to *Florence*, to prepare his lodging for the King, going the 9. of Nouember, to enter the Palace of the Seignurie, to treat of the Kings arrivall, behold *James Nerli*, a yong man, Noble and rich, with other Magistrates, being armed, offer him the entrie alone, but denyeth it to all his followers. Hee retires home to his house, and resolues to get that by force, which hee could not willingly obtaine. Hee armes, and caueth *Paul Vrsin* to approach with his troupe, the which was in the *Florentinus* pay. The State proclaimes him a rebel: the people flie to armes, and cryes *Libertie*. *Peter* recouers the gates, and with him were the Cardinall *Iohn*, and *Iulian* his bretheren: they flie to *Bologne*, and from thence to *Venice*. *Peter* had no cloake, but one of his groomes: being hated of his fellow Citizens, disdained of his domestick servants, his house spoiled, with losse of aboute a hundred thousand Ducats in mouables: and to increase his misery, a factor of his at *Venice*, refused him for the value of a hundred Ducats in cloath. A notable example, of the inconstancie of worldly affaires. Thus by the rashnesse of one yong man, lately equall in a manner to great Princes, the house of *Medicis* fell for that time, which vnder colour of ciuill administration, had gouerned the common-weale of *Florence* three score yeares peaceably, and with a respected authority.

Charles entred the next day triumphantly into *Florence*, himselfe & his horse armed, and his Lance vpon his thigh. The *Florentines* were not ignorant of his discontent, for that they fought to crosse him in his enterprise, and that many of his followers, thrust on by couetousnesse, gaped after nothing more, then the sack of so rich a City, having first of all resisted the power of *France*: and that others also did sollicite the restitution of *Peter of Medicis*, especially *Philip Earle of Bresse*. And although the City might worthily iustifie that violence, whereof *Peter* and his complices were the onely motives: yet did they wisely foresee, that the King would not let slip this opportunitie, to become their Lord. But being vnable to stop this violent streame by any force, they had secretly filled their cheefe houses with resolute men, receiued their entertained Captaines into the city, and did giue order, that euery man, both within and without neere the City, should arme at the sound of the Pallace great bel. Thus fortified with men, they stand still vpon the termes of composition. Oft times we loose the eie by ouer-gipping. The fauour they did see some beare vnto *Peter*: the insupportable tummes of money that were exacted, the absolute Seignurie of *Florence* which the King demanded, as hauing conquered it by the law of armes, considering in what manner he entred, made them refuse the rigor of demands, with a firme resolution to mainteine their publike liberty with the perill of their liues. Thus they grew angry on eyther side, and for a conclusion of the last conference, the Kings Secretary reading the articles which his Maiesty would resolutely haue concluded: behold *Peter Caponi*, one of the 4. deputies for the City, (a violent man, and one of the mightiest families in the State) puls the articles from the Secretary, and teares them. Seeing you demand

A bold asse. of us (saith he) so outrageous conditions, you shall sound your Trumpets, and we our bells.

This audacious brauery did moderate the excesse of their demands; for how lamentable had it bene, to haue fallen to any tragicall decision of their controuersie. The King calls him back, and containing himselfe within the bounds of reason, passeth this

Peter de Medicis and his bretheren expelled Florence.

Miserable estate at Venice.

The Kings entry into Florence.

The Florentines fortifie themselves in their houses for feare of the King.

Who makes unreasonable demands.

A capitulation. That the Cittie of Florence, should be a friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the Crowne of France. That at the end of the enterprise of Naples, the King should yield up without any charge to the Florentines) Pisa, Livorne, Pietresancte, Serezane, Serezanelle, and all other places taken or renolted: and in case of deniall they might recover them by force, that they should giue the King fiftie thousand Ducats in fiftene daies, forty thousand in March, and thirty thousand in Iune following. They should pardon the Pisans their rebellion, and other crimes. They should free *Peter of Medicis* from banishment and confiscation; vpon condition that he should not approach within a hundred and fiftie miles of their confines: nor his bretheren neerer then a hundred miles. This accord was done vpon the great altar, in the Church of *S. Iohn* at *Florence*. But matters succeeded otherwise, as we shall see: so the *Florentines* changed their red Lillie into a white.

Two daies after, the King parted towards *Siemie*, a City well peopled, seated in a fertile country, in ancient time rich, mighty, and the second City in *Toscane*, which needed in many factions to the stronger party, so as they enioyed more the name then the effects of liberty. They tooke off their gates for the Kings entry: notwithstanding the City being suspected of him, (for that it had bene alwayes at the deuotion of the Empire) he left a garrison, and tooke his way to *Rome*. *Aigue-pendente* and *Montefalcone*, (places belonging to the Pope,) receiued him with royall pompe, and laid the way open to *Viterbe*. The *Florentine* fortes which the King held, and the garrison left in *Siemie*, made the *Venetians* and *Milanois* to feare, that hee would hardly end his conquests with *Naples*. To prevent this common danger, they treat of a new confederacie, and had concluded it, if *Rome* had made that resistance to the King which many expected. *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, the Popes forces, *Virgile Vrsin*, and the remainders of the *Arragonois* armie, had resolved to campe at *Viterbe*, and there to make head against the King; but the roades which the *Colonois* made (who had taken *Ofina* from the Pope, and hindred the passage of victuals to *Rome* by Sea) hauing put all the country about *Rome* in alarme, being iealous of the Popes integrity, who began to hearken to the *French* demands, made him to retire, leaving the way open for the King to enter into *Viterbe*, by the fauour of the Cardinall of *S. Pierre*, and the *Colonois*, and so into the territories of the *Vrsins*.

D The Pope is now wonderfully perplexed: he knowes himselfe to haue bene one of the cheefe motives of *Charles* his voyage: and since, without any offence, he hath opposed his authority, his counsell, and his armes. Hee imagines, that the assurance hee shall draw from the King, shall be no firmer then his to the King. He sees the Cardinals *Ascanius*, *S. Pierre*, and other his enemies in credit about the King. Hee feares that this prediction of *Sauonarola* should now take effect. That the Church should be reformed by the sword. He remembers with what infamie he came to the Pope: come: his government and his life controules him. The Cardinals *Ascanius*, *Saint Pierre*, *Colonne*, *Sauelle*, and aboute fiftene others, vrge the King to suppress a Pope so full of vices, and abhominable to all the world, and to proceed to a new election. Hee hath no sufficient forces to withstand the stranger. *Alphonso* droopes; *Ferdinand* is weak. *Fergilus Vrsinus* Generall of the *Arragon* armie, Constable of the realme of *Naples*, allyed to *Alphonso*, (*Iohn Tourdain*, sonne to the said *Vrsin*, hauing married a bastard daughter of *Ferdinand* the father of *Alphonso*) bound to the house of *Arragon* by so many respects, had of late consented, that his sonnes should giue the King passage, lodging and victuals within the territories of the Church: and leaues him *Campagna*, and other places, for his assurance, vntill the armie were past the territories of *Rome*. The Earle of *Petillano*, and all the rest of the family of *Vrsins*, followed the same accord. And now *Ciuita-uechia*, *Cornette*, and in a manner all about *Rome* is in the power of the *French*. All the Court, all the people, are troubled, they demand an aid. Being thus troubled in minde, he sends the Bishops of *Concord* & *Terne*, to the King: but hee seeks to compound both for himselfe & *Alphonso*. The King had not aduanced his armes euen to the gates of *Rome* to that intent. He sends the Cardinals *Ascanius* and *Colonne*, *Lewis* of *Tremouille*, and the President of *Gannai*, to the Pope, who in an humor

The Pope in perplexitie.

The Pope hath many enemies.

He sends to the King.

1494 humor brings *Ferdinando* with his armie into *Rome*, & suffers the to fortifie the weakest places. But the meanes to defend it? *Ostia* cuts off their victualls. The Cardinals arrived (an act worthy of *Alexander*) they are presently taken prisoners, to make the deliuer vp *Ostia*, & in the same tumult, the *French* Ambassadors are stayed by the *Arragonois*: yet the Pope caused them to be presently deliuered, & the Cardinall soone after. He sends the Cardinal of *S. Seuerin* to the King, being at *Nepi*, & treats no more but of his owne affaires. And that which vrgeth him most, the King is come to *Bracciane*, the chiefe towne of the *Vrsins*: the *Colonnais* haue many of the *Gibelin* faction within *Rome*: the Earle of *Ligny* (cousin germaine to the King by his mother) and the Lord of *Alegre* were ioyned vnto them, with fife hundred lances, and two thousand *Swisses*, to spoile the country beyond *Tiber*, & to keepe *Ferdinando* within *Rome*. But he was more amazed when as about twenty fadomes of the wall fell downe of it selfe, the which inuities the King, and forceth the Pope. But he feares the Cardinals hatred, and the ruine of his estate.

The walles of
Rome fall alone
at the Kings
entry.

The King frees him of this doubt, and doth assure him, by the Marshall of *Gie*, the President of *Gannai*, and the Seneſhall of *Beausaire*. That hauing meanes to make his passage by force, he is notwithstanding moued with the same reuerence that his predecessors haue alwayes borne to the *Romaine* sea, that entring peaceably into *Rome*, all their controuersies should be conuerted into amity and friendship. He yeelds, and first he obtains a safe conduct for *Ferdinando*, to passe safely through the dominions of the Church. Thus the King entred *Rome* with all his armie, by the port of *S. Mary de Popolo*, in like manner as he had done into *Florence*: euen as *Ferdinando* Duke of *Calabria* passed out at *S. Sebastians* gate, the last day of this yeare. The Pope fraught with feare and distresse, shuts himselfe vp into the Castle *S. Ange*, whilst hee should treat with the King. And for that he refused to deliuer the castle vnto the King, the artillery was twice drawn out of the Castle of *S. Marke*, where the King was lodged: yet the presents and promises of *Alexander* preuailed much with some of the priuie Counsell, & the King of his owne disposition, was not inclined to offend the Pope. But what needes there any Cannon to batter a place, which opens of it selfe, fiftene fadom of the castle wall, (saies the original) fell at the Kings arriuall. In the end the Pope giues the King the forts of *Ciuitauecchia*, *Terracine*, & *Spolet*, yet this was not deliuered) To hold the *Conquest of Naples*, and grants impunity to the Cardinals, and Barons that had followed the King. *Emin Ottoman* brother to *Baiazet*, the 2. who since the death of *Mahomet* their father (being pursued by the said *Baiazet*) had saued himselfe at *Rhodes*, & from thence being led into *France*, had bene put into Pope *Innocents* power: for whose gard *Baiazet* paid yearly forrie thousand ducats to the Pope, that by the greedinesse of this summe, they should be the lesse willing to yeeld to any Prince, that might make vse of him against him. The King desired to haue him, to make him an instrument of the warre, which he resolved against the Turke, after that of *Naples*. But *Alexanders* holynesse, aduised the Turke to stand vpon his gard, and to prouide that this yong King preuaile not in his enterprise: for a recompence hereof, *Baiazet* (although he detested the Popes impiety) sent him two hundred thousand crownes, by *George of Antie*, the messenger of this aduice, intreating the Pope, to free him of this feare. It was generally beleueed, that he was poysoned, and died within few dayes after that *Alexander* had deliuered him. Moreouer it was said: That *Cesar*, Cardinal of *Valence* the Popes sonne, should follow the King three monethes, as the Popes Legat, but rather to be a pawne of his fathers promises.

The wall of
the Castle S.
Ange falls.

The Popes im-
piety.

By meanes of this accord, the Pope returns to the *Vatican*, the Pontifical Pallace, where the King made his fittall submissio, obtaines 2. Cardinals hats: the one for the Bishop of *Mans*, being of the house of *Luxembourg* the other for *Brissonnet* Bishop of *S. Malo*, and for himselfe the title of Emperour of *Constantinople*: and a promise to inuest him in the realme of *Naples*, without any preiudice to an others right, and then he cured many of the Kings euill. And to shewe, that as eldest sonne in the Church, hee had as great iurisdiction, as the Pope with in *Rome*: Hee caused three seats for Iudice

to

and execution to be done of some that were guilty of a sedition made in 1495.

Alphonso there.

Ferdinand was no sooner parted out off *Rome*, but the hatred which the people bare to the house of *Arragon*, shewed it selfe. The tyrannous oppressions of *Ferdinand* and his *Alphonso* were yet freshe. The Ile of *Isle* flowed yet with the blood of foure and twenty Princes, and Barons that had returned vpon his word, who being imprysoned after the reuolt of *Arrago*, *Alphonso* (to make his coming to the crowne famous) caused barbarously to be flaine, amongst others, the Duke of *Sesser* & his owne Vncle the Prince of *Rosane*, who had married the sister of *Ferdinand* his father. *Ferdinand* had a man without faith, a dissembler, cruel, violent, a great exactor, infamous, a ransacker of women, & irreligious, (witness the Bishopricke of *Tarentum*, the which he sold to a *French* thirteenth thousand ducats, for his sonne, who he had sayd was a Christian) *Alphonso* had the same qualities: and moreouer he was d. solute, impious, and wicked. The crueltie of *Ferdinand* and *Alphonso*.
The *Naples* had added the old reliques of the *Angelin* faction, which might helpe much to preceede an alteration. Thus the people of *Naples* rise, *Aguila* and *Abruzzo* aduance their enignes: *Fabritio Colonnais*, keepe al in awe about *Albia* & *Taillecuisse* & al the rest of the Realme was ready to rebell. But that which most imports, the furies of his owne conference torment him.

He thinks that the ghosts of these murdered Noblemen appeere vnto him, that the trees and stones found into his eares the names of *France*. He sees his subjects ready to reuenge the blood shed against his fayth. Thus, vnable to withstand both a foraine and a homebred enemy, he causeth his sonne *Ferdinand* to be crowned, whose yong yeares had yet giuen no cause of scandall; and with foure light Gallies, laden with all kindes of wine, (wherevnto hee was much giuen) seeds to garden withall, some few eales, & a little money, he fled to *Marare* in *Sicily*, where he sodely changed his horrible excesse into a Monkish life, assisting the religious at al houres of seruice, both day and night, liuing in abstinence, almes and prayers: but oppressed with the hemoroids and grauell, he died, being ready to shut himselfe vp in a monastery at *Valencia* the great.

This flight made the Kings way more easie, and verified the saying of Pope *Alexander*. That the *French* were come with wooden spurs, & chake in their harbingers hands, to make out their lodging without any difficulty. Alluding it to the prickles of wood which pages and lackeys put in the heeles of their masters shoes, when they ride vpon their moyles. And in truth, our *Frenchmens* backes were not much inflamed with their armes, in this expedition: nor any one place staying the King about a day, but the Castles of *Naples*. The King going from *Rome* comes to *Vellure*, from whence the Cardinal of *Valencia* (his fathers right sonne) stole from his maiesty. From *Vellure* he comes to *Montfortin*, a Towne belonging to the Church, strong of situation, yet was shattered & taken in fewe houres. All that were found in armes, were flaine, except *James Comte a Romain* gentleman, Lord of the Towne; who preuailing the hatred hee bare the *Colonnais*, before his honour, had left the Kings pay to the house *Alphonso*.

There with some others heeing retyred into the Castell, yeelded then silues prysoners vpon viewe of the Cannon. *Mont-Saint-Ian*, a Towne belonging to the *Marquis of Pesare*, seated in the same plaine, vpon the confines of the kingdom of *Naples*, strong both by arte and nature, fortified with three hundred strangers, and five hundred inhabitants, which were resolute to defend their state, yet was it in one day beleagged, battered, assailed and taken in the Kings presence. Seau hundred and thre were slayne in the fury of the fight, and but thirty *French*: and to terrifie the rest, was burnt.

They are now ready to enter. The *Arragonois* must shew his courage. *Ferdinand* the King assembles all the forces he can, hauing fiftie coners of horſe, & six thousand foot, vnder the most expert Captaines of *Italy*: and camps at *Saint Germaine*. The place is of easie defence, on the one side an high and inaccessiblle

Ecc mountaine

The crueltie
of *Ferdinand*
and *Alphonso*.

The *Naples*
had added
the old reliques
of the *Angelin*
faction.

Alphonso was
highly with
honor, leaping
prebensions.

Alphonso
crounes his
sonne and
sies.

Hen y dies.

Mont-Saint-Ian
is taken and
burnt.

1495. mountaine, on the other side the waters hinders the approach, & in front is the *Garilian*, a riuer vncasie to passe: & not far off is the passage of Cancellio, a mountaine which of necessitie they must passe: It is the keye of the whole realme: here must they fight, or giue way. But this army was daunted, without courage, and without force: the name of the *French* had amazed them: and the capitaines, partly desirous of innoation, partly greedy of better intertaynement, wauered in their faith and courage. The Marshall of *Gié* approcheth with three hundred Launces, and 2000 foote, but terror goes before him. In this amazement both *Cancellio* and *Saint Germaine* are shamefully abandoned, and eight peeces of great artillerie are taken to thunder hereafter in fauour of the *French*.

The first entry
of the *French*
into the
realme of
Naples

Capua yeelded. *Capua* was sufficient to receiue the army, which marched after the Forward, rather like traueilers then men of war, without order, without commandement, & without obedience, the soldiers gaping after nothing but spoile. The situation is very strong, hauing *Vulturno* before it (a riuer very deepe in that place:) but their resolution was like to that of *Saint Germaine*: and to increase it, as *Ferdinand* made account to defend it: and by that meanes to hold *Naples* and *Caiette*. The Queene his Grandmother sends him word, that since the losse of *Saint Germaine*, there was so great a tumult at *Naples*, as all would be in an vnprore if he came not speedily. He goes, and promisseth to returne the next day. But *John Iaques of Triuulce* towhome he had giuen the Towne in gard, comes with some gentlemen of *Capua* to the King being at *Calui*: he presents him the Towne & his seruice, and makes an offer to bring *Ferdinand*. The King accepts the *Capuans* offer, and the coming of *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that he retain no portion within the realme, but should content himselfe with such meanes as he should giue him in *France*. In the meane time the soldiars lacke *Ferdinands* lodging and his stable: the men at armes disperse themselves, there some here some. *Virgilius* & the Earle of *Petellano* craue a safe-conduit from the King, and retire with their companies to *Nole*. *Ferdinand* thinking by this iourney to haue assured the *Neapolitaines*, returns at the time perfixt, when as the *Capuans* aduise him not to set forward, seeing they were other wise resolu'd. *Auerse* (a Towne betwixt *Capua* and *Naples*) sends their keyes to the King, and the *Neapolitaines* determined to followe them. *Ferdinand* retyred into the Castell, knowing that five hundred *Lansquents* ment to take him prisoner: he giues the mouables of the said Castell, and as they were busie to diuide it, he slips from them, sets the yong Prince of *Rosane* at liberty (whome by loue or force he carried with him) and the Earle of *Popoli*: he causeth the ships that remained in the port, to be burnt and sunke, and saues himselfe with the Queene, *Don Frederic* his vnckle, his daughter *Ioane*, and some few seruants, in the Ile of *Ischia*: and whilst he was within sight of *Naples*, he often repeated this goodly Oracle, *If the Lord keepe not the Citty, the watchmen watch but in vaine*.

Auerse yeelds.

Ferdinand
King of *Naples*
flies.

Nole taken.

Naples yeelds.

The whole
Kingdome of
Naples con-
quered by
Charles.

Thus all wauer at the Conquerors fame, and with such cowardise, as two hundred horse under the command of the Earle of *Ligny* going to *Nole*, tooke both *Nole*, *Virgilius*, and the Earle of *Pettilano*, without resistance, being retired thither with foure hundred men at armes, attending the safeconduit they had obteyned from the King, being amazed like to the rest of their army, and from thence they were led captiues to the fort of *Montdragon*, and all their men stript. In the meane time the *Neapolitans* Ambassadors come with their keyes, desiring a confirmation of their ancient exemptions and priuileges. The King enters the 21. of February, and is receiued with such exceeding ioy, both of great and small, of all ages, all sexes and all qualities, as euery one runs as to their dearest redeemer, from a hatefull & insupportable tiranie. Thus *Charles* (without planting of tent or breaking of lance) in foure moneths, and a halfe, with an admirable happines, came, sawe & ouercame. They saie commonly: that the poyson lies in the taile, and that the hardest part to slea of an ele, is the taile. The perfection of the victorie consisted in the taking of the Castles of *Naples*.

The Tower of *Saint Vincent*, built for the defence of the port, was easily taken. The new Castell, the lodging of their Kings, seated vpon the sea, strong by nature & by art, plentifully

plentifully furnished with victuals and munition, and manned with five hundred *Lansquents*, but abandoned by the *Marquis of Pescara*, to whome *Ferdinand* had left it in gard, who seeing the garrison bent to yeeld the place, had followed *Ferdinand*, & was after some small defence yeelded, vpon condition to depart in safetie, & to carry what they could away. And see heere the first and greatest error which the King committed in this exploit, himselfe wanting experience, but his minions and fauorites no counsell. Hee gaue all these victuals and other moueables, to the first that begged them: who furnished themselves with the munition, whereon the preservation of the Towne and place depended. The Castle of *l'Oeuf*, built vpon a rocke, hanging ouer the sea, being battered with the Canon (the which might onely indamage the wall, but not the rock it selfe) compounded, if they were not releued within a certaine time, and after foure and twenty dayes siege, it was deliuered into the Kings hands.

The King made his entrie into *Naples* the 12. of May, in an Imperiall habit: and was receiued as King of *France*, and of both *Sicilies* (whereof the realme of *Naples* makes a part): & Emperour of *Constantinople*. But herein he made no iust account with him selfe, & takes away Kingdomes. The Barons and commonalties sent away their Capitaines and troupes disperied into diuers parts of the realme. Those which depended most of the house of *Arragon*, do first turne taile. The *Caraffes*, who enjoyed forty thousand Ducats of inheritance. The Dukes of *Melfe*, *Grauinna*, and *Sora*. The Earles of *Montorio*, *Fundi*, *Tripalda*, *Celano*, *Monteleone*, *Merillano*, and *Popoli*, come to doetheir homage, and generally all the Noblemen of the Realme, except *Alphonso Auolo*, *Marquis of Pescara*, the Earle of *Acre*, and the *Marquis of Squillazzo*, whose linings the King gaue away. An other rigour which shall be a great cause of the following reuolts.

Calabria yeelds willingly to the Lord of *Aubigny*, sent thither with a small troupe, except the Castell of *Rhegium*: but they wanted meanes to force it, the Towne held for the King. *Abruzzo* yeelds of it selfe. *Apulia* erects the Standard of *France*, except *Turpia* and *Manitta*: who notwithstanding had planted the Flower-de-Liz, yet refusing any other command, then of the King himselfe: who had giuen them to the Lord *Penja d'Alegre*, and they returne to their first maister. The Castles of *Brandisium* and *Gallipoli*, were neglected with too great confidence: but they shal serue shortly as a lenaine to stirre vp a masse of rebellion. The rocke of *Caiette*, well furnished with all things necessary, yeeldes at discretion, after some light assaults. *Tarentum*, *Otrante*, *Monopoli*, *Trani*, *Manfredonne*, *Barle*, and in a manner all other strong places yeeld at the first brute. But some holding themselves wronged, for that they had in a manner disdayned to heare their deputies: others for that they had sent no man to receive them, will soone returne to their first demand.

The Ile of *Ischia*, remained yet, and *Ferdinand* vpon the first intelligence of the yeelding of the Castles of *Naples*, had abandoned it to *Iunick d'Auolo*, brother to the *Marquis of Pescara*, both most faithfull to their Prince, and was retyred into *Sicile*. The King sends thither his armie at sea, the which was cast by a tempest vpon the Ile of *Corse*: yet in the ende they anchored vpon the realme, but after the last acte of this expedition. This armie holding it selfe too weake to force the foote of *Ischia*, would not assault it, and therefore the King resolu'd, to send into *Prouente* and *Genes* foure more shippes, and to assure the Sea. the which *Ferdinand* scowred with foure-teeene galleys ill armed. But prosperitie doth oft times make vs become insolent, and without considering the consequence, wee easily let matters passe at aduenture. Our *French* are now well lodged, they dreame of nothing but feasting, dancing, and Turneyes: and the greatest about the King haue no other care, but to make the victorie profitable to themselves: without any regarde, neither of the dignitie, nor of the good of their Prince, who not satisfied with the conquest of these goodly and rich citizes, determines to aduance his victorious forces. Let vs leaue them gladd with ease, pleasure, and good cheere, and let vs make an escape into the East, to see how he had sped there, if the Pope had as well vnitied the Potentates

He committs
a great error.

Charles makes
a royall entry
into *Naples*.

Cause of re-
uolt from the
French.

1459. of *Italie*, to ioyne their common forces with our *Charles*, as he now sturres them vp to a crosse his new conquests.

Mahumet the 2. left two sonnes, *Baiazet* the 2. of that name, & *Zemin*, (they name him diuersly, *Zemin*, *Zizim*, *Gemin*, & *Geme*.) both resident in their gouernments when the father died. *Baiazet* in *Capadocia*, *Zemin* in *Licaonia*. Their absence sets the *Bajachas* and Captaines of the Ianifaries at discord, about the succession, so as they fell from words to armes. Hereupon the Ianifaries proclaime *Baiazet* Emperour being absent: *Isaac* and *Mesühes*, chiefe Captaines of the Turkish armie, being then at *Constantinople*, set *Corchut* the sonne of *Baiazet* in the throne of his ancestors: they deliuer him the fortes and treasure, that vnder colour of his nonage they might manage the affaires of the Empire at their pleasure. *Baiazet* posts thither, and by great bribes doth pacifie and winne the hearts of the Ianifaries, and of their Captaines, incensed against him through the malice of some Noblemen. So *Corchut* being yet very yong, yeelded him the Crowne willingly.

Zemin on the other side, was called by his friends and partisans, holding him to be a man of greater courage, and more execution then his brother, being more fit for his booke, wherevnto he was more addicted, then vnto armes. *Pyramet Caraman* King of *Cilicia*, and *Caithbey Sultan* of *Egypt*, incite him to warre against his brother. But he was vanquished in three battailes, by *Achamot Bascha*, and despairing, fled to the great Maister of *Rhodes*, leauing his mother and two twins, a sonne and a daughter in *Caras*, whom *Baiazet* caused to be murdered. Many Princes of *Europe* demanded *Zemin*, as *Lewis* the eleuenth, King of *France*, and *Matthias* King of *Hongarie*, hoping by his meanes to ruine *Baiazet*: but this was a good pigeon in the Popes Doue-house. *Innocent* the eyght would haue him, hoping that *Baiazet* his brother would giue some notable summe of money, to redeeme him, or else to keepe him from any other, that might vse him as an instrument to crosse his new Empire. *Alexander*, successor vnto *Innocent*, (a monstrous man in life, monstrous in his election, and monstrous in his death, (I haue horror to reade, and more to report, what writers doe testifie, intrating the curious reader, to see them rather in the Originall themselves) being forced to deliuer him to *Charles* the eyght, and so disapointed of his yearely pension of forty thousand Ducats, which he receiued for the gard of him: corrupted by the money of *Baiazet*, he caused him to bee poisoned: eyther greued for the losse of his pension, or enuying the glory of *Charles*: or else fearing, least if things should succeed happily for him against the Infidels, hee should turne his thoughts and forces, to reforme the abuses and corruptions which had long before crept into the Church.

A while after the flight of *Zemin*, *Baiazet* caused *Acomath* to be strangled, for that (growne proud and fierce, by reason of his wealth) hee practised to ruine *Baiazet*, and to transport the Empire to *Zemin*. A happy death for the Christians, of whom *Acomath* was an vniust and cruell oppressor. *Baiazet* freed by the death of these two men, hee turned his forces against the Christians, and subdued *Valachia*. Then hee vanquished *Caraman*, reducing his Principality into the forme of a *Prouince*. After that hee marched with his army into *Asia* against the *Sultan Caithbey*: who had succoured his Brother *Zemin* with Counsell, men, vittuals and money. The *Sultan* defeated the *Turke* in two great battailes, the one was giuen neere to *Adene* in *Cilicia*: the other neere to *Tarsis*: in the which he tooke both the Commanders of the Turkish army prisoners. *Mesühes Paleologue* and *Achomar Cherseogle*, sonne in law to *Baiazet*, and slew about threescore and tenthousand *Turkes*.

This check made *Baiazet* to change his clymate and leauing *Asia*, to passe into *Europe*, where his aduersaries were not so strong. He tooke *Durazzo*, neere to *Falonne*, and wonne a great battaile vnder the command of *Cadi-Bascha*, against the *Sclauonians*, *Hongarians* and *Croatians*, who were ouerthown in the large plaines of *Croatia*, neere to *Saua*, about the yeare 1493. But *John Castriot*, sonne to that

Zemin thrise
vanquished
by his brother
Baiazet.

Pope *Alexander*
poisons
Zemin.

The *Turke*
twise ouer-
come by the
Sultan.

John Scanderbeg, recovered that which *Baiazet* had vsurped: forcing him to accept of such conditions as he propounded. Moreouer *Cerf-Vichin* defeated him in battaile in *Croatia*, and expelled him the Country.

Then all those nations which lie betwixt *Falonne* and *Constantinople* (being from the one to the other about eightene dayes iourney) languished vnder the burthen of the *Turke* armie, *Albanois*, *Sclauonians*, & *Grees*, hoping for their deliuey, by the meanes of our *Charles*. But what could he do, seeing those that should second the resolution of the young Prince, were the first to ouerthrowe his desseins by their secret practise: *Charles* notwithstanding the death of *Zemin*, sent the Archbisshop of *Durazzo* into *Greece*, an *Albanois* by birth, hauing an enterprise vpon *Scutari*, with *Constantin* a *Greeke*, afterwards gouernor of *Montferrat*, who had intelligence within the Towne: the *Venetians* haue no sooner knowledge of the death of *Zemin*, but to gratifie *Baiazet*, they will haue the honor to giue him the first aduice: for the effecting whereof they command, that no ship should passe by night betwixt the two Castells, which are at the enuy of the gulf of *Venise*. This was the same night, when as the Archebisshop should depart with many swords, bucklers and iauelins, to arme those with whome hee had intelligence. But he is taken, & shut vp in one of those Castells: his instructions are viewed wherby the *Venetians* informed of the fact, send to aduertise the *Turkes* in the places adioyning. In truth our *French* had not yet learned to know him, who guides our hands to fight, & our singars to the battaile. Attending a strange & sodaine Catastrophe, they must quit the bounds of their victory in the Realme of *Naples*. Let vs now see the issue of this iourney. We haue left King *Charles* at *Naples*, seeking his delights, and his people hunting after profit, neglecting to expell the *Arragonois* out of those fewe places which held yet for them. In the meane time the peoples loue and fauour, who loue not the strangers, but in their neede, decreased.

The King had in his bounty freed the Realme of about two hundred thousand Ducats by yeare: yet matters were not managed with that order and iudgement that was requisite: he heard not the petitions and complaints of suters, but left the charge thereof to such as ruled him: who's incapacity and couetousnesse confounded all. The Nobility were not regarded, their seruices were not recompenced; they had no access to the King: no distinction of persons; no gratuity but by chance: mens courages that were estranged from the house of *Arragon*, were not confirmed: no restitution of goods and offices to the *Angeuins*, and other Barons, which had beene banished by old *Ferdinand*: preferments were giuen to such as purchased them with money, and other extraordinary meanes: to many they were giuen without reason, and taken from others without any cause: the Townes which were not wont to obey any immediately but the King, were giuen for the most part to *Frenchmen*. Things most insupportable to subjects, who had beene accustomed to the wise and well ordered gouernment of Kings of the house of *Arragon*, and had hoped for better in the change of this royaltie. These things did wonderfully blemish the reputation of the *French*. On the other side, there was no care to keepe the faith ingaged, for the restitution of the Townes and fortresses, to the *Florentines* and the Church. A pretext which serued a principall ground for the following League.

In the meane time, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand* lately Kings of *Naples*, lay before the *Venetians*, the dangers they incurred by this newe purchase to the Crowne of *France*. The King of *Castile* is in doubt of his Ilands of *Sicile* and *Sardinia*. The Emperour threatens, and they giue him falsely to vnderstand, that the King desired his Imperiall Crowne. The Duke of *Milan* could neuer beleue, the King should finde so great facility in this expedition, or proceed so farre with his forces. He was vnable to defend his estate newly vsurped. But an other feare possesseth him: the feruitude that hangs on his head, and all *Italy*. The Pope opposeth, & the *Turke* at the Popes instance, threaten the *Venetians*, if they declare not themselves against the King. The *Venetians*, hauing seen the violent course of this happy successe, that the King, like lightning, had runne through all *Italy*: that he had seized vpon *Pisa*, & other forts of the *Florentines*: that he

The *Venetians*
discouer
an enterprise
against *Scu-
tari* to the
Turkes.

Causes of dis-
content in the
Realme of
Naples.

1495 had left a garrison in *Sienna*, and done the like in the territories of the Church. They imagined, that his conceits had a further reach then the realme of *Naples*, and hold an others danger to be their owne. To preuent it, they conclude a League, (for three intents, sayd they, to the Lord of *Argenton*, the Kings Ambassador at *Venice*): To defend Christendome against the Turke: For the common defence of *Italie*: And for the preferuation of euery ones priuate estate. They conclude by secret articles, to aid *Ferdinand of Arragon*, for the recouerie of the realme of *Naples*, who with great hope of the peoples loue, was ready to enter *Calabria*. That at the same instant the *Venitians* should attempt some sea Townes of the said realme. The Duke of *Milan* (to cut off all succours that might come from *France*) should seeke to surprise *Ast*, where the Duke of *Orleans* remained with small forces. And the confederates should giue the Emperour & the King of *Spainne* a certaine summe of money, to inuade *France* with a mightie armie.

A League concluded against the French.

The *Florentines* had iust cause to forsake the King. He had not settled them in the possession of their places. He preferred the Counsell of such as supported the *Pisians* before the *Florentines*, or his faith, perswading him that if these were restored they would vnite themselves to the other Potentates: Yet would they not enter into this League, desiring rather to recouer their places from his hand that did inioy them. The Duke of *Ferrara* dissembling, would not signe it, yet was he content that his sonne should accept the pay of an hundred and fiftie men at armes, and the title of Lieutenant generall for the Duke of *Milan*. This League concluded, made the courtiers desirous to retorne into *France*, thrust forward rather by an inconstant lightnes, then any wise consideration, or loue to the Kings honour, and good: Leaving many important affaires vndecided, and the realme not wholly conquered: some chiefe forts eyther not taken or not furnished, gaue an entrie to the *Arragonois*. We doe oftentimes commende an enemye ouer whom we haue an aduantage. So the Castles of *Caiete*, *Rhegium*, *Brundisium*, *Gallipoli*, *Mantia*, *Turpia*, *Otrante*, and other Townes neglected, made the way to a generall reuolt. Now the confederates march to field, to ioyne their forces, meaning eyther to beseege *Charles* within *Naples*, or to fight with him in his returne. They must therefore resolue either to defend the realme, or to leaue a good gard, and to depart before this great storme fell vpon them. The *Spanish* fleet landing at *Regium*, had furnished it, and assured it for the *Arragonois*. *Mantia*, *Turpia*, and *Otrante*, seeing the League, and that they had not regarded them, plant the *Arragon* ensignes, and receiue the garrisons which *Don Frederike* had sent them. The *Venetian* fleet, commanded by *Anthony Grimaldi*, appeared vpon the coast of *Apulia*. In the end all the realme begins to make open demonstration of a new will. But see, he that was euen now the peoples terror, the Iudge of an others life and estate, the hope of the East, stands in feare to be controlled. A scourge to abate the presumption which his victorie had bred. The King leaues *Gilbert of Bourbon* Earle of *Montpensier*, for his Viceroy, a hardie and valiant Prince, but faith the Historie, *Not wise: hee did not rise before noone*. And for the defence of the Realme, two thousand five hundred *Suisses*, a part of his French footemen, eight hundred French Lances, five hundred men at armes *Italians* in his pay, some commanded by the gouernour of *Rome*, some by *Prosper* and *Fabrizio Colonna*, and by *Anthony Sauelli*, Captaines well preferred in the distribution of places and offices within the Realme, especially the *Colannes*. *Prosper* had in the Duchie of *Tricette*, the Cittie of *Fundi*, *Montfortin*, and about thirtie other places. *Fabrizio* had the countries of *Albi* and *Taillecouste*, which *Virgile Vrsin* did formerly enioy. The Lord of *Aubigni*, a braue and wise Knight, was made Gouernour of *Calabria*, & had the Earldome of *Aeri*, & the Marquisate of *Squillazzo* giuen him. The Prince of *Salerno* was restored to the office of Admiral, & he of *Bisignan* well aduanced. *Steuen de Pers*, sometimes groom of the Kings Chamber, & after *Senshal* of *Beaucaire*, obtained the Duchie of *Nole*, the Captainship of *Caiete*, & other commands, with the office of great Chamberlaine, & Controuller of the treasor within the realme, well affected to the gard thereof, but too weake of iudgement to beare the burthen and care of so great

The order the King left in Naples.

Affaires. *Don Iulian of Lorraine* (greatly commended for his gouernment) was made Duke of *S. Angelo*. *Gratian des Guerres*, a valiant Captaine of reputation, had the gouernment of *Abruzzo*: *Gabriel of Montfaucon* (of whom the King made great account,) had *Manfredonia*, but hauing receyued it well furnished with victuals, and in a Country abounding with corne, he so deuoured his prouision, that after foure daies secege, he was forced to yeeld vp the place for want of victuals. The King left *George of Swillat Tarentum*, who carried himself there with much honor. He died there of the plague, and the Towne held for the King, vntill that famine forced them to change their party. In *Aquila*, the Baylife of *Vitry* was commended to haue well discharged his duty. Such was the order the King left in the Realme of *Naples*, wherof followed a horrible disorder: for the greatest part of other Captaines, appointed in diuers places, applied to their owne priuate profit, such commodities as they found within their places, for the defence whereof the King had greatly weakened his forces. So returning but with nine hundred men at armes, two thousand five hundred *Suisses*, seauen thousand men in pay, and fiteene hundred men of defence, chosen out of his trayne following the Court, he parted the 20. day of May, taking his way to *Rome*, and his armie arised to *Liorno*. The Pope made some shew to reconcile himselfe with the King, & the King labored to diuide him from the league. In the end a bad conscience made him go to *Oruete* with his colledge of Cardinalls, a thousand light horse, two hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote, leauing a sufficient garrison in the Castell of *S. Angelo*, and the Cardinall of *Anastase* for Legat in *Rome*, to receiue the King, who refusing *Vaticane*, lodged in the suburbs. And the Pope vnderstanding, that he approached to *Viterbe*, (although he had giuen some hope of an enterviewe betwixt *Viterbe* and *Oruete*), yet he went from *Oruete* to *Perause*, with an intent, if the King tooke that course, to recouer *Ancona*, and so retyre himselfe by sea into some place of safety. Yet notwithstanding the Kings iust cause of discontent, he redeliuered him *Ciuitasuechia* and *Terracine*, reseruing *Osie*, the which he left in the hands of the Cardinall of *Saint Pierre*, Bishop of that place. The territories of the Church were not spoiled by his army: onely *Toscanelle*, which refusing to lodge his foreward, was taken by force and fact. But we must leaue records of our indiscretion in all places. His enemies troupe together & during a fruitlesse stay of fix or seauen dayes at *Sienna*, we giue them leifure to ioyne their forces. Moreouer the *Florentins* summon the King of his faith & promises, and to drawe him therevnto the more willingly, (besides the thirty thousand ducats which they were ready to pay, as remayning of their guilt) they offered to lend him three score & x. thousand ducats more: and to assist him in his passage with three hundred men at armes, vnder the command of *Francesco Secco*, a braue Captaine, and faithfull to the King, & with two thousand foote. Three reasons should moue the Counsell to accept hereof. The want of money, the increase of their army, and that which did most import, the discharge of the Kings faith and royall oath: yet a firebrand must begin to smooke, and in the end fire all *Italie*.

The Pope flies.

Notable errors of King Charles.

The Earle of *Ligni*, yong and vncperienced, (yet fauoured of the King his cousin) laboured for the Seigneuries of *Pisa* and *Linorne*, and the *Siensis* required him for their Lord, promising him an appointment of twenty thousand Ducats by the yeare, vpon condition he should entertaine three hundred foote for the defence of the place, taking away the ordinary gard, which the order of *Monte Nuovo* (in whose power the gouernment of the Cittie was wont to be) held in the Palace. The King (being yong) preferred the counsell of yong men, before the Marshall of *Gié*, the President of *Genoa*, and others well aduised: and agrees, that he should take the Cittie of *Sienna* into his protection, binding himselfe to defend all that depended thereon, except *Montpulciano*, wherewith he would not deale, neither for the *Florentins* nor the *Siensis*. But what were the fruites of this conclusion? but the shamefull expulsion of this garrison, & of the Lord of *Lisle*, whom the King had left there for Ambassador, by those of the foresaid order, who soone after recouered their ancient authority by force.

King Charles refuseth the Florentins offer.

Then liued at *Florence*, Friar *Icrofme Sauonarola*, of the order of *Saint Dominicke*,

1495. in great reputation of a holy life, and a graue preacher, who by his sermons had A greatly confirmed the *Florentines* affection to the King: hee had long time sermo-
nized and preached the Kings coming into *Italie*, saying: *That he was sent of God to punish*
the Tyrants of *Italie*: that nothing could resist him, that he should enter *Pisa*, and such a day
the Estate of *Florence* should die. And in truth *Peter of Medicis* was banished that day,
and many other things fell out as he had foretold, (amongst others the death of *Laurence de Medicis*) and he sayd he knew them by reuelation: *That the Church should be*
reformed by the sword. He likewise affirmed: *That notwithstanding the great forces of the*
Venetians, the King should returne without any danger to his person: that he should bee in-
countred upon the way, but the honour should be his, had he but a hundred men in his com-
panie. That God which had conducted him in his going, would guard him in his returne but B
for that he had not discharged himselfe in the reformation of the Church, as he ought, and had
wincked at the thefts & insolencies of his troupes, That God had pronounced a sentence against
him, and he should haue his chastisement. The which hee himselfe did signifie vnto the
King in plaine tearmes: adding, *That if he would take pittie of the people and restraite*
men from doing ill, and punish the offenders, as his dutie required, God would revoke, or
mitigate his sentence. To conclude, that he should not thinke to be excused for saying: I do no
euill. A lesson for Kings. That the faults they suffer in their subjects, are so many
burthens layed vpon their owne backs, to pleade one day against them, before his Ma-
iestie, to whom they, like to all other men, are accountable. And moreover: That the
peoples voice, is the voice of God.

In the meane time, the *Venetians* and *Lodowike Sforca* make great preparations to
stoppe the Kings passage, or at the least, to keepe him from attempting against the *Mi-*
lanois. And for the better effecting of their desaigne, they entertaine *John Fiesque*, at
their common charge, who ioyned the Citie of *Bologna* to their League. *Lodowike* ar-
med tenne galleys at *Genes*, vpon his owne charge, and foure great shippes, at the com-
mon charge, of the Pope, the *Venetians* and of himselfe. And to surpriseth the Towne
of *Ast*, as he was bound by the Capitulation, he leuied two thousand foote in *Germa-*
nie, (having lately drawn *Galeas of Saint Severin* into this action) with seven hun-
dred men at armes, and three thousand toote. By meanes of these forces he promised D
to himselfe an assured conquest of the Citie of *Ast*. Hee sends the Duke of *Orleans*
three insolent conditions: *That here, fier hee should no more usurpe the title of the Duke*
of Milan, the which his father Charles had taken after the death of Philippe Maria Viscont.
That he should not suffer any new forces to come from France into Italie. That he should send
those into France, that were in Ast. And for the assurance of these things he should deliuer the
said Towne into the hands of Galeas S. Severin, who should keepe it faithfully for the King.
A wretched man, who by a proud ostentation, thinks to amaze a noble courage,
and cannot instantly hide the basenes of his owne. But by the aduice of the Lord of
Argenson, Ambassador for the King at *Venice*, the Duke of *Orleans* had from the be-
ginning furnished the place with foure hundred men at armes, five thousand foote, E
thousand *Swisses*, and five hundred men which *Lodowike Marquis of Saluces* had sent.
The Duke of *Bouillon* had leuied this armie to ioyne with the King vpon the *Helpe* &
to helpe his passage: But the Duke of *Orleans* imployed it in the *Marquisate of Saluces*,
to take *Gaspieres*, the which *Antonie Maria*, of *S. Severin* held. And although he had
expresse commaundement from the King, to lay aside all enterprises, and go to meet
with him, yet did hee accept the offer made him by two *Opizins*, gentlemen of *Nouarre*,
who hated *Lodowike Sforca*.

Hee passeth the *Pau* by night, at the bridge of *Sture*, accompanied by the *Mar-*
quis of Saluces, and was let into *Nouarre* by the conspiratours, without any resist-
ance. In this place the Duke of *Milan* tooke his greatest delight, being most plea- F
sant of all others for hauking, and hunting. This stratagem had beene dangerous in
an other of meaner qualitie, seeing the question was to succour the Kings person, whom
the *French* esteemed no lesse then a Kingdome. But seeing the Duke of *Orleans* had thus
begun, why did he not proceed? *Milan* opened her armes: *Pauia* offered it selfe, and

A to that end sent twise vnto him. *Lodowike* (as delect in aduersitie, as proud in his pro-
fperitie,) shewed the basenes of his courage. The Nobilitie & people desired nothing
more then the ruine of this house of *Sforca*. 1495.

The *Venetians* had let the King vnderstand, that if he made warre against the Duke
of *Milan*, they would succor him with all their meanes. Thus *Charles* foreseeing, that
by the taking of *Nouarre*, hee should soone haue the enimies vpon him, and that the
Duke of *Orleans* should need succours: he goeth on from *Sienna* to *Pisa*. Then *Sauona-*
rola comes to him to *Poggibonfe*, and the next day to *Castel Florentine*, and vsing (as hee
was wont) the name and authoritie of God, he declared vnto him: *That if hee yeelded*
not to the Florentines the places, whereunto hee was bound by oth, he should bee rigorously
punished. The King excusing himselfe vpon that which hee had promised to the *Pr-*
inces, to maintaine them in libertie, before hee had taken any oth in *Florence*, gaue
both the *Monke* and the *Florentine* Ambassadors hope of restitution, after his coming
to *Pisa*.

At *Pisa*, the Cittizens teares, both of men and women, (beseeching them that
lodged in their houses, to intreat the King, not to suffer them to fall againe into the
Florentines tyrannie) made *Charles* to forget the promises and oth hee had taken vpon
the altar of *Saint Iohn* at *Florence*: but most of all, the importunate sute of the Earle of
Ligni, that the King would leaue him *Pisa* and *Lisborne* at his deuotion. Those which
had impugned this resolution in *Sienna*, did likewise contradict it in *Pisa*: for (said they)
C if by the opposition of enimies, any disorder should chance, or any difficultie to passe
through *Lombardie*, we should haue a sure and fit retreat at *Pisa*: whereas, if we restore
them to the *Florentines*, when as they haue recovered all their places, we shall finde
them as inconstant as the other *Italians*. Moreover they gaue the King to vnderstand,
that for the safetie of the realme of *Naples*, it were expedient to hold the port of *Li-*
sborne, for if the estate of *Genes* should change for the Kings good, hee should be in a
manner Lord of all the sea, from the port of *Marselles* vnto that of *Naples*.

Finally, the King changed the Captaine of the Cittadell, and left one called *En-*
traques, a man (saith the Originall) ill conditioned, seruant to the Duke of *Orleans*,
(whom the Earle of *Ligni* had recommended) with some footmen of *Berri*. *Entragues*
D wrought so, as he had *Pictresancte*, *Moriron*, and *Libraicta*, neere vnto *Luques*. *Sere-*
sane was giuen (by meanes of the said Earle) to a bastard of *Rouffy* his seruant, and
Serezanille to an other that was at his disposing.

Thus the King did willingly weaken his forces the which he must distribute into
these places, to make his fauorits great. And as hee suffered himselfe to be too easily
carried away by the rash counsell of those hee fauored, behold vpon a hope giuen
him by the Cardinals of *Rouere* & *Fregose*, *Obietto* of *Fiesque*, and other banished men,
on a todaine alteration at *Genes*, he sends with them (against the aduice of his Coun-
sell, who did not approoue the weakening of his armie, for if hee should win the bat-
telle, *Genes* would yeeld of it selfe, but if he lost it, he had then no need thereof) *Phi-*
E *lippe* Earle of *Bresse*, afterwards Duke of *Sauoie*, the Lordes of *Beaumont*, *Polignae*, and
Ambeion of the house of *Amboise*, with fixe score men at armes, & five hundred cross-
bowmen, newly come out of *France*, sending after them the company of men at
armes of *Vitelli*, & those men which the Duke of *Sauoie* had sent, fortified by the army
at sea, reduced to seuen galleys, two galeons, and two barks, commanded by *Mio-*
lans gouernour of *Daulphiné*, to countenance that at land. But how easily doth man
deceiue himselfe in his owne conceits? All these that went to take, are taken,
even at the same place where we haue seene our men defeat King *Alphonsoes* troupes,
and by the same men that they had beaten. *John Lewis* of *Fiesque*, and *John Adorne*,
were led Captiues vnto *Genes*, where they lost the fruit and honour of a famous bat-
telle, in the which they might haue done good seruice.

But who will not thinke the predictions of *Sauonarola* to bee very true. *That*
God would guide the King by the hand into safetie: taking away his enemies iudge-
ment, not to molest him in the most painful straights of his voyage? Our *French* are now
betwixt

The predictions
of *Sauonarola*.

Insolencies
of *Lodowike*.

Are well fur-
nished with
men.

Nouarre taken

Milan and
the whole
Duchie ready
to revolt a-
gainst *Lodo-*
wike.

A dishonora-
ble enterprise
vpon *Genes*.

1495. betwixt *Luques* and *Pietresainte*, inuironed on the one side by high mountaines, and A on the other, by deepe marishes and boggs. They must passe a caufie, which a cartier crosse, with two peeces of cannon might easily gard. *Pontreme*, lying at the entry of the mountaines, was held for *Lodowik* by three hundred foot. The Marshall of *Gie* arriving with the foreward, they presently open the gates in fauour of *Triuulce*, vpon promise to saue their liues and goods. But alas the *Suiffes* had not yet forgotten, that when as the armie passed to *Naples*, some forty of their companions were slaine there in a tumult. For this cause, they fall furiously vpon them, kill all the men, sacke the towne, and burne it, and all that was within it: the Marshall not being able to preuent this disorder.

A foole re-
uerence by the
Suiffes.

The blood being inflamed, it transports vs beyond the bonds of reason: but as it B growes cold, it returns to his right place. These *Suiffes* doubted some punishment: or at the least, that the King should growe in dislike of them for this outrage, committed both against the lawes of armes, and nations. But what? an vbridled desire of revenge: a military fury hath transported them: they are ready, though not to make satisfaction, yet to repaire it, by some notable seruice. And see, an opportunity is offered. The army staide on this side the vallie of *Pontreme*, in extreame want of victuals: and the artillerie could not passe these troublesome straights, without great toyle, and losse of time. And this gaue the enemy leasure to make one vnited body of all his forces. The *Suiffes* come and doe voluntarily offer to passe it by force, so as the King will pardon them. The which he doth. Leauing the vally, they must mount vp a very steepe C hill, where the moyles did creepe vp with great difficulty. These men performe the worke of horses of burthen: they couple themselves by two and two, and so vnder- take the worke, a hundred or two hundred at once, as the burthen required, and one being weary, in other supplie his place.

Repaid by a
notable peace
offerance.

The foreward was lodged at *Fornoue* (a small, but a good village, seated at the foote of the mountaines, entering into *Lombardy*) where he had the enemy in front: without doubt they were in great danger, if they had then charged them. But their desire to allow vp this armie in the midst of the plaine: giuing the King meanes (who laye fiftene *French* leagues off) to ioine his troupes, layed the way open to shame and confusion, imagining, that to charge our *French* on this side the mountaines, were to D cut off all retreat of *Pisa* & other places of the *Florentines*. And on the other side, to fight without at ending their men, were to doe them wrong, seeing that their foote were not excellent. If they miscarried, they should purchase reproach with the Seignour of *Vence*. Some light skirmishes made the Marshall retire into the higher part of the mountaine.

The armie of
the league.

Hereupon the King ioynes with his foreward, on Sunday the 15. of July: and all the E enemies forces armed, being five and thirty thousand men in paie, two thousand six hundred men at armes barded, making foure men of combat to euery lance: five thousand light horse, amongst the which, were two thousand *Albanois*, and of the neighbour provinces of *Greece*, who retaining the name of the country, are commonly called *Stradiots*: as who would say, men of the campe; good souldiers, and well practised in armes. The rest were foote, well appoynted with artillerie. Over the *Venetian* troupes, *Francis Gonzaga*, Marques of *Mantoua* commaunded as Generall, a young man, but of great courage and desirous of glory, and with him *Luke Pisan*, and *Methuor* *Truifan*, were commissaries of the armie, being of the chiefe Senators of *Vence*. For *Lodowik*'s force (who opposed some part of his forces against the Duke of *Orleans*: being nine hundred men at armes, twelue hundred light horse, and five thousand foote) The Earle of *Caizzo*, a more politike then hardy Captaine, commaunded, and *Francis Bernardin*, *Viferat*, chiefe of the *Gibelin* faction at *Milan* was Commissary: & by F consequence, enemy to *Triuulce*.

Their army camped at the Abbay *Guaruole*, about a league from *Fornoue*, vpon a little hill on the right hand of the Kings army. The King had no other forces, but what he brought from *Naples*, whereof we haue made mention at his departure. He must

A must passe neere the enemy (being but halfe a League off, and a litle shallow brooke 1495. called *Taro*, betwixt both.) There was no likelihood, that this great multitude should part without the hazard of a battaile. To trie their resolutions, the King (who desired only to passe quietly into *France*) causeth the Lord of *Argenton*, lately Ambassador at *Vence*, to write vnto the aboue named Commissaries, that he desired to confer with them. They promise to meet the next day in a conuenient place betwixt both armies. The night was terrible in raine, lightning, and thunder, a fearefull prediction of the day following.

Monday morning, the King armes himselfe complete, and mounted vpon his *Sauoy* (a horse which *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy* had giuen him) faire and good, manna- B ging with all agilitie, blacke of colour, and answerable in proportion to him that was mounted thereon: he shewes himselfe to his troupes, with a cheerefull countenance, well coloured, and a speech contrarie to his custome, strong, resolute, and wise, an assured preface of the honour hee should winne that day. Putting his armie into battaile, hee placed in the foreward 350. *French* Launces, and *John Laques* of *Triuulce* with his company of a hundred Launces, and three thousand *Suiffes*, the chief C hope of the armie, commanded by *Engilbert* brother to the Duke of *Cleues* (who did fight on foote, with the Bailife of *Dijon*, that had leuiued them) and to second them, three hundred Archers, some crossbowmen on horse-backe of his gards, whom he commaunded to leaue their horses, & the most part of his foote, conceiuing that the foreward should be charged with the chiefe of his enemies forces. His Maicellie was in the Bat- D taile, hauing about him feuen or eight yong Noblemen armed like him selfe, (for the confederates had sent to discouer him by a Herald, vnder colour of some demands,) and for counsell he had the Lord of *Trimouille*. The Earle of *Voix* commaunded the reereward: the baggage, by the counsell of *Triuulce*, was left without gard, exposed to pillage, to keepe the enemy occupied with that bait. Thus the armie E marched, when as *Luke* and *Melchior* the *Venetian* Commissaries were readie to parle. But the troupes were now in alarum, the Captaines encouraged their men to fight. The names of both armies calls them from words to blowes, they beginne by skir- mishes, the Canon thunders, but with more noise then effect. The Marquis of *Man- D tione*, his vnckle *Ralph* of *Gonzague*, the Earle of *Bernardin* of *Montone*, with a squad- ron of six hundred choise men at armes, a great troupe of *Stradiots*, and other light horse, with five thousand foote, passe the *Taro* vpon the back of the *French* reereward, to charge them behind. leauing on the other banke, *Anthony* of *Monfetre* a bastard of the Duke of *Vrbis*, with a great squadron, to passe at the first call: ordaining moreover, that at the first shooke, a part of the light horse should charge in flanke, and the rest of the *Stradiots* should follow, to set vpon the baggage. The Earle of *Caizzo*, with foure hundred men at armes, and a great number of foote, passeth likewise to charge the F Foreward, leauing in like sort on the other banke, *Amball Bentiuole*, with two hun- dred men at armes, to supplie when he should be sent for. And for the gard of their E lodging, two great companies of men at armes, with a thousand foote, the *Venetian* Commissaries reseruing a supply for all euents. Thus the *French* armie is enuironed on all sides, so as being broken, no man might hope for safetie: & the King, who to streng- then the foreward, had weakened the other two partes, was forced to leaue the Knight he ment to make, to some better leasure, and to turne his backe to the Foreward, & his face to the enemy, approaching neere the Reereward. The *Stradiots* fall vpon the bag- gage, they wound, kill & spoile, & the Marquis is at blowes with the reereward, who at the first charge breake their Lances, & then valiantly they ioine pel-mel, with their bar- the axes, swords, and other short weapons, the Marquis performing the part of a most D valiant and vigilant Captaine, & his troupe of most resolute men at armes. The King F was brought rashly into danger, his followers being disperfed here and there in the Confiest, assisted with fewe about him, but *Mathew* bastard of *Bourbon*, and *Phi- lippe* of *Moulina* gentleman of *Solange* (noted for that they had bin scene very neere vnto the King in this conflict. Tho King did afterwards greatly fauour this *Philippe*: he

The order of
the Kings
armie.

The battaile
of Fornoue.

The King in
great danger

1495. he made him keeper of the great teale, gaue him a company of men at armes, the gouernment of *Langres*, and a great summe of money, according to the time, to keepe him to build *Moulin*, (a Castle neere to *Romorantin* in *Sologne*.) *Robinet* of *Frainceilles* (who led about fourscore lances of the Dukes of *Orleans*), *Lewis* of *Tremouille* (with about forty lances) three hundred Scottishme archers of his gard, & the Gentlemen of his household, did fight more courageously then their forces could permit, not without great danger to his person, being much esteemed by the Marquis, hoping to haue the like aduenture ouer him, as he had vpon the said bastard, beeing wounded, and taken prisoner, neere vnto the King. But the apparent danger of his maiestie, had so inflamed those that were neere vnto him, as falling by heapes vpon the *Italians*, they couer their maisters person with their owne: and so this sodaine fury was stayed, by the charge of a squadron comming at neede from the battaile broken by the death of *Ralph* of *Gonzagua*. A death vnworthy of him, for he loued the *French*, & if he might haue bin credited, the King should not haue opened his passage by force, & quite overthrowe all by the couetousnes of the *Freebooters*: for these men (seeing their companions enriched with the spoyle of the baggage, and to carry away ouer the riuers, some moyle with their burthens, and some horse or armor) they leaue their men at armes, and run to the spoile. The other horsemen were moued presently with the like desire of gaine, and the foote stole out off the battaile, to follow the like example.

On the other side, *Anthony* of *Montfreltre* appointed by *Ralph* to succede when hee should be called, keeping his stand (for that by reason of *Ralph*'s death no man called him) the *French* took their field at large, and doubting their courage, they doubled their blowes, so as by the death of some, and the wounding and flight of others, the Marquis his troupe oppressed with the rough charge of our men at armes, in the ende turned their backs, and were chased and beaten euen to the riuers side, without taking of any prisoner, or care of booty, our *French* being loathed of this filthy gaine, by that common voyce flying amongst them: *Companions remember Guinegasse*, where the greedinesse of spoyle had taken from them the better part of a notable victory.

At the same instant the Earle of *Caiazzo* led his troupes against the forehead: but this was but a countenance: for euen as they couched their lances, seeing some of his troupe vnhorled, *John Piccinin*, *Galeas* of *Correge* and others fainted, and breaking of themselves, they had meanes to recouer their battaile. For the Marquis of *Gié*, seeing on the other side of the riuier an other regiment of men at armes, prepared for the battaile, he keepe backe his men, the which was held of some to be a act of cowardise, then of discretion: but by such as preferre reason before danger, wise and iudicious. The *Swisses* tooke about twenty of these runnawaies, and slue them.

This Marquis of *Montona* gathered together the remainders of this overthrow, and the Earle of *Petillano* being prisoner vpon his word, since the taking of *Capoua*, flying in this tumult to the *Italians* campe, kept them from a more shamefull rout. For the whole Campe talked of a retreat: and the high way from *Plaisance* to *Parma* was couered with men, horses and carts that retyred. Then the King going to his forwardes, (which had kept their stand) propounded vnto his Captains, whether he should charge the enemy in his lodging: *Triuulce* and *Vitel'i* counselled him therevnto, and *Francis Séc* (whom the *Florentines* had sent to conduct the King vnto *Ast*) thrust him forward. But the passage of *Taro* being vneasie, (by reason of the raine fallen the night before, and the day of the battaile the companies being weary, the night approaching, & the king content to haue had the aduantage in so doubtfull a fight, did moderate the heat of the pursue, causing them to lodge at *Medesane*, a village halfe a league from the place where the battaile was fought. So this battaile ended: a memorable day, being the first of a long time, that had bene obstinately fought in *Italy* with bloud-shed, & slaughter, (for in former times the *Italian* combates, were rather pleasant shewes then battailes, famous also for the great numbers of commanders that were slaine. The small number of conquerors, in regard of the huge multitude of the vanquished.

The

A There were numberd some five and thirty or forty *French* horsemen slaine, and some fourscore groomes of the baggage. The *Stradiots* carried away of all their booty but five and forty of the best horse, which were the Kings and his Chamberlaine's: of *Italians* three hundred and fiftie men at armes, amongst the which, there were seauen or eight of the house of *Gonzague*, *Rainunce*, *Farnese*, *Bernardin* of *Montone*, about fixe score Gentlemen of the Marquis his company, and so great a number of others, as they were esteemed to be three thousand five hundred, and not one prisoner. Let vs remember, *That the eternall God scatters the counsels of nations, and brings to nought the practices of men.* And in another place: *That the King is not saued by a great armie, neither doth a mighty man escape by his great force.*

B The King stayed the next day at the same lodging, and departed on wednesday the eight of the moneth, without any sound of Trompet, busying the enemy vnder colour of a parle, fearing them that feared him. But if he could haue made profit of his victory, and turned head against them, who were yet amazed, as their own commanders did confesse, all had sought for their safety by flight. And if he had displayed his colours in fauour of little *Francis*, sonne to *John Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, the name of the usurper was so odious to all the Duchy, and the name of their lawfull Lord so pleasing, as the people had easily confined *Lodowike* into the Castle of *Milan*, and consequently the *Venetians* had lost most of the places they possessed in *Italy*: so ready is that nation to follow the victors happines. This was the counsell of *Triuulce*: but the King would not attempt any thing vpon the right which the Duke of *Orleans* pretended to the Duchie, being now in possession of *Nouarre*. Moreouer, God which had giuen him the honour of a victory, would take from him all cause of presumption, depriving him of the principall fruites that depended thereon.

This so happy a victory, opened a passage for the King, yet was he to encounter a world of difficulties: steepe and craggy mountaines, rough vallies, dangerous forests, riuers hard to passe, want of victualls, and behinde him the Earle of *Caiazzo* had passed the riuier of *Taro* with two hundred Lances, to cut off them that lingered behind. The riuier of *Treby*, gaue the first obstacle, with some terrour, for about ten of the clocke at night, the riuier swelled so high, as it was impossible to passe it before five or the clocke in the morning, the souldiers wading about the stomacke. The King did wisely to dislodge without bruite, being (besides the enemies army) so neere to *Lodowike*'s strong garrisons, hauing a great number of horse, and twelue hundred *Lanquenets*, lodged in *Tortone* and *Alexandria*, and five hundred others; with the foresaid Earle, who were entred into *Plaisance*, fearing some alteration.

Truely *Charles* did dayly feeble the trueth of *Sauonroles* predictions: *That he should endure much, but the honour should be his.* The riuier of *Scrinia* was kept by *Gaspar* of *S. Severin*, surnamed the *Fracasse*, brother to the Earle of *Caiazzo*, and Captaine of *Tortone*, but aduertised that the Kings meaning was only to passe, he retired to his charge, furnished the army with victualls, came vnto the King, and excused himselfe, for that he could not lodge him within the Towne: the which he kept for *Lodowike*. After a shower comes a sun-shine (saith the Prouerbe.) The King is now in a friends country, at *Nice* belonging to the Marquis of *Montferrat*, and from *Nice* to *Ast*. Then the great army of the league, which had followed him into the country of *Tortone*, hauing no more meanes to annoy him, went to ioyne with *Lodowike*'s troupes before *Nouarre*, the which was in great want, for the Duke of *Orleans* had gouerned the victualls hee found therein very ill, and had neglected to furnish it as hee might haue done, considering the fertility of the country. He had of late retained the supply of seuen thousand five hundred good fighting men, sent to the King by the Duke of *Bourbon*: and contrary to his maiesties Commandement, he hath taken places from *Lodowike*: and nowe in need of succoring, he demands succours, for want whereof he shalbe forced to yeeld what he hath gotten.

But *Charles* had other worke. *Naples* is in danger: *Ferdinand* sought all meanes to recover it: and hauing presented himselfe with *Gonsalue Fernand* of the house of

Fff

Aghillar,

1495. *Aghilar*, of the territorie of *Cordoue*, with six thousand men neere vnto *Seminare*, after the taking of *Rhegium*, he had sought to draw the whole realme into rebellion, if the Lord of *Aubigni*, gouernour of *Calabria*, had not by his vigilancie and valour slacke the heare of the peoples rage. And the quarrell had bene ended by the death or imprisonment of *Ferdinand* himselfe, if *Iohn of Capoua*, brother to the Duke of *Terrmini*, whom *Ferdinand* had brought vp a page, had not performed the part of a most faithfull and loyall seruant, who leauing his horie, lost his life to saue his maister *Ferdinand*, hauing his horie flaine vnder him. *Consulue* fled through the mountaines to *Rhegiu*: *Ferdinand* to *Palma*, lying vpon the sea neere to *Seminare*, & frō thence to *Misina*. *Ferdinand* grieved with this disgrace, wil once againe trie the hazard of armes. He is well informed, that all the city of *Naples* desires him greatly: many of the chiefe, both of the Nobility and people, call him secretly. And therefore before the brue of this ouerthrow in *Calabria* should alter this good humour, hee parts from *Misina* with three score vessels with top-masts, and twenty lesse, furnished more for shew and brauery, then for any good seruice, hauing no forces proportionable to so high an enterprise. The peoples fauour and desire supplied his want of men. The Townes of *Salerno*, *Melfe*, and *La Cauce*, display their Ensignes, & he houers about *Naples*, attending some mutinie in the Cittie. But all was in vaine: the Vice-roy had in time manned the approaches, and suppressed the rebellion which began to breed. But according to the aduice of some, hee should haue armed such ships as were in the harbour, with souldiers and men of execution, and haue charged the enemy, who being strong in C snipping, and weake in men, was rettyred to *Ischia*.

The conspirators faint not, but seeing their practise discovered, make a venture of necessitie. They call back *Ferdinand*, and intrate him to land, to giue both force and courage to those that would rise in his fauour. He approacheth, and lands at *Magdeleine*, a mile from *Naples*. Here the Vice-roy shewed no lesse courage, when he should feare, then he had shewed himselfe fearefull, when as resolution was most necessary. He leades in a manner all the garrison out of the City, to disturbe his landing. The *Neapolitans* embracing this occasion, flie to armes, troupe together at the sound of the bell, seize vpon the gates, and proclaim *Ferdinands* name in all places. Our *French* are now in danger on all sides: shall they attend the forreine enemy, or shall they go to encounter them within the Cittie? They haue no meanes to enter by the same way they came forth: all are armed, all is barred vp. There is no other access but by the port ioyning vnto the new Castle: but the way is long and hilly, and they must go about a good part of the Towne walles. But during this march, *Ferdinand* enters, and riding through the City, the people receiue him with great cries of joy: the *French* hauing recovered the Castle, seeke to winne the heart of the City; but being repulsed with Crosse-bowes and small Artillery, and finding the entrie of euery streete well manned, the night likewise approaching, abandoning almost two thousand horse, good and bad vpon the place, hauing no meanes to keepe them within the fort, vnfurnished of prouisions, all put themselves into the Castell, despairing euermore of E themselves to recouer the Towne.

Presently *Capoua*, *Auaise*, *Nole*, the Castle of *Montdragon*, and many other places follow this example, and the greatest part of the realme turnes to *Ferdinand*. Some one must needs pay for all. *Caiete* hauing taken armes for *Ferdinand*, the *French* garrison enters the Towne with furie, makes a horrible slaughter of the rebels, and sacks it. The *Venetian* army at sea, besiegeth *Monopoli*, a City of *Apulia*, both by sea and land, giues a hote assault, they take it by force, and the Castle by composition, and afterwards the Towne of *Pulignan*. *Charles* aduertised of these reuoltes, being parted from *Ast* towards *Turin*, he sends away *Peron* of *Basche* his Steward, to hasten away an army at Sea, from *Villefranche* neere vnto *Nice*, the which carried two thousand fighting men, with store of victuals, vnder the command of the Lord of *Arban*, a valiant Captaine, and well experienced at sea, yet very vnfortunate in this expedition. For hauing discovered *Ferdinands* fleet about the Isle of *Porene*, consisting of thirtie

Ferdinand
defeated by
Capoua.

Ferdinand
enters *Naples*.

Most part re-
uolt from the
French.

Caiete sacked
by the *French*.

A saile, and two great ships of *Genoua*: they presently turne taile to the enemy, leauing him a small *Biscaine* ship for a pawn, and recouer the Port of *Liuorne*, where the *Capitaine* could not stay the greatest number of his souldiers from landing, who tooke the way to *Pisa*.

In the meane time, the *Arragonois* employes all his forces against the new Castle, the Castle of *Ouse*, & other forts held by the *French*. And to make the way the more easie, he fortifies the *Hippodrome*, mans the *Mont S. Herme*, and *Puissancon*, and assailes the Monasterie of the Crosse. B it being at the first greatly annoyed by the Artillerie, he conuerts his force into pollicie, which proues vnfortunate for the Author. There was in it a Moore, sometimes seruant to the Marquis of *Fescara*. The Marquis B sounds him, and hee promisseth to giue entrance. For this effect, he mounts in the night by a Ladder set to the Abby wall, to conclude of the conditions, the manner, and the time, but he discovered not an other *Paris*, who lying behind the battlements of the wall, cut the throat of his *Achilles* with a Crossebow. The Marquises death was repaired by the reuolt of *Prosper* & *Fabrizio Colannes*. who notwithstanding the great aduancements they had from the King, (carried away with a light beleefe, spread abroad by certaine lying letters of *Lodowicke Sforce*, that the King was dead at *Fornovo*, and seeing moreover that the *French* affaires declined) they returne to *Ferdinands* pay. The Castles thus beleaguered, the sea shut vp by *Ferdinands* fleet, famine encreasing daily, and all hope of forraine succours cut off by the voluntary route of *Arbans* C nauie, made the Viceroy to yeeld vp the new castle to *Ferdinand*, after three moneths siege, with promise to go into *Provence*, if hee were not releued within thirty dayes, departing with bag & baggage: and for assurance of this capitulation, he gaue for hostages, *Iues of Alegre*, *la Marche* of *Ardenne*, *la Chapelle* of *Aniou*, *Roquebertin* *Catelan* & *Ienis*: this was the 6. of October. If any releefe came vnto them, it must be of those forces that were dispersed within the realme. So the Lord of *Persi d'Alegre*, brought the *Saisses*, with many of the companies of men at armes, accompanied by the Prince of *Bisignan*, and diuers other Barons persisting yet in their fidelitie. *Ferdinand* aduertised hereof, opposeth the Earle of *Monteleone*. They incounter at the Lake of *Pizzale* neere to *Eboli*, where our *French* had a reuenge of that braue flight of their armie at sea. For D the Earles forces exceeding *Persi* in number, flie at the first approach, without any fight, leauing *Penantio* sonne to *Iules of Varane* Lord of *Camerin* prisoner, but being not pursued, for that our men came to an other end, they retire without any great losse to *Nole*, and after to *Naples*. This victory thrusts forward our men to the execution of their designe. *Ferdinand* (to hinder their approach) casts vp a trench from *Mont S. Herme*, to Castle of *Ouse*, and plants artillerie vpon the hills adioyning, the which doth greatly indamage the *French*, and takes away all meanes to enter the Castle. This side wanting fresh water, made them retire in disorder, leauing behind them some peeces of Artillerie, and part of the victuals they had brought for the releefe of the Castles, being discontented with the small endeavour the besieged had vsed to receiue them.

E He that giues ouer, looseth the game. The Viceroy frustrate (by this dislodging) of all hope of succours, leauing three hundred men in the Castle *Neuf*, (a number proportionable to the victuals that remained) & a conuenient garrison in that of *de l'Ouse*, he imbarques by night with the rest of his souldiers, being 2500, and takes his way to *Salerno*. *Ferdinand* complains that the accord is broken: That it was not lawfull for the Earle of *Montpensier* to depart sodenly, without taking leaue, and with such a company, before he had consigned him the Castles, threatening to be reuenged of the hostages for this iniury & deceit, the which were yeilded a moneth after the prefixed time, when as the garrisons compounded for their departure, being vnable to endure the famine any longer: Those of Castle *Neuf*, vpon condition the hostages should be deliuered: Those of *de l'Ouse*, if they were not succoured by the first day of Lent ensuing. But let vs leaue *Ferdinand* consumed in his throne, and returne to *Nouarre*.

Nouarre was at the last cast, they had no more Corne, no more horses, but for few dayes. some died of hunger, some languished of sicknesse. *Mugnes*, *Briote*, *Camarian*, *Nouarre*.

F f f 2

Bolgare,

1495.
The *French*
fleet flies
voluntarily.

The Marquis
of *Fescara*
slaine.

The reuolt of
the *Colannes*.

The new Ca-
stle at *Naples*
compounds
with *Ferdinand*.

Monteleone
put to flight
by the *French*.

Castle *Neuf*
abandoned
by the Vice-
roy.

Siege of
Nouarre.

1495. *Bolgue*, and other neere places, (with the towers built by the French,) were taken by a force, and the enemy lodged in the Suburbs, were so many Block-houses, neither was there any means to succour them without a battaile. But how? The King took his pleasure at *Turin*, and at *Quiers*, he had no will to hazard another battaile for one Towne onely, which the Duke of *Orleans* would keepe, and no man would fight but in the Kings presence. The Prince of *Orange* (who in matters of warre had great credit with the King) and all the other commanders, desired rather to end the siege by some friendly agreement, then by the hazard of a battaile. Winter approached: every one sees his store spent: many are sick, some retire without leave, others obtaine it. The enemy giues care to a peace. His armie was newly increased by a thousand *Reissers*, led by *Frederick Capelare*, of the Countie of *Ferrete*, and by eleuen thousand *Lansquenets*, commanded by *George of Aberfing*, borne in *Austria*. The leuie which the Bayliffe of *Dijon* went to make in *Suisse*, was not yet ready. Why then (considering the content of both parties) are not these great numbers dismissed friendly without force? Some few fought contention: they had the Kings eares open, and their words were Oracles, as *Briffonnet* Cardinall of *S. Malo*, and the Archbishop of *Rome*: yet would they not leave their robes to put on armes, but keepe themselves safe from blowes. The King (say they) must not begin, let his enemy speake first, he is here in person: The Pope, the Emperour, the King of Spaine, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan are by their Deputies. But whilst they stand vpon this point of honor, their teeth grow and their stomachs shrink at *Nouarre*. And thus the matter was handled, referring the honour of both parties. About that time the *Marquise* of *Montferrat* dyed, daughter to the King of *Servia* in *Greece*, leaving two sonnes, whereof the eldest was but 9. yeares old. The *Marquis* of *Saluce*, & *Constantin* Uncle to the said *Marquis*, one of the ancient Noblemen of *Macedonie*, (the which *Mahumet Ottoman* had many yeares before invaded) contended for the gouernment of the two pupils. To accord this controuersie, for the safety of the children, and the content of the Countie, the King had sent the Lord of *Argenton* to *Casal Cerna*, and the *Marquis* of *Mantoua*, a Steward of his, to condole this death. These two fall into discourse, to pacifie both armies without blowes: so as by the Stewards perswasion, *Argenton* writes to the *Venetian* commissaries, vnder colour to continue the parley they had vpon *Taro*. Giuing eare thereto, they impart it to the Duke of *Milans* Captaines. In the end, by common consent, they meet betwixt *Bolgue* and *Camarian*. There were for the King, the Cardinall of *S. Malo*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marshall of *Gié*, and the Lords of *Piennes* and *Argenton*. For the confederates, the *Marquis* of *Mantoua*, *Bernard Contarin* the Commissarie of the *Venetians* *Stradiots*, and *Francisque Bernardin Visconte*.

Their chiefe controuersie was vpon the deliury of *Nouarre*. *Milan* holds in fee of the Empire, & therefore the King did vrge, that *Nouarre*, as a member of the said Duchie, should be deliuered to *Maximilian*, by the hands of the *Germaine* Capraines, that were in the *Italians* Campe. and the confederats would haue him leaue it absolutely. In the meane time, the famine growes so great, as it kills about 2000. of the Duke of *Orleans* men: and their great necessity required nothing but expedition. But more difficulties growing then could sodenly be decided, they conclude a truce for eight dayes, with permission for the Duke of *Orleans* to come forth with a small traine. For the suretie whereof, the *Marquis* of *Mantoua* did willingly offer himselfe, as an hostage to the Earle of *Foix*, after an oth taken, that they should proceed sincerely in the treaty of peace, & that it was not onely to free the Duke of *Orleans*. The Duke being come to the King to *Vercell*, for the prolongation of the truce, vntill a conclusion of peace: all the men of war came forth, and were conducted into a place of safety, by the *Marquis* of *Mantoua*, and *Galeas* of *S. Senerin*. So the Towne remained in the Inhabitants keeping, with anoth, not to deliuer it to any, but with the consent of both parties. And thirtie men were left in the Castle, vnder the Duke of *Orleans* authoritie, to whom they should dayly send victuals out of the *Italians* Campe for their money.

Within few daies after, arriued the Bayliffe of *Dijon*, with his *Swisses*, who vnder colour

A colour of ten thousand which he thought to bring, the number was doubled, running at the name of the Kings pursle. So great a number of men of one nation, was suspicious. The one moitie ioyned with the Kings armie neere to *Vercell*, the other camped apart, fise leagues off. This new supply, reuiued the courage of the Duke of *Orleans*, and of those whose fingers itched. But to what end were a Battaille, seeing that *Nouarre* had not moued the King, but onely to free the Duke, and his seruants that were now deliuered from captiuitie? And what means were there to fight with two thousand eight hundred men at armes barded, fise thousand light horse, eleuen thousand *Germanes*, and an infinit number of other foote, in a Campe intrenched with palissadoes, and deepe ditches full of water? a counsell fit for scarlet robes, thrust on rather by their owne couetousnesse, then with any respect of the Kings honour or the Dukes. This Cardinall of *S. Malo*, did more affect his Maiesties seruice, or the priuate advancement of his house, seeing that his vnmeasurable greedinesse extorted this confession from his owne mouth: That the Duke of *Orleans* had promised him ten thousand *Ducats* of rent for his sonne, if he had this Duchie of *Milan*. Doubtlesse great Princes vse good and bad instruments to satisfie their desires, but in the end they abhorre the vnlawfull practises of their workemen.

On the other side, his great number of men, newly arriued, who desired nothing but employment, made the *Italians* mindes more inclinable to peace. So the Marshall of *Gié*, the President of *Gannai*, the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, *Argenton*, *Piennes* and *Morulliers*, hauing conferred againe with the confederates, where the Duke of *Milan*, did assit in person: they concluded an accord, more through the necessitie of the season, and want of money, desirous to returne home with the shew of an honourable peace, then with any confidence it would continue. It was agreed; That the King should be serued by the Duke of *Milan* for *Genes*, as of his vassal, against all the world, and in so doing, the Duke should furnish at his owne charge, two Ships to succour the Castle of *Naples* (the which held yet) and the yeare following, should serue the King with three, and go with him in person to the enterprize of *Naples*, if by chance he returned, and should suffer the Kings men to passe. If the *Venetians* did not accept of the peace within two moneths, but would maintaine the house of *Arragon*, hee should ayde the King against them: and the King should giue him all that should be taken from them. That of sixe score and foure thousand *Ducats* lent to the King in that voyage, hee should forgie fourescore thousand. And for the expenses made at *Nouarre*, he should pay the Duke of *Orleans* fiftie thousand *Ducats*, by the moneth of *March* following. That for the suretie of *Genes*, the Duke should giue two hostages, and deliuer the Chastelet into the Duke of *Ferrares* keeping, as a Nether, for two whole yeares, the gard thereof to bee paide at their common charge: and in case the Duke of *Milan* should forfait *Genes* to the King, the Duke of *Ferrare* should then deliuer the Chastelet to the King, and the Duke of *Milan* should giue two other hostages of *Milan*. That the Duke should not empeach the *Florentins*, to recouer what belonged vnto them. That *Triuulce* should be restored to his lands and goods. And that the prisoners, the confederates had taken, should be deliuered.

This peace was sworne on eyther side: the *Venetians* craue respite for two moneths, to accept or not, and the King transported with a great desire to see his *France*, resolved to part the next day. But aduertised that the *Swisses* practised eyther to assure themselves of his person, or to seize vpon the cheefe in Court, for three moneths pay, which they sayde was due vnto them, by an accorde made with *Lewis* the eleuenth, That so often as they should go forth with their Ensignes displayed, they should receiue that payment: hee parted from *Vercell*, (into the which many *Swisses* were gotten) and went towards *Trine*, a Towne belonging to the *Marquis* of *Montferrat*. This humour possessed them by the instigation of those to whom this peace was not pleasing.

From *Trine*, the King sent the sayd Marshall of *Gié*, the President of *Gannai*, and *Argenton*, to *Lodowicke Sforce*, to moue him to an enterview. But hee grounded his excuse vpon some speeches which the Earle of *Ligni*, and the Cardinall of *Saint Malo* had

1496. had vsed. That they should take him when he came, to the King to *Paucier*: who would A he willingly parle with the King, hauing a barre and riuer betwixt them. He had heard talke of the parle betwixt *Edward* & the Costable of *S. Paul*, with *Lewis* the eleuenth, *Charles* taking this distrust in ill part, receiued his hostages of *Milan*: and impatient to attend the *Geneuois*, aduancing to *Quiers*, he sent *Peron de Basche* to *Genes*, to receiue the two carrakes promised by the treaty, and to arme foure others, where- in hee made accompt to shippe three thousand *Suisses*, to releue the Castells of *Naples*, knowing that the armie of *Nice* had beene altogether vnprofitable. But it was sufficient for the *Milanois* to promise: hee knewe well that hungar would force the wolfe out of the woode, that is to say, that want of victualls would shortly expell the garrisons out of those Castells. Moreouer being perswaded, the King would B hardly repasse the Alpes, he seekes the friendship of *Ferdinand*, arming two ships for his seruice.

Charles did then send the Lord of *Argenton* to *Venice*, to knowe if they would accept of the peace, and to passe three articles: To re-deliver *Monopoli*, which they had taken from him: To draw back the *Marquis of Mantoue*, their Lieutenant generall, & all others they had in the Realme of *Naples*, for *Ferdinands* seruice: and to declare King *Ferdinand* to be none of the league lately made, in the which there was onely named the Pope, the King of the *Romains*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Milan*. For answer, they flatly refuse all the Kings demands, as hauing no warre with him: and that their meaning was onely to succour the Duke of *Milan* as their Allie, whome the King C fought to ruine.

And for the making of an agreement, they offer to be a meanes: That *Ferdinand* should do homage to the King, for the Realme of *Naples*, with the Popes consent: and should pay a hundred and fiftie thousand ducats yearely, and a present summe of money, the which they would lend: for the loane whereof they should haue *Bruduse*, *Otrante*, *Trani* and some other places in *Apulia*, in pawne: That *Ferdinand* should giue the King some places for safety, to make warre against the *Turke*, according to the hope wherewith *Charles* had fed all Christendome. The which, if he would vndertake, all *Italie* should contribute therevnto. That the King and they should dispose of all *Italie* without contradiction: and for their part, they would ferue the King with a hundred gallies at their owne charge, and with fiftie thousand horse by land. But this *Turkish* warre was but a glorious cloake for euery priuate mans couetousnes. And who can wonder if God did sodenly frustrate our desseignes, hauing an other ground then we made shewe of? Who will not iudge, but this offer had beene as honorable for *France*, as the generall losse of the sayd Realme was dishonorable? *Charles* would willingly haue vndertaken it, and the greatest part of his Counsell did allowe it. But *Tacitus* obserues of *Vitellius*, That his iudgement was such, as hee found all harsh that was profitable, and tooke nothing in good part but what was pleasing, and that proved hurtfull. A lesion for Princes, not to trust so confidently to some particular persons, for the government of their affaires, as not to impart it sometimes to others: E neyther to aduance any one so high, as all the rest should bee his inferiours, for making himselfe to be feared and respected aboue all (as the Cardinall *Briçonnet*, his Brethren and kinsfolke did) he commonly makes his house great at his maisters cost. But it was the humor of this young King, fearing (sayeth the history) to displease them to whome hee gaue credit, and especially such as gouerned his treasure: as the aboue named.

Our Conquerors are now arrived at *Lion*, in the moneth of October, not greatly carefull of those they had left at *Naples*, without any intelligence or letters from the King, but onely counterfeite: and nothing but promises for assignations of pay, where- of followed the generall losse of the Realme: who for a signe of their conquest, left F them nothing but the possession of a stinking and contagious disease, which afterwards spread ouer all *France*: the which (beeing till then vnknowne in our parts, and the Physicians not acquainted with the cure thereof) lodged manie in the graue.

The *Venetians* preposi-
tious to the
King.

The begin-
ning of the
pocks.

A graue, leauing many deformed and lame of their limmes, and subiect to continuall 1495
torments.

Charles hauing continued two moneths at *Lion*, hee receiued two very trouble- some and vnpleasant aduertisements: One was Domestically, the death of his sonne the *Daulphin*, deceased at three yeares of age: A goodly child (saith the Originall) and bold in speech, who feared not those things which other children are accustomed to feare. The other was forreine, the yeelding of the Castels at *Naples*. The King passed ouer his mourning lightly: for being little, both of bodie and vnderstanding, he began to feare, least the *Daulphin* growing in these generous dispositions, which they noted in his infancie, should soone blemish the fathers power and authoritie. A lamenta- B ble thing, that so great a Monark should feare his owne child lying in a cradle. But that was certaine, that *Charles* the seuenth his grandfather had beene iealous of *Lewis* the eleuenth his sonne. *Lewis* had terrified his father, and was in feare of his sonne *Charles* the eight: and now *Charles* apprehends some decay in his estate by his son. Jealousie is a disease which doth commonly infect Princes houses. The other accident was of greater consequence, and toucht him more neerely. But were not these cross- es sufficient to afflict him, but he must receiue a publike shame by meanes of a pri- uate mans couetousnesse?

The *Florentines* prest the performance of their treatie, sworne at *Florence*, con- firmed at *Asi*, and afterwards at *Turin*. *Charles* writes to this effect to *Entragues* Cap- taine of the Citadell at *Pisa*, and to the bastard of *S. Paul*, to restore those places to the *Florentines* which they commaunded. But these gentlemen are good marchants, they sell that which they are commanded to giue. *Entragues* interprets the Kings letters parents according to his owne couetousnesse, and excuseth himselfe with a secret charge he sayd he had receiued, not to deliuer it without the Earle of *Lignies* hand writ- ting, in whose name hee commanded *Pisa*. But this was the cheife cause, hee must haue money. *Florence* did not offer any, *Pisa* must pay it, or else fall into their hands whom they hated to the death. To draw them vnto it, he hath an other wicked pra- ctice. He lends to the *Florentine* Commissaries, to bring their armie to the port of the suburbs of *S. Mare*, that if the *Pisans* would not receiue them friendly, hee would D force them to abandon the sayd gate, being so commanded by the Citadell, as it could not resist without the Capitaines sufferance.

Hee did not beleue the *Florentines* should so easily haue taken the bulwarke of the said suburbs. But when as he sees the assailants enter pel-mel, kill some, and take others prisoners, he turnes his Artillerie vpon the *Florentines*, kills and hurts them, and forceth the *Florentines* to abandon the place. In the end, prest by the Kings commanding letters, both to the Earle of *Lignies*, to him, and to all the garrisons, to leaue the said places, hee deliuers them for twentie thousand Ducats, and after sels *Pietre- santa* to the *Luquois*, and *Libresacta* to the *Venetians*. And the aboue named bastard, as good a marchant as the other, sels *Serezane* and *Serezanelle* to the *Geneuois*. And al E to the Kings dishonour, his subjects shame, and the absolute losse of *Naples*, *Saillant* who was commaunded in the port of *Liuorne*, is commanded to haue yeelded the place, to the *Florentines* at the first summons, and *Entragues* banished the Realme of *France*, by a decree of the priuie counsell. Yet the Duke of *Orleans* (his maisters credit) caused this sentence to be repealed. The *Pisans* being masters of their Citadell, razed it to the ground. And rather then they will submit their neckes to the *Florentines* yoake, they implore ayd from the Pope, Emperour, *Venetians*, *Geneuois*, *Siennois* and *Luqua- ti*. But whilst that *Lodowike* consults whether hee should receiue them into his protection, the *Venetians* preuent him. So many dogges fighting for one bone, pull one another by the throat, whilst the most politicke carries it away.

F The Viceoy in the meane time gathers together the remnant of his shipwracke. And as the reuolt of the *Colonnors* had greatly weakened the Kings partie, so hee hoped to repaire it by the meanes of *Virgilius Vrsinus*, who seeing the *Colonnors* his enemies newly aduanced to great authoritie with *Ferdinand*, hee accepted

The treache-
rie and coue-
tousnes of
Entragues

The King
dishonored
by two of his
subjects.

Virgilius Vrsinus
in the Kings
pay.

1496, of the Kings entertainment, being agreed that he with the rest of the house of *Visin*, A should make a leavy of six hundred men at armes, and with the *Vitelli* cross *Ferdinand's* attempts, who by diuers euent laboured vehemently to recouer that which the King held yet. And let vs now see the successe of their affaires. The successe of armes is variable, but God holds them in ballance, and giues the aduantage to whome hee pleaseth. Our men had sometimes the better, and sometimes the worse. But this but a languishing fit. Our *French* being incamped at *Nocere*, had by an intelligence giuen, taken and slaine seuen hundred *Arragonis*, going to surprise *Gisone*, neere to *S. Severin*: but seeing *Ferdinand* fortified with the Popes troupes, they leaue *Nocere*, to take *S. Seuerin*, and *Gosence* which was lately rebelled against them.

Abruzzo continued firme through the valour of *Gratian de Guerres*, against the attempts of the Earle of *Popoli*: and the comming of the *Visins* and the *Vitelli*, did greatly molest the lands of *Montecassin*, and the neighbour cuntry of *Labour*. *Calabria* (although the long sicknes of the Lord of *Aubigni*, had stayed the course of his prosperity) remained yet at the Kings deuotiō. The *Viceroy* had mounted & armed such as came with him from *Naples*. All these considerations gaue courage to our men, and made the way to a battaile, which the *Viceroy* and *Visins* greatly pressed. But the want and necessity of money to pay their strangers, doth cast an aple of discord in the army: eight hundred *Lansquenets*, for want of pay, go to the *Arragonis*, who fortifying the enimie, makes our *French* so much the weaker. Behold a rough shaking for a house that threatned ruine. And now comes the blowe, which in few monethes shall strike C vs dead.

At the first, the *Venetians* would not receiue *Ferdinand* into the league of the Potentates of *Italy*, to the end that vrgent necessity might force him to yeeld the something, watching so long for an opportunity, as in the end they finde it. *Ferdinand* had a great action in hand: he must hazard all, to become (as they say) a rich Marchant, or a poore pedler. He accords with the *Venetians*, and in regard of a succour of seuen hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, and three thousand foote, led by the Marquis of *Mantoue*, and their nauie intertained, which lay then vpon that coast, with a loan of fifteene thousand ducats, he deliuered vnto them, *Otrante*, *Brudusum*, and *Thrane*, and consents they should retaine *Monopoli*, and *Pulignane*, which they then D held, vpon condition to deliuer them, vpon payment of such money as should be employed in the gard thereof, so as it amounted not aboue two hundred thousand ducates. Moreouer the Pope, they, and the *Milanois*, sent other companies of men at armes leauied in common. And *Lodowike*, who would not directly breake the treaty of *Verezill*, agreed secretly to pay ten thousand ducats monethly towards the warres of *Naples*.

If the Earle of *Montpenefer* were in want, *Ferdinand* was as needy, and the *Venetian* succours could not be so soone ready. So the weakenesse of both parties, being sicke of one disease, kept them from attempting much, yet idlenesse makes the souldiers slothfull. To keepe them in exercise, the *Viceroy* practiseth an intelligence vpon *Beneuent*: E but he was preuented by *Ferdinand*, who had notice thereof: he leaues it to take *Fenestane*, *Apice*, and many other neighbour townes: wanting victuals, and the season approaching to collect one of the most important reuenues of the realme, which was the custome for cattle in *Apulia*, he marcheth to frustrate the enimie: it mounted yearly to fourescore thousand ducates. *Ferdinand* and followes, to stay the *Viceroy's* course, attending his succours.

At that time there arriues a *French* nauy at *Caiette*, of fifteene great ships, and seuen A new French fleet in the kingdome of Naples. less, wherein they had shipped eight hundred *Lansquenets* at *Sauone*, and the troupes appointed for the great ships that should haue bene armed at *Genes*. This armie takes *Istri* at their landing, with other neighbour places. *Don Baptiste Caracciol* had promised to giue him entrance into *Seffe*, but *Dom Frederick*, *Ferdinand's* vncke, preuented him, committing the bishop and others guilty of this practise to prison. The fury of the warre was in *Apulia*, and the successe was variable, for both parties lodged in diuers

A diuers Townes, who rather by their ordinary roads, then by any valour, made warre 1496. against the poore cattell. *Virgilius Visinus* and *Marian Sauelli* had gathered together an infinite number of cattell, the custome betwixt *S. Seuer* & *Porcine*: and *Ferdinand* with six hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and fifteene hundred foote, comes by night to driue them away: who by the breake of day beeing planted before *Saint Seuer* with his men at armes, to make head against *Virgilius*, if hee issued forth, he caused his light horse to driue away about threescore thousand head of cattell. *Sauelli* issueth forth of *Porcine*, to the rescue, but being too weake, he was forced to retyre with the losse of thirtie men at armes.

This check drew the *Viceroy* against *Ferdinand* being at *Fogge*, to recouer both the honour and the pray that was lost. Vpon the way hee encounters eight hundred *Lansquenets*, betwixt *Nocere* and *Troye*, which went to ioyne with *Ferdinand*: hee chargeth them, and beeing obstinate in fight, defeats them, and killes them all, with some losse of his men: and so presents himselfe in battaile beefore *Fogge*, but none issuing forth saue the light horse, hee laye in ambush in the wood of the *Incoronate* or not crowned, and recouered the greatest part of the cattell. Then presenting himselfe before *Fogge*, hee retyres to *Saint Seuer*: when as the light horse falling vpon those that did driue away the bootie, deprived eyther party of the greatest profit, for the cattell being dispersed here and there, were abandoned to the first that could take them. Herevpon the army at sea ioynes with the *Viceroy*, and the Marquis C of *Mantoue* with the *Arragonis*. So the chiefe forces of both armies approach. The *French* were stronger in foote, and the *Italians* in horse: which held the estate of affaires in suspence.

The King began now againe to affect the affaires of *Italy*, and hauing made a progresse to *Tours* and *Paris*, to performe (sayeth the history) some vowes which he had made at *Fourmoue*, he returnes to *Lion*. His owne inclynation drew him naturally to this war: glorious, for that he was the first of the Kings of *France*, after many ages, that had renewed the *French* armies in *Italie*. Moreouer, the *Florentins*, the Cardinal of *Saint Pierre*, *John Iaques Triuulce*, the *Visins*, the Earle of *Montmore*, (sent to that end by the Barons of the Realme of *Naples*, who yet did carry the flower de *Lice*, but with more D importance then all the rest,) the Cardinal of *Saint Male*, and that Mignon the Seneschall of *Beaucuire*, gaue him a certaine hope of victory, by meanes of a great and speedie succour: and contrarywise of an apparent losse, if matters were more neglected. Euen those which before had dissuaded this enterpryse of *Italie*, greued nowe exceedingly to see their conquest so cowardly lost, and the *French* Nobility to perish: who vnfurnished of aide) were ready to suffer shipwracke. The Admirall of *Grauille* alone could not fauour this warre.

These resolutions were somewhat hindred by the warre which the King supported in the County of *Roussillon*, from whence the *Spaniards* made ordinary roades and robberies in *Languedok*. *Charles of Albon*, grandfather to the deceased Marshall of *S. E Andrew*, defended the frontier, as Lieutenant to the Duke of *Bourbon*, gouernor of that Province the which was greatly indamaged by the garrison of *Saulses*, a little Towne in the sayd County, strong of men and situation, and defended by some gentlemen of the King of *Castills* house, who were seconded by an army in field, bigger then the *French*. *Albon* vnder takes to beleage *Saulses*, batters it, makes a breach, and giues an assault, and within ten houres carries it by force, where he slew some forty *Spanish* gentlemen of marke, and about foure hundred men of defence. A worthy reward for the wrong which the *Castillian* had done to *Charles*, who had so willingly restored him the possession of this Country, hoping to binde him by this good turne, nor to crosse him in his desseins, vpon the Realme of *Naples*, as by the contract of reddition he had promised. This exploit kept the *Snailles* within their shelles, who vnder pretense F and colour to continue their Conquests vpon the *Moors*, whom they lately overcame and chased out of *Granado*, in the ende they motioned a truce, the which (beeing concluded from March to October, for themselves, and such of their faction as would A truce betwixt the Kings of France and Castile.

1496. would accept of it) diuided the *Castilian* from the other confederats, attending that a mutuall assemblie at *Montpellier*, should end all their controuersies by a firme and durable peace.

Charles greatly affects the merpride of Italy.

The Cardinal of Saint Malo hinders the Kings voyage.

Thus *Charles* freed from this incombance, retournes more vehemently to his first desseins, and to draw his counsell therevnto, hee sayed, that hee felt a diuine inspiration in his soule, which called him into *Italie*. It was according to the predictions of *Sanamarala*. In the ende it was concluded, That *Triuulce* should retorne to *Ast*, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant, with eight hundred Lances and foure thousand *French* and *Suisses*: That the Duke of *Orleans* should soone followe, and then the King. That thirty shippes should passe the straights into the ports of *Provence*, and should be armed for the passage of *Naples*, with men, victuals money, and all other munition. A braue desseine and a goodly order, if it had taken effect. But it is a great error in Kings, to giue the chiefe places of authority, rather to Church-men, then to their Princes, or to Noblemen of merit: seeing that these men haue but one oath, which is to their King, and the other hauing two, they commonly preferre that which they owe vnto the Pope. The Cardinal of *Saint Malo*, gouerning the Treasor, and in a manner the whole State, did not directly contradiet the Kings will, (hauing so greatly affected the first voyage) but so slackt the expeditions, delaying the necessary payments, that no prouision was effected. And who would not beleue, but the Pope giuing to this man a Cardinals hat, would likewise drawe him to his faction.

But lets heare another disturbance, when as euery man supposed that the King would speedily passe the mountaines, he makes a poasting voyage to *Paris* and to *Tours*, for three reasons. The first, vnder colour of deuotion: to take leaue (sayd he) of *Saint Denis* and *Saint Martin*, according to the ancient ceremonies of the Kings of *France*. The second, to bid the *Queene* farewell, who was resident at *Tours*: The third, to draw all the Cities of the Realme to ayde him with money, after the example of *Paris*, to auoide the necessities of the yeare before. But he did not see downe the fourth: and it may be more vrgent: the loue of one of the *Queenes* maids: an importune passion, which doth so restrain all the spirits of man, as he neglects all other cares. *Charles* departs, and retournes not in foure monethes: he sends *Triuulce* to *Ast*, with a small D troupe, more to confirme the friendship of *Philip*, the new Duke of *Sauoie*, by the death of the little Duke his Nephew, then for any preparation of warre: and for the prouision of *Naples*, six shippes were provided laden with victuals, and laden with hope to be soone followed by a great army, and to receiue forty thousand ducats due at *Florence*. This was physicke after death: for if they had arriued in time, they had preferred, or at the least stayed for a season the losse of the Realme. If *Brissonnet* were so dull in these Commissions in the Kings presence, Iudge if he made any halt in his Maiesties absence.

Yet the body of the Neapolitane state was so shaken, as for want of speedy remedy it was ready to fall. The two armies approch, both so tired, as the warre must sodenly end by the ruine of the one. The *French* were camped before *Cirelle*, ten myles from *Renecunt*: and *Ferdinand*, to diuert this seege, was before *Frangette* of *Montfort*. For the succoring whereof, our men leaue *Cirelle*: but the *Lansquenets* apprehending a second assault, left the place at randon. This was a losse, which did greatly import our men.

They had meanes in shewe to defeate this army, so busie at the sacke of *Frangette*, as the Capitaines aduertised, that there was but a valley betwixt the *French* and their lodging, they could not in time call backe the soldiars from the spoile to armes. The Earle of *Montpensier* would haue embraced this occasion. *Virgilium Vrsinum* did vrge it, *Persid Alegre*, by an enuious, or malicious shew of hazard, which they should incur in passing the valley at the mercy of the enemy, loathing the *Suisses* & *Lansquenets*, which he commanded, discontented moreouer with the small entertainment they had made him whē he preferred himself to succor the castells of *Naples*, hindred the execution and

A and besides, vnder colour of pay, (as they say) he caused the strangers to mutine. Thus the *French* forced to found the retreat, went to followe the seege of *Cirelle*, where *Camillo Vitelli*, performing the office of an excellent Capitaine and souldier, during the assault, was wounded in the head with a stone, whereof he died. An accident which caused the *French* to abandon both the assault & the seege, to retire towards *Arriane*, and to seeke some meanes to draw the *Arragonois* to battaile. But they had to deale with cunning temporisers, who knowing our men to be pressed with the want of meat and money, and foreseeing that the slacknes of their succors would breed greater commodities and defasters, they suffered them to keepe the field, and lodged in their forts, where their commodities could not be cut off.

B Not onely the armie, but also the other parts of the realme were greatly distressed. *Annibal* the bastard sonne of the Lord of *Camerin*, had of late defeated the *Marquis of Bitonte* of the *French* faction, in *Abruzzo*: for a reuenge, *Gratian de Guerres*, being in field, ouerthrew the Earles of *Selane* and *Popoli*, leading three hundred horie and three thousand foote for *Ferdinand*. Norwithstanding the losse of an occasion of a victorie at *Frangette*, the extreame necessitie of all things, the discord of the Captains, and continuall contradiction of *Persi*, refusing to obey the Earle of *Montpensier*, for that (saith he) he had against reason abandoned the Castles of *Naples*, the disobedience of the souldiars, the discontent of the *Neapolitane* troupes following the King, not payed, & iniuriously intreated in the diuisions of b vnties or victuals, the departure C of many from the Campe, the mutinies of the *Suisses* and *Lansquenets*, who cryed out tumultuoutly for their pay, the neighbourhood of many Townes, supported by the enemies armie, and many defasters concurring, daunted the courage of our soldiars, ingendred a contempt and hatred in the people, & forced our men to flie from place, to place, without any hope of meanes to fight with the enemy, who to spare the blood of his people would not hazard any thing.

All these difficulties carried our *French* into *Apulia*, and as they were busied in the taking and sacke of *Atelle*, and then to possesse *Venouse*, a strong Towne, and abounding with victuals, *Ferdinand* takes *Gesualde* in one day (the which in former time had endured a seege of foureteene monethes) and taking from them all hope of *Venouse*, D he forceth them to retire to *Atelle*, and presently campt before it, desirous to win a victorie without peril and losse of men, and cutting off all the passages, hee takes from them all meanes of vittaile: But this accident made his desseignes more easie. The remainder of the *Lansquenets*, who since their departure from their houses, had receiued but two monethes pay, seeing the time of their entertainment past, they went to the *Arragon* partie. And that which hastened the totall ruine of our men, was the event in *Calabria*. By reason of the Lord of *Antignies* sicknes, many of his company were goneto the *Viceroyes* armie. The Earle of *Melete*, and *Albert of S. Seuerin*, with many other Barons of the Countrey (seruants to the Kings) lodged at *Laine* vpon the river of *Sipri*, couered with the Castle on the other side of the river, against any one E that should assaile them vpon the high way, and from some other places belonging to the Place of *Bisignan*. It is very dangerous to be too confident, especially in matters of warre. These Noblemen assembled all the forces they could, to charge *Gonsalue*, who made warre in that Prouince, and after the taking of some places was camped before *Castrouillare*. *Gonsalue* prevents them, and conning neere the river, he causeth his foote to march towards the bridge, which lyeth betwixt the Castle of *Laine* and the village. Which bridge was negligently garded, relying vpon the aboue named places, whilst that he passeth with his horse at a foard two miles aboue, and both should charge our men at one instant. The effect succeeded: he arriues before day, finds them without sentinell, & without gard, chargeth, and breakes them instantly, takes eleven F Barons prisoners, and almost all the souldiars, who flying towards the Castle, sell among the foote, who had already seized vpon the bridge.

This victorie layed the way open for *Gonsalue* to ioyne with *Ferdinand* with 6. thousand men: & this relief was the ruine of our troupes, pressed with 3. armies, the *Arragonois*.

The French defeated.

1495 gonis, *Venetian* and *Spanish*. So as being no more able to be releued with victuals, A nor go to forrage, neyther to haue any passage to the riuer, to water their horses, being themselves in great extremity for water; being vanquished with so many difficulties and abandoned of all hope, after two and thirty dayes seege, they obtained of *Ferdinand* a truce for thirty dayes, and necessary victuals for that time: during the which, none of the beseged should go forth: License for the Duke Montpensier to signifie this accord unto the King: the soldiers, their liues and goods saved, with the which they might retire into France by land or sea: and the *Vrsins* with other Italian soldiers, whither they would, out of the Realme: Impunity to the Barrons and al others that had followed the French faction, and restitution of their goods and offices, so as within fifteene dayes they returned to *Ferdinand*. All this is good, but there followes a very dishonorable promise: That if the Earle of Montpensier bee not releued within thirtie dayes, he shall deliver *Acelle* and all that he holds within the Realme of *Naples* into *Ferdinands* hands, with all the artillery. Thus reason yeelds, where force commands.

A dishonorable composition made by the French.

The Earle of Montpensier dies with most of his troups.

The time expired, all were conducted to the Castell of *Stabbie* vpon the sea, and the *Viceroy* was summoned to yeeld vp all the other places, which the King possessed. But, pretending that his authority did not extend to the Capitaines which commanded in *Calabria*, *Abruzzo*, *Caiete* and other places, which the King himselfe (and not he) had giuen them in garde: the *Arragonois* making shew to dismisle them, caused them to be conducted (but more properly confined them) vpon this controuersie to *Blate*, and *Puzzol*, where (vnder colour that shipping was not yet readie,) part of them by the wants they had endured, and part by the indisposition of the aire, being hot and vnholosome, and part feeding intemperately vpon Grapes and other fruit halfe ripe: but with more likehood, hauing (as some write) seasoned their meates, & mixt their wines with drugs insupportable for the stomake, the Earle of *Montpensier* died, and of five thousand men, scarce fifteene hundred returned safe to their Country. There is but one hazard to loose all. A battaile although very disperate, had bene far more honorable and lesse fatall. But let vs rather note the examples and errors of other, then reprove them.

Virgilius and *Paul Vrsin*, by the Popes commandement (who had sworne the rume of that house) were thit vp in the Castell *del Ocus*: their men (led by *John Jordan* the son of *Vrsin*, and *Bartholmewe of Aluiane*) were stript in *Abruzzo* by the Duke of *Vrbino*, and these two commanders called by *Ferdinand* to *Naples*, were likewise imprisoned. *Aluiane* escaped soone after, the rest died in prison. Now all things smile vpon the conquerour, but hee pursues the victory otherwise then wee can doo: and in the eagles-boiles, euery one flies to the stronger, and makes his peace as he may. *Ferdinand* sends *Don Frederic* his Vnkle and *Prosper Colonne* before *Caiete*, and *Fabricio Colonne* into *Abruzzo*, where they yeelded *Aquille* for the *Arragonois*, tooke the rocke of *Saint Seuerin* by force, and caused the Capitaine and his sonne to be beheaded, to terrifie the rest: then he went and incamped before *Salerno*, where the Prince of *Bisignan* made his peace for himselfe, for the Prince of *Salerno*, for the Earle of *Cappacie*, and some other Barons. *Grattian des Guerres* (forced to giue way to this violent streame,) leaues *Abruzzo*, and retires himselfe with eight hundred horse into *Caiete*, where *don Frederic* doth presently inuest him. *Gonsalue* returned into *Calabria*, where the Lord of *Aubigni* (after such resistance as his forces could make), being gotten into *Groppoli*, in the end promisseth to leaue all the *Prouince*, hauing liberty to returne into France by land. The other Capitaines (eether for that they had filled their bagges with the provisions of their places, or had by disorder consumed that in few dayes, which in time of necessity might haue serued long: or through feare, or impatience of the discomforts which followe a seege) were forced to yeeld them at the first summon.

But shall *Ferdinand* long enioy the happy successe of his armes? Behold, hauing not yet tasted the sweetnes of his Conquests, reinyning nothing for the recovery of the Realme but *Tarentum*, *Caiete*, and fewe other places, held by *Charles* of *Sanguin*, & *Mont Saint Angelo*, where *Don Iulian* of *Lorraine* commanded, who caused the next

but

A bour Countries to feele both the greatnes of his courage, and the weight of his arme, 1497. death comes and cuts off both the course of his victories, & the threed of his life: and transports his Crowne to *Don Frederike* his vnkle. Thus the state of *Naples* felt the diuers humors of five Kings in three yeares. *Ferdinand*, *Alphonso*, or King *Charles* the eight: *Ferdinand* the incestuous, hauing married his Aunt, sister to *Alphonso*, his father, and *Frederike*.

King Ferdinand dies.

Frederike leauing the seige of *Caiete*, comes to enioy his Nephes succession, and those which had before followed the French partie, as the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignan*, the Earle of *Cappacie* and others, were the first to proclaime his name in *Naples*, and to helpe him to finish the remainder of the warre against our men. *Tarentum* (being seized by the *Venetians*) was forced to yeeld through famine, who hauing held it some dayes (not without suspect that they would appropriate it to themselves) in the end they conigned it vnto *Frederike*, at the Popes intercate, and the King of *Spaines*. *Caiete* might haue held out some monethes, but iudging the King would haue as little care to recover them, as many other places negligent lie lost to the preiudice, both of a great number of the Nobilitie, and also of the Crowne, they compounded with *Frederike* by the meanes of the Lord of *Aubigni*, giuing them leaue to returne by sea into France, with bagge and baggage. And consequently, all other places did quite reiect the French command in the state of *Naples*. And *Frederike* (hauing obtayned the investiture of the Realme, from the Pope) was solemnly crowned.

C Thus King *Charles* was freed from the care hee had for the recouerie thereof, but the losse and infamie thrusts him on to reuenge vpon the next neighbour. Many Potentates of *Italie* perswade him thereunto: the Duke of *Ferrara* knew well that the *Venetians* (hauing taken *Polesan* from him,) sought his ruine, and amidst these diuisions he was like vnto a sheepe betwixt two wolues, that is to say, the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan* his foame in law, who (preferring his safetie and his childrens, before the loue of the Duke of *Milan*), offered the King five hundred men at armes, and two thousand foote. The *Marquis* of *Mantoua* (being discontented with the *Venetians*) sel from them with 300. men at armes. *John Bentiuole* offered a hundred and fiftie men at armes, & the companies which his two foames led, with a good number of foote. The *Florentines* (not to loose *Pisa* and other places, and to warrant themselves from the wrongs, which the *Venetians* praetised against them) promised eght hundred men at armes, and five thousand foote at their owne charge. The *Vrsins* and the Gouernour of *Rome*, a thousand men at armes. Moreover there was in *Asi* eight hundred men at armes, and fixe thousand foote. If all these forces with the French, had ioyntly charged the Duke of *Milan*, either his estate had bene in danger, or hee must haue followed the Kings partie, the which obtained, the kingdome of *Naples* had bene easily recovered. The Duke of *Orleans* was appointed to this effect, for the King would not directly breake the treatie of *Verceil*, desiring the Duke should make this warre in his owne proper name. The Duke refuseth to march with other E tithen the Kings Lieutenant, either iudging his provisions not well grounded, or seeing the King ill disposed of his person, whose next heire he was, if hee miscaried. Thus both the enterprise, and the intelligences which *Triuulce* had against the *Milanois* were made frustrate.

The Princes of Italie incense the king against the Venetians and Duke of Milan.

The Duke of Orleans refused to make warre against the Duke of Milan in his owne name.

There are other actions which succeed as vnappely. The *Fregoses* being expelled *Genes*, by the faction of the *Adornes*, could not returne without some notable support, who coming to the gates, they hoped with great facilitie to raise their party, to chase away their aduersaries, and to reduce the Towne to the Kings obedience. The King vpon this hope, commands *Triuulce* to assist *Baptista Fregose* with those forces which he had in *Asi*, and the *Florentines* with *Octauin Fregose* to assaile *Lungiane* at the same time, and the East coast, whilest that *Baptista* should molest the West. This enterprise did much trouble the Duke of *Milan*: and if it had bene continued, it had produced greater effects in the estate of *Milan* then at *Genes*. For *Lewis* of *Fiesque* and the *Adornes* had brought many men into *Genes*, and armed a fleet

1497. to see, at the common charges of the *Venetians*, of *Lodowike*, and of *Frederike* king A of *Naples*. And *Lodowike* had not yet receiued his *Venetians*. But in stead of *Genes*, they went to take *Nous*, a towne able to cōtaine many men, and the *Fregoses* held the castle, fit to make warre in the countrie, and to stoppe the passage from *Milan* to *Genes*. The taking of *Nous* made the neighbour places yeeld to *Baptista*, and at the same instant, the Cardinall of *S. Pierre*, with two hundred Launces, and three thousand foote of *Triuulles* troupes seised on *Vintemille*, and presented himselfe before *Sauonne*, hoping that in disdaine of the *Geneuois*, (whose yoahe they bare,) hee should find both the Citizens harts, and the Cittie gates open. But no signe, no shew of any alteration. *John Adorne* followed the Cardinall, and forced him to retire into *Albare*, a place belonging to the *Marquis of Montferrat*. *Triuulles* had an other descing: and although B he had an expresse commandement from the King, to surcease from making warre against the Duke of *Milan*, and to second *Baptista* and the Cardinall, yet did he seeke by all meanes to kindle troubles in the said Duchie: and if he had beene suffered to proceed, without doubt there had followed some notable effect, vnder colour, to assure the companies that were passed into the riuer vpon the East: that he thought it necessary to shut vp the passage betwixt *Alexandria* and *Genes*, whereas *Lodowike* assembled his forces, by the taking of *Bourg* and other places of importance in the Countrie. But to obey the Kings will, he lost a goodly oportunitie, to doe great seruice vnto the Crowne. for now the whole Countrie stood at gaze, some for feare, others being desirous of inuouation: and *Lodowike* (as much perplexed in this aduersitie, as in all other) C fled to the Duke of *Ferrara* his Father in law, to mediate an accord betwixt the King and him. But the fruitlesse staie of *Triuulles* betwixt *Bosco* and *Nous*, gaue the *Venetians* meanes, to send many men at armes, and light horsmen to *Alexandria*, and fiftene hundred foote to *Genes*: and finally, to send the Earle of *Petilliane* to succour the estate of *Milan*. Thus the *Fregose* practises came to nothing, the which they imputed to the *Florentines*, who would not assaile the riuer of the East, being loath to enter into a war vntill they might see the *French* affaires more successfull. And *Triuulles* leauing garrisons in *Nous*, and *Bosco*, takes his waie to *Asl*. It may bee the dismembriug of these companies into peeces, did hinder their enterprise: and it may be, if all together had gone directly to *Genes*, the successe had beene more profitablie for, besides the diuerse D humors of factions, most of the *Reistres*, & *Emisquens*, which *Lodowike* had sent thither, were after some small stay, returned vn-awares into *Germanie*.

The Duke of
Milan
placed.

The Venetians
succour
the Duke of
Milan.

About the end of this year, the Kings of *France*, and *Spaine*, began their assemblee, promised at the last truce, the which they had transported from *Montpellier* to *Narbonne*, and afterwards broken off by the *Castillians* excessive demaunds. There they found the same difficulties: The King would referue to himselfe full power to continue his enterprise in *Italie*, refusing to yeeld to any agreement, wherein it should be comprised. The King of *Spaine* desired to haue no warre with him beyond the mountaines, which might draw after it many inconueniences, and yeeld him small profit: finally they continued their truce, not cōprehending any of the Potentates of *Italie*. The *Spaniards* see- E ing the king to meditate of a second voiage beyond the mountaines, hoped to perswade him to the conquest of *Naples* with their common forces, and to take from the *Venetians* many ports, and other places which they possessed, the vsurpation whereof was very suspitious vnto him. But neither of them had made his account with him, who doth prolong and shorten the dayes of man at his pleasure, and who doth found the secret thoughts of men. But not able to obtaine this condition of *Charles*, with all his policie, he procured it of his successor, to the great preiudice of his Crowne.

Then expired the two yeares, during the which, the castle of *Genes* had bin left in gard with the Duke of *Ferrara*. The King (pretending the forfeiture and disobedience of the Duke of *Milan*) demands the possession thereof, offering to lay downe in a third mans F hand halfe the charge spent for the gard of the places, according to the treaty of *Verceil*, and in the meane time, the law should determine, to which of them it should

The Duke of
Ferrara doth
an office
for the King.

be restored. But the great pursuit of *Lodowike*, and the imminent danger hee feared, made him to yeeld it vp vnto *Lodowike*, vpon restitution made of all his charges for

A for the gard thereof. And the *Venetians*, to shewe that they held themselves more bound, for that he had deliuered it to *Lodowike* rather then to our *Charles*, they entertained *Ferdinand* the Duke of *Ferrares* sonne, paying him for a company of a hundred men at armes. The Kings desire to returne into *Italy* increased still, and it seemed hee had greater occasions then euer. Experience had made him wise. He remembered the errors he had committed in his first iourney, and obserued the well, hoping (if he might recover his losses) to prouide better for the gard of the Realme. His intelligences from all parts called him. He had a truce with the *Castillian*. He had a new league with the *Suffes*. Reasons to draw the King into Italy.

The Emperour was discontented with the *Venetians*, and sought his friendship, being desirous to ioine with him, to seise vpon the states of *Italie* with their common force and expenses, imitating the *Castillian*. Pope *Alexander* labored to reconcile himselfe. The *Venetians* deuised how to estrange themselves from *Lodowike*. The *Florentines* had resolved to free themselves as soone as *Charles* should begin the warre. And to this end they demanded the Lord of *Aubigni* for their generall, with a hundred and fiftie Lances whereof they should pay a third part. The *Marquis of Mantona*, was discharged from the *Venetians* pay, and should bring to the King, with the *Vrsins*, the *Vitellii*, and the Captaine of *Rome* brother to the Cardinall of *S. Pierre*, fiftene hundred men at armes *Italians*. He had the friendship of the Duke of *Sauoye*, and the *Marquises* of *Saluces* and *Montferrat*. *John Bentiuole* promised to ioine with his troupes as soone as he should passe the mountaines. But he is diuerted by diuers meanes. Some of his fauours thrust him forward to this enterprise, but with so huge a preparation both by sea & land, and so great prouision of money, as it required a long time. Others entertained him in his delights, and loathed him with all difficulties: and the Cardinall of *S. Malo* (according to his vsuall manner) lackt the prouisions of money. Thus the time was lost, & matters made fruitlesse, which were almost brought to their perfection. There were no dispatches for the Lord of *Aubigni*, no money for the *Vrsins*, *Vitellies*, *Fregoses*: no man passeth into *Italy*. So as all mens miudes growing cold, the *Fregoses* make their peace with the Duke of *Milan*. The *Vitelli* had passed to the *Venetians* pay, if the *Florentines* had not enterpayned them for a year. The *Florentines* themselves (counsellled by D *Lodowike* & force, in the beginning of the year 1498) sent an Ambassage to *Rome*, signifying (although in doubtfull termes) that if *Pisa* might be yeelded vnto them, they would ioine themselves with the rest, for the defence of *Italy* against the *French*. A *Florentine* policy, but made frustrate by a *Venetian* shift.

The *Venetians*, being labored to yeeld to the restitution of *Pisa*, seeing there was no other meanes to separate the *Florentines* from the *French*, they couer their countenances with many colours: they complaine that this counsell proceeds not of any care they haue to the cōmon good, but from the bad affection which some one carries to their enemies. For say they, by their Ambassador at *Rome* the *Florentines* hoping to enjoy the greatest part of *Italcany* by the returne of the *French* into *Italie*, the yeelding of *Pisa* were not able to E diuert them from their naturall inclination to the house of *France*: but contrariwise, the more mightie they are, the more meanes they shall haue to disturbe the quiet of *Italy*. Why thinke the Confederats by a common consent promised the *Pisians* to defend their libertie, and now to violate both their honour and faith? Is this the reward for the exceeding charge we haue so willingly maintayned, when as all the other confederats were so unwilling to disparting for the common good? By what meanes was *Italy* preserved? With what forces did they fight at *Taro*? With what armes haue they recovered the Realme of *Naples*? When with haue they forced *Nouarre* to acknowledge her first Lord? Can any one denie, but these actions did proceed from a sincere affection to the good estate of *Italy*? seeing wee were not the nearer vnto dangers, neyther are the disorders growne by vs, whereof wee suffer the F paine.

Whilest these things were treated of at *Rome*, among the Confederats, not without apparent signes of future diuision: a new humor carries away our *Charles* to his Castle, which he caused to be built at *Amboise*: a building of admirable worke & charge, Charles.

1498. hauing (to that end) brought the most rarest workemen that could be found, from *Italy*, and all other parts: and for the beautifying thereof, he had gathered together the goodliest plots that could bee found in *France*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, and else where: notable to foresee, that in steed of a proud and stately Palace, he should end his life in a baie and filthie gallerie.

Broken off by his death. Hauing his minde inclined (besides his building) not onely to a second voyage beyond the *Alpes*, but to reforme his life, honouring the Queene his wiues bed with a chaste respect, whereas many loose allurements had transported his youth: To restrain the pompe and ambition of the Clergie: To order Iustice, giuing audience twice in the weeke to all complaints, and free access to any that would desire iustice.

Note O yee Princes.

Doublelesse, *The King sitting in his throne of Iustice* (saith the Wiseman) *disperseth all ill with his looke*: To reforme his house: to dispose of his treasure: to ease his subiects, restraining all taxes (which had bene made vpon his subiects, to twelue hundred thousand Frankes, besides his reuenues): a summe which his estates had graunted at his comming to the Crowne, for the defence of the realme. It chanced the 7. of Aprill, going after dinner with the Queene into the Castle ditches, he strooke his forehead against the doore of a gallerie, whereas he meant to see a set at Tennis: this blowe being a certaine aduertisement, to driue him to the premeditation of his approaching end: the last pangs of death moued him presently, with a godly and holy resolution, (but wisely conditioned, according to mans weaknesse) the which he testified by these words, talking with *Iohn of Beauuais* Bishop of *Angers*, his Confessor, touching the faults he had committed in his younger age. *I hope* (saith he) *neuer to commit mortall nor veniall sinne, if I can auoide it*. Presently vpon this protestation, he fell backward, falling into an Apoplexie, wherewith he had bene a little before troubled, which closed his eyes with the sleepe of death, about eleuen of the clock at night.

A notable example, wherein wee read the pittifull estate of Princes, when as death knocketh with an euen hand, both at Kings Palaces, and at poore mens cottages, giuing them an end like to all other men: and the inconstant loue of Courtiers. Behold a King, who commanded ouer so many Prouinces: whom so many great Cities obeyed: who had such numbers of sumptuous Castles at his pleasure, and now building a house of a royall attempt, giuing vp the ghost, in a chamber neere to a gallerie stinking with the Urine which euery one made, as he passed through it, laid vpon a poore matresse, such as they could finde out by chance. And before his eyes were shut vp with this last sleepe, euery one forgets the course which this declining sunne had runne, to follow the hope of the Easterne starre, which came to lighten this realme.

King Charles dyed.

His disposition.

Thus *Charles* the eight liued, and thus he dyed: an humble Prince, liberall, religious, courteous, familiar, and of easie access: of a good and tractable disposition, small of stature, but of an invincible courage, louing Iustice and his people, capable of counsell, commended for his great attempts: hauing in his youth purchased so much glory, and giuen so great hope, both within and without Christendome, that if God had granted him a longer life, without doubt he had equalled the fame of the most excellent and rarest Princes. In him failed the direct line of the Kings of *France*, descended from *Philip* of *Valois*, and the crowne fell to the collateral line, of the which the neereft and most capable of the succession, was *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* and *Valois*.

LEWIS

LEWIS the twelfth, the 57. King of France.



WE behold our *France*, (hauing, vnder *Charles* the eight happily breathed after the troubles and confusions which had so long afflicted the state, during the raignes of his Predecessors,) takes her rest vnder the protection of a Prince, excellent, in bounty of nature, in sweetnesse of manners, in temperance and moderation of minde and affection: finally, in the happines and felicity of his raigne. Who haue extended his Empire beyond the lymits of *Gaulle*, subdued vnder his obedience two of the noblest and mightiest Cities of the world, *Milan* with *Lombardie*, and *Genes* with her two riuers, East and West, together with the Ilands of *Corseque* & *Cipre*: reconquered and diuided the Realme of *Naples* with the *Castilian*: but in the end, lost it by his treachery and disloyalty: vanquished the *Venetians* in that memorabile battaile, the 15. of May 1509. suppressed the Popes insolency: defeated the *Venetians*. Against before *Bresse*: made a peace with the *Spaniard* and *Venetian*, & consequently allied himselfe with the King of *England*. He shall haue this honor and content, to see his subiects in so great prosperity, that by the conference of things passed before his time, their realme was neuer so mighty in armes and men: neuer so plentifull in all kinds of commodities, neuer so fortified with such strong places: and which imports more, neuer so blessed in concord, neuer so void of diuisions, neuer so able to endure a great charge, and to produce noble attempts.

The happines of his raigne.

A Godly King, chaste, vpright, courteous, good to his seruants, gratiois to his enemies, mercifull to all men, a friend to Iustice and sincerity, an enemy to flattery, libellous, but without oppression of any, loyall, respected in all parts of the world: who in regard of learning, shall open a way which his thrice worthy successor should bring to a most happy perfection. But to crowne him with titles of honour, hee was called

1498.

The father of his people. A King commanding a nation most willing to obey. A people multiplying by millions, in Nobilitie, Marchants, tradesmen, and the common sort. A people replenishing the Townes before halfe desert. To conclude, a people testifying the excellencie and greatnesse of their Soueraigne. *For the greatnesse of a King* sayeth Salomon; *is in the multitude of people, but when his subiects decrease, it is the fall of his Soueraigntie.* But let vs see, by the relation of the Historie, the course of this admirable prosperitie, and first of all his rights of Succession, as well to this Crowne, and that of Naples, being King of France, as also to the estate of Milan, by reason of *Valentine* his grand mother.

The genealogie of Lewis the 12.

King *Charles* the 5. had two sonnes. The eldest *Charles* the 6. his successor, who was father to *Charles* the 7. of whom was borne *Lewis* the 11. father to *Charles* the 8. who B dyed without children. The yongest, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, who married *Valentine* daughter to *John Galeas* Earle of *Verus*, & first Duke of *Milan*, by whom he had three sonnes, *Charles* his successor Duke of Orleans, *John* Earle of *Angoulesme*, *Philip* Earle of *Verus*. The said *Charles* freed from his long imprisonment in *England*, had by *Mary* of Cleues his wife, our *Lewis* the 12. heire, (for want of heires male in the direct line) of this realme, and of the dependencies thereof, and so was annointed at *Rheims*, the 27. of May, 1493, assisted at this sollemnitie, by *John* Duke of *Alanson*, serving as a Peer in the place of the Duke of *Fourgongne*, *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, for the Duke of *Normandie*, *Antoine* Duke of *Lorraine*, for the Duke of *Guienne*, *Philip* Earle of *Raoulain*, in place of the Earle of *Flanders*, *Gilbert* of *Cleues*, for the Earle of *Champagne*, & *Gaston* C of *Toix*, for the Earle of *Polouise*; and for the Peeres of the Clergie, the Bishops that were then resident. Afterwards he receiued the royall Crowne, in the Abby of *Saint Denis* in France, the first of *Iuly* following, and the day following made his triumphant entrie into *Paris*.

We iudge of the inward beautie of a Pallace, by the entrie thereof. Who would not then, by these happy first suites of this raigne, conceiue a constant hope of a heauenly blessing? *Lewis*, after he had worthily performed the funeralls of his Predecessor, hee first purchased the loue of the Noblemen of his Court, maineining every man in his dignitie and state, and the Magistrates in their offices. He applied his minde, to order and to cut off the tediousnesse of suites: freed his subiects of the third part of the Subsidies which oppressed them: yea euen the rights which they are accustomed to pay to their new King, for the charges of his funerall that is deceased, and for his coronation: and for a second benefit to the countrie, he put the men at armes into their garrisons, reducing them to the ancient discipline of warre, which the disordered liberty of troubles past, had much corrupted.

This done, by the aiding of his best States men, he made many goodly lawes vpon the abusive charges in the pursute of Iustice: neither did he euer publish an Edict, before it was confirmed by the iudgement of Soueraigne courts. His decrees contained some limitation of the priuileges granted in old time to Vniuersities, the which they abused to the oppression of the people. The Vniuersitie of *Paris* opposeth against the publication thereof, and were ready to make a sedition, many publishing infamous libels, both against the King and against the Chancellor of *Rocheport*. The Schollers troope together, and resolute to abandon, both study and the exercise of learning, *John Cane*, being Rector, forbids the Regents to read any more, and the Preachers to preach, vntill the Vniuersitie had recovered her ancient priuileges. The King aduersed of these mutinies, drawes many men at armes into *Paris*: and sitting in Parliament, confirms the aboue named ordinances by an Edict. The Rector fearing a check, keeps all the Schoilars within their lodgings, and reuokes the commandement he had giuen. *John Standon*, a Doctor of Diuinitie, a *Brabanson*, and one of the chiefe authors of this counsell, was banished the realme. *Thomas Varnet* of *Cambrsie*, (who preaching, had barked out some thing against the kings authority) prevented this decree, and banished himself. Being thus content in minde, & quiet within his realme, his thoughts turned beyond the Alpes, and now he takes vpon him the title of Duke of *Milan*. He was

Lewis his title to the Duchie of Milan.

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1498. Aided vpon the right of succession. *Valentine* besides her dower (which was the Country of *Ast*, with a great summe of money) had obtained this clause in her contract of marriage. That, for want of heires male of *Galeas*, *Valentine* should be to the Duchie, or (he being dead, her next descendants.

This mention was of no force, but the Imperiall seat was then vacant: and the Pope confirmed it. The Popes pretending, the Empire being without an Emperour, the administration belongs to them. And seeing, that by the death of *Philip Maria*, the masculine line of *John Galeas* failed, who then should succeed in this goodly estate, many contended for it, the Emperour *Frederick* maintained, that it should be vnto the Empire, considering the line specified in the Institution made to *John Galeas*, by *Wenceslaus* King of the *Romains*, was extinct. *Alphonso* King of *Arragon* & *Naples*, armed himselfe with the testament of *Philip*, by the which hee was made his heire. But in worldly affaires, the strongest most often carries it. *Francis Sforce* one of *Philip*s Captaines, sonne to *Sforce Attendule*, an Aduenturer, a braue and active spirit, had married *Blanche*, bastard daughter to the sayd *Philip*: and hauing no man at that instant that might resist his violence, hee did so cunningly winne all the greatest Cities of *Milan*, as by their support & suffrance hee soone seized on the state, the which he might easily effect, hauing all the forces at his command, & no competitor. For neither *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, nor his Children had any means to recouer this Duchie from *Francis*, by reason of the great warres which followed in France, by the death of the sayd *Lewis*, and of the Duke of *Bourgongne* slain likewise at *Montereau*, *Lewis* the 6. and 7. *Charles* sonne to the sayd *Lewis* (taken at the battails of *Azincourt*, languishing twentie five yeares a prisoner in *England*, and delivered by *Philip* Duke of *Bourgonny*,) could neuer obtaine any aide from *Lewis* the eleuenth, being troubled by homebred warres from the beginning of his raigne. Moreouer *Lewis* did alwaies make accompt to settle his authority, by the suppression of his neereest blood. And for this cause our *Lewis*, his sonne in lawe, sonne to the sayd *Charles*, had no whit the more credit with his father in lawe, for the recouery of his inheritance. And the sword which hee did vntheath against *Charles* the eight his brother in lawe, (of whome hee pretended the Regencie) and after in the warres of *Brittaine*, tooke from him all means to attempt this enterprife, vntill such time that (the King hauing left him in *Ast*, to crosse the attempts of *Lodowike Sforce*) he seized vpon *Nouarre*, but with a fruitlesse euent.

Nowe is he seated vpon the royall throne of his Ancestors, peaceable within himselfe and peaceable with his neighbors. *Triuulce* doth not cease to lay open vnto him hostility to expell *Lodowike*. To make the way easie, Pope *Alexanders* friendship, the *Venetians*, *Florentins*, and other Potentats of *Italy* was very requisite. Hee seeks by his Ambassadors, and findes that the death of *Charles* the eight, had bred an alteration in their dispositions. The Pope conceyuing, that the peace of *Italy* was the fruit of his priuate estate, did easily allowe of newe troubles. The *Venetians* (being troubled by the Kings deasse, from the feare they had of him, for the indignities hee had receyued,) did not beleue that a newe King would so vehemently imbrace the quarrell of his Predecessor: and foreseeing that also, that if *Sforce* were once quiet, he would oppose him selfe against them, for the affaires of *Pisa*, whereof hee did (but coldly) the restitution vnto the *Florentins*, by the Popes meanes. The *Florentins* had not yet so much estranged their affection from the French, but there was good means to recouer it.

Being thus affected, they all send their Ambassadors to the King. The Pope (who desired to nothing more then the temporall aduancement of *Cesar Borgia* his sonne, then Cardinall) did willingly imbrace this occasion, to plant him in the Kings good fauour, and by some especiall bond, to purchase his masters loue. He knew well that *Lewis* would willingly put away *Ioane* his wife, to marrie with *Anne* the widowe of *Charles*: and euen then hee resolu'd, to exchange spirituall graces for temporall commodities.

The Popes affection.

1499.
He Captu-
lates with the
king.

He then agrees with the King for thirty thousand Ducats, and drawes a promise from A him, to aide him presently after the conquest of *Milan*, to reduce to the obedience of the Apostolike sea, the Townes possessed by the Gouvernours of *Romagna*. And for his towne *Casir*, a company of a hundred Lances, twenty thousand Frankes pension, a wife in *France* to his liking, and *Valentie* in *Daulphinie*, with the title of a Duchie. Then he committed the matter of diuorce, to *Ferdinand* Bishop of *Sept*, his Nuncio in *France*, to *Philip* Cardinall of *Luxembourg*, and to *Lewis* Bishop of *Albi*, (some name *George* of *Amboise*, Arch-bishop of *Rouan*,) who vpon report of the protestation made by *Lewis* to a Notarie, the day of his marriage: That his meaning was not to contract any marriage, and that the solemnitie which he did celebrate, was onely to please the King: whom hee knew to be cruell against those, by whom he thought himselfe to bee wronged. And moreover: If by chance *Lewis*, either by the expresse commandement of his father in law, or after of his brother in law, did lye with his wife, hee did interpose secret witnesses, that should depose of his abstinence. And besides, the Physitians and Philosophers hauing iudged her incapable of issue, they declared the sayd marriage voyde, and gaue him liberty to marry with *Anne*: who marrying elsewhere, should haue diuided the Duchie of *Brittanie* from the Crowne of *France*. The *Venetians* sent to congratulate his coming to the Crowne, and by way of excuse, gaue him to vnderstand, that the contentions they had with King *Charles*, proceeded onely of distrust and ialousie, whereof he had giuen them cause, seeing, that not content with the realme of *Naples*, he had cast his desires vpon all *Italie*.

The Venetians.

The Florentines.

The *Florentines* did not forget their ancient customes in like cases to the Crowne of *France*: but especially, to put him in minde of their desertings to the deceased King, followed therevnto by *Lodowick Sforce*, to the end that when the two commonweales of *Venice* and *Florence*, should come to treat of the affaires of *Pisa*, the *Venetians* practises (whose greatnesse *Lodowick* did much feare in *Italy*) might bee crossed by the *Florentines*: & they purchasing fauour & credit with the King, he might employ them, to mediate some accord betwixt the King & him, the which he desired with all his heart. *Lodowick* did foresee the forme, and laboured to auoide it, but in vaine: for the time of

He comes to Court.

his shipwrack was at hand. Then *Cesar Borgia*, the new Duke of *Valentino*, came vnto the King with the Bull of dispensation: where he was no sooner arrived, but as the sonne of his Father, he plaid the first act of a bloody Tragedie, vpon the alliance which the King did contract with the Pope his father, *Cesar* following the instructions of *Alexander*, dissembled the bringing of this Bull: iudging the Kings disposition to be like vnto those, who desire that most, which is refused, to make him the more pliable to his desires. But the Bishop of *Sept* hauing sent intelligence vnto his Maieshe of the truth: the King thinking it sufficient to haue the Bull dispatched, concluded the marriage with *Anne*, giuing for a portion to his wife diuorced, the Duchie of *Berry*. *Cesar* hauing discovered the author of this aduise, caused the Bishop to be soone after poisoned. The peace with other Princes, which might somewhat disturbe the proiects of *Lewis*, was no lesse expedient: he therefore concluded with *Ferdinand* King of *Castile*, E and thereby did associate him in the conquest of the realme of *Naples*: he confirmed that which his Predecessor had with the *English*, and renewed the alliance with the *Suisses*, granting them the pensions which *Lewis* and *Charles* were accustomed to giue.

He commits a treacherous murder.

Peace with the English.

Troubles in Burgoyne.

Maximilian alone, working vpon the old leuaine of his Ancestors, shewed some bitterness amidst these contents, casting the coales of diuision in *Bourgoyne* & *Champagne*, by the Lord of *Vergi*, *Comtois*, when as they least doubted it, seeing that *Lewis* being taken prisoner at the battaile of *S. Aubin*, and hauing, aboue all others, imploied *Maximilian* for an intercessor to *Charles* the 8. they thought that *Maximilian* should reioyce at this new surrection, more then any other Prince, and that the discontent he had against *Charles* (hauing forsaken his daughter, and married with *Anne* of *Brittaine* his Spouse) had beene mortified by the death of the said Prince. The Emperour was thrust on by the Duke of *Milan*, who being perswaded, that the King busied at home, should haue no leisure to attempt any thing in *Italy*, or any accord being made betwixt them, he

he should be comprehended therein. This war put the realme in alarme: but *Lewis* 1499. agreed to great a powers vnder the command of *John* of *Foix* Vicount of *Narbonne*, his brother in law, as it was quenched as soone as kindled, by a truce of many moneths, without any mention of *Lodowick Sforce*. And to the end that *Phillippe* Arch-Duke of *Burgundie*, and Earle of *Flanders*, soune to *Maximilian*, might reape the fruites of their reconciliation, he did homage to the King, for the places hee held of the Crowne: and those of *Artois* were restored vnto him. In the meane time, they consulted at *Venice*, vpon the termes of confederation with the King. The chiefe difference was, the holding of *Fists*. The *Venetians* offering all other conditions, would not haue this string stretched the King being resolute to haue it, restored vnto him, in fauour of the *Florentines*. The King's allocation with the Venetians. refused to treat, vntil this article might be granted. But the Duke of *Valentino*, and other Agents for the Pope, the Cardinall of *S. Pierre Triuulce*, and all the *Italians*, (who for their owne private interest perswaded him to warre) hauing layed before him the losse he should receiue, by the want of the *Venetians* ayde, considering their power and meanes to annoy the Duke of *Milan*, hee yeelded without any more treache: That at the same time, as he should inuade the Duchie of *Milan*, they should doe the like vpon their frontiers. That hauing wonne the rest of the Duchie, *Cremona* and *Guaradada*, should be taken by their common forces, for the *Venetians*, except the breadth of fortie fadoms along the riuier of *Adda*. That after the conquest of *Milan*, the *Venetians* should be bound to defend that for a time, with a certaine number of horse, and foote. & the King should doe the like for *Cremona*, and other places which they possessed in *Lumbardie*, euen vnto themselves of *Venice*. This conuention tooke all hope from *Lodowick*, both of peace with the King, and reconciliation with the *Venetians*. Being thus left naked, hee resoluesto defend himselfe, and beginnes by the fortification of *Anon*, *Nouarre*, and *Alexandria*, Townes lying neere to the *French*, meaning to oppose against their violence, *Galeas* of *S. Severin*, with the greatest part part of his forces, and the rest against the *Venetians*, vnder the command of the Earle of *Catazzo*. He commands *Galeas* to passe the *Pan*, with fixteene hundred men at armes, fixteene hundred light horse, ten thousand *Italian* foote, and five hundred *Lansquenets*: but rather to defend his places, then to keepe the field, hoping that the prolonging of the warre would breed him some aduantage, for that he expected an issue of the accord, which he did mediate betwixt *Maximilian*, and the *Suisses*: the which effected, he had promise of notable aide. On the other side the King caused, *Lewis* of *Luxembourg* Earle of *Ligni*, to march with *Euerard* Lord of *Aubigni*, & *John* Laques of *Triuulce*, leading 6. thousand horse, and twentie five thousand foot. The Castle of *Arazze* vpon *Tanare*, was the first object of their armies, a place kept by 500. foote, assailed the tenth of August, and taken within few dayes. Seuen hundred men being lodged in *Anon*, did likewise suffer to be lost in two dayes, and all those put to the sword, that were retired in armer into the Castle. *Donat Raffagnin*, a *Milanois*, Captaine of the Castle of *Valence*, well furnished with men, & artilerie, corrupted by the promises of *Triuulce*, gaue entrance to the *French*, the same day, as he had by the like treacherie twentie yeares before, delivered one of the gates of *Tortone* to *Lodowick Sforce*, to the preiudice of *Bonne* of *Sauey*, and of the little Duke *John Galeas*. All the souldiers were flaine or taken, amongst others, *Otfauian* brother to *S. Severin*, was prisoner.

The same deluge ouerflowed (euen vpon the very brute) *Basgagne*, *Verguere*, *Chastellaneuf*, and *Port Corounee*. *Antonie Maria Palauoisin* yeelded vp *Tortone*, not attending any assault. *Alexandria* makes head against the armie, and whilst they presse it, *Lodowick* shuts himselfe into *Milan*, and seeing his estate lost by peece meales, he flies to those remedies which are vsuall in greatest dispaire. He inroules all that could carrie armes, assembles the people, dischargeth them of a part of their ordinarie imposition: shewes them with most vehement wordes, That if happily hee had overcharged them, not any desire to gather treasure, nor his owne disposition, (being an enimie to oppression) but rather the time and the common dangers of *Italie* had prest him therunto: first to countercheck the *Venetians* greatnesse: then, to oppose against the landing of King *Charles*. That the fruits which they had reaped thereby, were peace and publike quiet, where in

The first exploits of this voyage.

1499. wherein he had happie maintained them many yeares, with a generall increase of riches, A
 beautie, of buildings, inhabitants and acts, with mildnes and moderation of spirit, care all
 to administer good and breefe iustice to euery man indifferently. That the merits, and gra-
 tious government of his father layed before their eyes, how insupportable would the insolent
 and proud commaund of the French be vnto them. That abhorring the rough and vnciuill
 manners of strangers, they should resolute for the common defence of their liues and country.
 That the French are but a brute, which being withstood, it should then be easie to resist them.
 That the Emperour made hast to succour them in person. That Prosper Colonne marcht
 with the troups of Frederike King of Naples. That the Marquis of Mantoua, was already
 in the Countrie of Cremona, hauing pacified all controuersies. That to all these aydes if they
 did but ioyn their loyalties, and good will, he should find himselfe strong enough to encounter
 all the power of France united together. B

But these admonitions came too late: it was very apparent, that necessitie, and
 not any good meaning, had forced him to this humilitie, whereof hee had neuer
 giuen them any testimonie. Thus his ruine approached. The Venetians for their part
 made warre in Guiradadde, and had taken Caranage and other Townes vpon the ruer
 of Adde. The Earle of Caiazzo, discontented that his brother being yonger of yeares
 and of lesse experience, should be preferred before him in the commaund of the ar-
 mie, had secretly passed his word to the King. In the meane time they thunder-
 against the walles of Alexandria, and Galeas of S. Seuerin hauing with him twelue hun-
 dred men at armes, twelue hundred light horse, and three thousand foote: not disco-
 uering his intent to any Captaine, but onely to Luke Maluazzo, he flies secretly out of
 the Towne in the night, after the third dayes seege, with a part of his light horse, flew-
 ing by the effect, that he had a brauer arme, and was more experienced in iusts, and
 tournies (in which exercises all other Italians gaue him place) then in the governme-
 nt of an armie. His flight daunted the courage of the beseege, and made the passage
 easie. The armie enters in at the breake of the day, spoiles the garrison, and sacks
 the Towne. The losse of Alexandria, and the following seege of Mortare, opened the
 gates of Pavia.

Milan miseth, the Citizens arme, and respect Lodowike so little, as they giue good
 testimonie of their affection, by the murder of Anthony of Landriano his Treasurer D
 generall, comming at noone day from the Castle. Lodowike foreseeing his owne by an
 others ruine: being well informed that his gouernment was exceeding hateful vnto the
 Milanais, and moreouer amazed at the report which Galeas made of the valour of the
 French men at armes, he sent away his children, accompanied with the Cardinals Af-
 carius his brother, and of S. Seuerin, with about two hundred thousand ducats which
 he had in treasure, (well shorned of a million and a halfe which he made there of few
 yeares before) he left the gard of the Castle to Bernardin of Corte borne at Pavia, whom
 he had bred vp young, and three thousand foote, furnished with victuals, munition,
 and money, for many monethes: he restored to the Borhomees, gentlemen of Milan,
 the landes he had taken from them. But was this any liberalitie, seeing he could not E
 keepe them? and the second day of September he departed for Germanie, followed
 by the Cardinal of Effe, and Galeas of S. Seuerin, with a good number of horse, and
 foote, vnder colour to hasten the imagined troups which Maximilian prepared for
 him. The Towne thus abandoned, being loath to be a pray vnto the enemy, who ap-
 proched towards the walls, prevented their coming, and willingly consented to bring
 them in, reseruing the capitulation to the Kings arriuall, from whome they hoped,
 (considering their voluntary submission) to receiue goodly exemptions, and great
 priuileges. All other places of the Duchie conformed themselves to the patterne of
 their cheife citie.

Cremona abhorring the Venetian yoke, stretched out, both armes and hart to the F
 French: but the King vnwilling to infringe the treatie made with the Senate, they were
 forced to yeeld to the yoke after some dayes seege. Genes follows this example. The
 Adornes (to whom Lodowike had giuen the gouernment) John Lewis of Fiesque and the
 people

A conle contend who shall haue most honor in yeelding it to the King, who giues them
 for gouernour, Philip Lord of Rauastin, and Baptiste Fregose for his Lieutenant. But force
 could not take the Castell, by the aduice of Triulzee, gold makes a breach. Bernardin
 without other approach, by the consent of the other Capitaines, namely of Philippin of
 Fregose, bred likewise and brought vp by Lodowike, sells it twelue dayes after Lodowikes
 departure, and receites for paiement a hundred thousand Crownes. Some report but
 ten thousand, (yet I should terme this sale the capitulation of a foole, considering the
 place which he commanded) halfe the mouables in the Castell, a company of a hun-
 dred Lances, an annuall pension, with many other graces and priuileges. But this in-
 famous marchant, hatefull to all the world, fled from by query man as unworthy to
 be in any ranke amongst men of honor, cast off from all companies, with words full
 of reproch, confounded with shame, and tormented in his owne Conscience, accu-
 sing his villanie and base ingratitude, he died of griefe within fewe dayes after. Thus all
 things foretell the ruine of Lodowike; his owne indiscretion, the peoples hatred, the
 cowardlines of his Capitaines and soldiars, & the treachery of his house-hold seruants,
 so as in twenty dayes he is dispossessed of this noble & mighty estate which he had be-
 fore won. The King receiuing intelligence at Lyons of a speedier victory then he ex-
 pected, departs presently in post, and makes his entry into Milan, granting to the peo-
 ple exemptions of many customes, impunity to all such as had followed force, resi-
 tution to the gentlemen, who through the tirany of former times had lost their goods;
 if they were not extant, or not to discontent them that were in lawfull possession, hee
 gaue money to many to buy them againe, or others lands if any were to be solde. He
 repeated by Edict the Regents, and professors of learning, giuing to some lands, to o-
 thers increase of their entertaynement, honored the gentlemen of the Country with his
 table, and their houses with his Presence. And to make this gouernment more popu-
 lar, hee made John Inagues of Triulzee, a Milanais gouernour of Milan, giuing vnto
 him Viguerie and many other things, in regard of his merits and loyall seruice.

As the French forces prospered thus in the Duchie of Milan, and the Venetians bu-
 fled in the Countie of Cremona, the Florentins gaped after the restitution of Pisa: & to
 obtaine it, they giue vnto Paul Vitelli, their generall, an army of ten thousand foote with
 a great number of horse, with the which (hauing taken Cascine and other places that
 supported Pisa) he incamped before the Citie, the last day of Iuly. An enterprize of
 difficulty as well for the strength of the Towne, as for the valour and resolution of the
 Citizens, who willingly would haue suffered any misery, rather then to haue fallen vn-
 der the Florentins command. Hee batters the fort of Stampace, and the wall of cyther
 side with 20. peeces of artillery. Vitelli giues an assault & forceth it, with so great a ter-
 ror to the Pisans, as abandoning the rampars, euery man seekes to saue himselfe by
 flight. And if the generall had pursued it vigorously, that morning had crowned him
 with honor, whereas it proued the beginning of his downefall: for seeing his soldiars
 full of spoile run together by heapes, hee stayed their heat, causing the most of
 E his troups to retire, and gaue the beseege leysure, (seeing this first brunt past) to re-
 store their courage, and returne to the gard of their rampars. So as whilst he labo-
 red to winne a victory, with the least preiudice to the army that might be: being lod-
 ged in a Country, full of pooles & marshes: which lie betwixt the sea and the Towne,
 and the season being subiect vnto pestilent windes, a generall contagion infects so ma-
 ny of his men in fewe dayes, as the healthy were not sufficient for a generall assault, so
 abated the seege against the Florentins will, who promised to renew his troups
 with fresh supplies. So as the bad opinion which the Florentin people had conceiued
 of him, increased nowe in such sort, that being called into Cascine, by the Com-
 mendaries of the army, vnder colour of lodging the Companies, they tooke him priso-
 ner from thence he was led by the Magistrats commandement to Florence, & there
 publicly beheaded. An ordinary reward for generous minds, that subiect themselves
 to the seruice of a multitude.

During Lewis his aboad at Milan, all the Potentats of Italy, except Frederike King
 of

A strange co-
 uardise of Ga-
 leas.

Alexandria ta-
 ken.

Milan mutins
 against Lodow-
 ikes force.

Hee flies
 shamefully.

Milan yeelds.

Cremona af-
 fected to the
 French.
 Genes.

Castell of
 Milan.

They loue
 the treason
 but traitors
 are odious

The King
 makes his en-
 try into
 Milan.

Pisa beseege
 by Vitelli.

Vitelli be-
 headed.

1499. of Naples eyther came, or sent vnto him, some to congratulate, some to purge themselves from suspicion, to haue, beene more affected to Lodowick, then to him, as also to assure their priuate estates. The King receiuing them all graciously, compounded with them according to the qualities of their persons, & the benefit he might reape by thē. The *Marquis of Matoua*, and the *Duke of Ferrare*, came in person. The King gaue the *Marquis* a company of a hundred Lances, and the order of *S. Michel*, with an honourable pension. The *Ferrarois* (being in disgrace in Court, since the time that he deliuered the Castle of *Genes* vnto *Lodowick*) was glad to buy the Kings loue with ready money. *Iohn Bentiuole* sent his sonne *Hanniball*: the *Florentins* had some trouble to make their peace. They had offended all the Court, for that fearing to incense *Lodowick Sforce*, touching the affaires of *Pisa*, they had held themselves newters betwixt the King and *Lodowick*. Moreover, the death of *Paul Vitelli* (to whome the Crowne of France was beholding) made the King strange vnto them: and the credit of *Triuulce* did them harme: who aspiring to the Seignurie of *Pisa*, was as much desired of the *Pisans*, to warrant them from the *Florentins* oppressions: Finally the King had need of money, and the *Florentins* paying a fine as the rest did, were receiued into grace, vpon condition: To aide one another for their common defence, they of the *Estates of Italie* for the King, and the King for them, for the recouerie of *Pisa*, and some places held by the *Siennois* and *Luquois*: That being repossessed of *Pisa*, they should furnish the King with fife hundred men at armes, and fiftie thousand Ducats: paying also vnto the King six and thirtie thousand Ducats, which *Sforce* had lent them, abating that which they had disbursed for him.

The Pope also did not forget himselfe: but vrging the performance of the treatie made with the King, obtaines for the Duke of *Valentinois* (who hauing married the Daughter of the Lord of *Albret*, had repassed the *Alpes* with his Maiestie) three hundred Lances in the Kings pay: and foure thousand *Swisses*, to be paid by the Pope, to ayde him to make warre in *Romagna*. The King (hauing settled such order as he thought fit for his conquest: and prolonged the truce he had with the Emperour, vntill May following,) tooke the way to *Lion*, leading with him the grand child of *Iohn Gales*, whom the mother had vnadvisedly deliuered, him he made a Monke. Then hereceiued newes of a faire Daughter that was borne vnto him, the which shall hereafter be wife to *Francis* the first of that name, and Queene of France. An other accident, but fatal, made that season famous. The fall of our Ladyes Bridge at *Paris*, drawing after it the ruine of threescore houses, and a great number of persons swallowed vp in the riuer.

Our Ladyes
Bridge at Pa-
ris falls.

The estate of
the East.

The Duke of
Valentinois
exploits.

This yeare *Italie*, besides foraine and home-bred decisions, felt also the *Turkes* forces. *Batizet Ottoman* (being expressly drawne by the perswasions of *Lodowick Sforce*, hauing no other meanes to be reuenged of the *Venetians*), assailing with a mighty armie by Sea, such places as the *Venetians* held in *Greece*: he sent six thousand horses by land to spoile *Friuli*, who finding the Country without defence, expecting no such guests, did spoile, sack, and burne, all euen vnto *Luence*: they chained together an infinite number of prisoners, and being come to the riuer of *Tagliamento*, they refused such as they thought fit to carry with them, and murdered all the rest. In the meane time, the Duke of *Valentinois* (hauing ioyned the forces of the Church, with those troupes he receiued from the King,) tooke *Imole* with ease, in the end of the yeare. And in the beginning of the next, (famous for the celebration of the great *Iubile* at *Rome*) *Furli*. But as hee marched to other Townes, the course of his conquests is stayed by vnexpected accidents, bred by diuers motiues. The most part of the *Lombards* could not sit with the French humour, and all were discontented, for that they had not tasted this great bounty of the Kings, whereby they were promised a generall exemption of all imposts and tributes.

Moreover, the *Gibelin* faction (very mightie in *Milan*) was wonderfully grieved to see *Triuulce* (chiefe of the *Guelfe*) preferred to the government: and hee by nature factious, proud, and stinging, did much increase this bad disposition, fauouring them of his

his partie beyond the bounds of reason. This did greatly estrange the peoples hearts from him. He slue with his owne hand some butchers, who according to their customaires, refused to pay the ordinarie customes, and withstood the receiuers with armes. Doubtlesse if such as haue the gard of a mightie estate newly conquered, dislike both Nobilitie and people, what may bee expected but a generall alteration? Adde thereunto the lightnesse of an inconstant multitude, alwayes desirous of innovations: Now they lament him whome before they hated. *Lodowick* aduertised of these broyles, strikes while the iron is hot, and without any longer feeding himselfe with the Emperours vaine and frustratorie hopes, hee makes a sodaine leuie of eight thousand *Swisses*, and fise hundred men at armes, *Bourguignons*, by the helpe (but not entertained) of the sayd *Maximilian*, and flies to *Comie* with all speede, the which being abandoned by the French garrison, finding the humor of the inhabitants inclined to change, gaue him an easie entrie.

Triuulce felt this storme coming, and to auoyd it, he demaunds speedie succors from the *Venetians*, according to the association which they had made with the King, and makes knowne to the Lord of *Alegre* (who commaunded the French troupes, and the *Swisses* in the Duke of *Valentinois* armie) the necessitie which calles him speedily to *Milan*. The *Venetians* send *Nicholas Earle Petilliano*, to ioine with *Triuulce* or *Aubigni*, and if he were debarred, to spoile the *Milanois* cuntry. The Earle not able to ioine with *Aubigni*, spoiles the COUNTRY, and then retournes towards the Townes vpon the riuer of *Adda*, to prevent any new alteration. *Aubigni* departs sodainly with the *Swisses*, and all the horse, obtaining free passage through the Countries of *Parma*, and *Plaisance*, vpon condition to abstaine from all acts of hostilitie. And coming neere to *Tortone*, at the perswasion of the *Guelfs* of that Towne, (who had bene expelled by the rest that were at *Lodowicks* deuotion) hee enters, and sacks the whole Towne, *Guelfs* and *Gibelins*, without any distinction: then hee went towards *Alexandria*, where as the *Swisse* for want of pay, went to *Sforces* armie.

Swisses reuolt.

The losse of *Comie* hauing stirred vp the people of *Milan*, and the chiefe of the *Gibelin* faction, *Triuulce* leaues within the Castle such forces as the present necessitie could furnish: hee fortified *Nouarre* with foure hundred Lances, and puts himselfe D with the rest into *Mortare*, thinking that *Lodowick* would force it before he passed, and in the meane time, giuing the King aduertisement of this sodaine alteration, hee should haue meanes to stay the enemies proceedings. But it chanced otherwise. *Sforces* armie neglecting both *Mortare*, and *Nouarre*, flies to the most important, and recouers *Milanas* easily as they had lost it. *Pavia*, and *Parma* presently set vp *Sforces* armes. *Lode* and *Plaisance* had done the like, if the *Venetian* troupes had not sodainly entred. *Alexandria* and other places neerer to *Ast* then to *Milan*, would not declare themselves, before they had seene the last act of this Tragedie. The *Genoais* refused to retourn vnder *Lodowicks* commaund: and the *Florentines* reiect his request, touching the restitution of money which hee had lent them, for the which, they had past their promise vnto E the King.

Sforce re-
couers *Milan*.

The *Marquis of Mantoua* sent him his brother, with somemen at armes. The Lords of *Mirandole*, *Carpi*, *Correge*, the *Rosset*, those of *Verme* and *Bobie*, with other such wethercocks, follow the wind that blowes: finally this new Conquerour findes more affection, and ioy at his retorne, then hee had least at his departure. *Milan* being recouered, *Lodowick* leaues the Cardinall *Ascanius* bis brother before the castle, and (reinforced with fiftene hundred men at armes, besides the *Bourguignons*, & great troupes of foote) he takes *Vigevano* by composition: and the Kings succors, not able to come in time, for the defence of *Nouarre*, they compound to yeeld the Towne, and to depart with all their baggage. But the Castle (which holds yet for vs) shall shortly F be the meanes of *Lodowicks* ruine. At *Triuulces* first summon, the King had dispatched the Earle of *Ligni*, with a good number of foote, and horse. But hee found the two commanders, *Triuulce* and *Aubigni*, so diuided, as if the King had not speedily and wisely prevented this pestilent contagion, it had doublese ended with a pittifull and bloudie

Triuulce and
Aubigni diu-
ded.

1500. die Catastrophe. *Aubigni* and *Triunlee*, held themselves equall in power, and vertue. The first would haue them presently to force *Milan*: the other would attend about *Nouarre*, the new armie which the King leuied in *Suissierland*. If *Aubigni* set at libertie any prisoners taken in the warre, *Triunlee* ransomed them. Finally, what the one built, the other pulled downe: and they tormented one another with continuall riots.

The King aduertised of this preiudiciall partiality, he sends vnto them, *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, yonger brother to *Gilbert*, late Viceroy of *Naples*, and *John* of *Foix* Vicount of *Narbonne*: but by reason of their young yeares, they were guided by *Lewis* of *Tremouille*, Lord of *Thouars*, being accompanied by the Lords of *Grauille*, Admirall of *France*, *Lautree*, and many others, followed with fiftene hundred Launces, ten thousand *Suisses*, sixe thousand *French*, and the Cardinal of *Amboise*, who was Lieutenant for his Maiestie, on that side of the *Alpes*. *Triunlee* being arrived, treating with these two Commanders, he easily drew them, (in regard of his Maiesties seruice,) to lay aside all rancor, and to become good friends, handling them so wisely, as there appeared no change in their gouernment: but in stead of two, they afterward seemed to bee three heads in one hood. Thus vnited, they resolute to send some companies of light horse, vpon the way to *Milan*, to cut off the passage to foure hundred horse, and a great number of foot that came from *Milan*: & to prevent *Lodowike* of all meanes to get vnto *Atilan* if he were prest: & then they turne the force of their army against *Lodowike* being at *Nouarre*. There were among the *Suisses*, that were entertained by *Sforce*, many captains which had serued in the voiage of *Naples*, & at *Nouarre*, who complained of their entertainment, not payed at the appointed time. *Tremouille* deales with the vnderhand, and vpon promise of a great summe of money, withdraws them from *Lodowike*.

The *Suisses*, by the perswasion of their Colonels, begin tumultuously to demand their pay. *Lodowike* giues them all his plate, and intreats them earnestly to attend the men and money that came from *Milan*. But fearing, least by the coming of these *Milanois*, they should be forced to winke at *Lodowike*, and to faile *Tremouille*, they caused the *French* armie to approach neere to *Nouarre*, to draw *Lodowike* to field, who was loath to ingage himselfe among men whome he sees ill affected to him. They are not deceiued in their hopes. He goes forth with his armie, and puts his light horse to beginne the charge. *Tremouille* makes it good, vntill the Admirall *Grauille*, and *Edmond* D of *Prie* arriving, the *Italian* troupes giue way, and are put to rout. The *Suisses* pressed to fight, answer. *That they will not fight against their brethren, kinsmen, and others of their nation, without leaue from their superiors*. And approaching neere their Countrymen, making as it were but one armie, they protest, that they meane to returne, and so obtaine free passage through the *French* armie. *Lodowike* compassed in in this nation, could neither by prayers, nor promises, diuert them from their disloyall intent: only he got a promise, *To set him in a place of safetie*. So they agreed, that disguised, & armed like a *Suisse* on foote, hee should march in their ranks. But going betwixt two great troupes of men at armes, this poore *Suisse* disguised, is discovered, in one of their Battailons, with *Galeas* of *S. Seuerin*, *Fracasse*, and *Anthonye Marie* his brethren, and E stayed: the *Italians* were stript, but the *Lansquenets*, and *Fourguignans* were sent away without touch, and *Lodowike* was led prisoner to *Lions*, where the King remained: and within two dayes after was sent to the great Tower at *Loches*, where he continued captiue, about twentie yeares, vntill his death. Behold the ambition and aspiring conceits of him, whome all *Italy* could not containe, now restrayned in a straight prison. And to auoid a greater corse, he increats *Tremouille* that he might not see *Triunlee* his enemy. Whoe being aduertised, and hasting thither, *Sforce* (sayd hee with a bragging speech) *thou seest thou wrongs thou hast done me, are now repaid in the same measure*. This happened the Thursday before Palme Sunday. Doubtles the circumstances of *Lodowike Sforces* miseries are remarkable: wherem we may learne, that the diuine Iustice F doth alwaies punish offenders, and takes from them at need, both iudgement, courage, wit, and all other faculties. Let vs obserue in this Tragedie, that *Lodowike* being fearful, promising, praying, fighting, flying, disguise, is mockt, taken, & finally, dies in a most pitifull estate. A Prince excellent in many perfectiōs of nature, industrious, eloquent

A of an high and buisie spirit, but infamous for the death of his nephew, couetous, 1500. vaine, ambitious, turbulent, proud, treacherous, impious, cruell, paying a Crowne for euery frenchmans head that his host should murder going to the *Subile*. So as it is not strange, if he hath felt the rigour of Gods iustice in his owne person. *Lodowikes* dispositions.

And to fill vp the measure of affliction in his familie, the Cardinall *Ascanius*, vpon the brute of this defeat, flying from *Milan* to recouer some place of safetie with many gentlemen of the *Gibelin* faction, (who hauing affected *Lodowike*, dispayred of pardon) refreshing themselves at *Riuolte*, in the territorie of *Plaisance*, *Conrad* of *Lande*, Lord of the same place, (his kinsman and ancient friend) sends presently for *Charles* *ursin* and *Sonzin Benzon* (Captaines vnder the *Venerians* pay,) and treacherously deliuer vnto them the said Cardinall, with *Hermes Sforce*, brother to the deceased Duke *John Galeas*, with most of the gentlemen in their company, who presently conueied them to *Venice*: but the Senate, at the Kings instant request (who considered how necessaric it was for the safetie of the State of *Milan* to haue these men in his power) deliuered both the Cardinall, *Baptista Vicomt*, and *Hermes*, with all other *Milanois* that were retyred for the same cause into the Townes of *Guaradadde*.

The Cardinall was sent to the great Tower at *Bourges*, vntill that hauing the whole Realme for his prison, hee obtained leaue, by the intercession of the Cardinall of *Amboise*, to goe to the election of a newe Pope, promising vpon his oath neuer to attempt any thing to preiudice the Crowne: and to bee a meanes to ad- C uance one of the *French* Cardinals to *Saint Peters* chaire. But oh the ingratitude and treachery of this *Milanois*: the Colledge of Cardinals inclining to chooſe the Cardinall of *Amboise*, hee alone by his faction, wrests the popedom from the *French*, to giue it vnto *Iules* the second a *Geneuain*, in the yeare. 1503. *Milan*, being restrayned from all meanes of religion, sues presently for pardon, the which they obtaine of the Cardinall or *Amboise* in the King's name, vpon condition to repaire their rebellion, by the payment of three hundred thousand ducats, whereof his Maiestie did afterwards remit the greatest part.

The rest of the rebelling Citties were euery one taxed, according to their abilities. Thus all the Duchie of *Milan* was quiet: the *Suisses* were dismissed, who returning to their houses, seize vpon *Belinzane*, lying in that mountaine, the which (not drawn out of their hands, as the King might haue done for a little money, shall hereafter giue the author of this error, being a most conuenient passage to stoppe the *Suissers* entrie into the Duchie of *Milan*) and shall giue occasion to liberall tongues, to scoffe both in publike and priuate, at the greedinesse of *Lewis*, whereof these braue Commaunders returning into *France*, had had more cause to complain, if the Queene had not supplied this defect with that bountie which the King did owe vnto their merits. Doubtlesse shee did bountifullly repaire those errors, which the King did oft commit in that respect. And the King restrayning his libertie, within the bonds of frugality, would not seeme bountifull with the oppression of his people.

E Now let vs see how the remainder of the yeare was employed. The exceeding prosperity of a Prince is suspected vnto other great personages, who feare some diminution in their estates. *Maximilian* considering how the alienation of so gooly a fee, was preiudiciall to the Empire, and the blame hee did incurre by suffering *Lodowike* to be thus spoyled, who had cast himselfe into his protection, hee dismissed the Ambassadors of *France*, and *Venice*, being readie to proclaime warres against them, as vsurping the lads of the Empire. With this dessein he acquaints the Princes Electors with the iniurie done to him, to them, and to all the *Germanie* nation, the apparent danger, least their too still patience should make the King of *France* seeke to ioine the Imperiall Crowne vnto his owne, like vnto some of his predecessors. That partly F through necessity, and partly through the ambitious desire which the Pope had to aduance his sonne *Bois*, Duke of *Valentinois*, he would willingly winke at these proceedings. This consideration made the King to put off the war of *Naples* vnto the next yeare. But as the forces of *Germanie* moue but heauily, so had hee leisure to assist the

H h b 2

Florentines

1500. *rentins*, (who had shewed themselves readie in the recouery of *Milan* for the King, & A
The King
succors the
Florentins,
to discharge the oath made by his Predecessor, and his owne) with six hundred Lances
maintained by his maiesty, and seauen thousand *Suisses* (but payed by their common-
weale) and diuers companies of *French*, with artillery and munition necessary for the
recouery of *Pisa*, *Pietresante*, *Montpulcian*, *Matron* and other places, vnder the com-
mand of the Lord of *Beaumont*, whom they demanded, but ill chosen for them. To
auoide this storme, the *Pisans*, *Geneuois*, *Siennois* and *Luquois*, (cnuying the *Floren-
tins* greatnesse, offered the King a hundred thousand Crownes in ready money, to the
ende the *Florentins* should not benefit any thing by the recouery of those places so
important for their states, promising to pay him fiftie thousand crownes yearly for-
euer, vpon condition that the *Pisans* should recouer their liberty by his meanes, and
the fortresses of *Liuorne*, with all the territory of *Pisa*.

Triuulce and *Fiesque*, pleaded for the *Pisans*, shewing howe expedient it was for the
King to weaken the *Florentins*, and some other Potentats of *Italy*: but offering a great
some of money to the King, they discovered their inward greedinesse, to make them-
selves Lords thereof. Finally the matter was concluded in fauor of the *Florentins*. And
whilest this army remaynes in *Lombardie* expecting their pay, the King caueth the
Lords of *Mirandole*, *Carpi* and *Corregeto* pay their fines, who for twenty thousand
Ducats obtayned remission of their rash rebellion.

The Marquis of *Mantowa*, (to auoide the like censure,) humbly craued pardon.
John Bentiuole (hauing fauored *Lodowike* as the rest,) payed fortie thousand Ducats: C
and the King by this meanes, tooke both him and the City of *Bologne* into his pro-
tection, whilest that the army (to loofe no time) tooke *Mont chiaruolo* in the territo-
rie of *Parma*, belonging to the *Torelli* fauorers of *Sforce*: then returning backe, to passe
the *Appenin*, by the way of *Pontreme*, at *Fregoses* request they spoiled *Aubri* Malefine
Lord of *Massa*, with small credit and other places, although he were in the *Florentins*
protection. In the end the Cardinall of *Amboise* (performing his promises but badly
with the *Florentins*) receyued (for a summe of money) the *Luquois* into the Kings pro-
tection, agreeing, that his maiesty should hold *Pietresante* in gard, vntill it were deci-
ded to whome it did appertayne.

The *Pisans* (being resolu'd to make a defensue warre) repaire their fortifications: D
men women and Children worke with great earnestnes: and to coole the heate of the
French comming to their seege, they made knowne the affection they bare to the
Crown of *France*, by an antientike Instrument sent to the Lords of *Beaumont* and
Rauastein Gouvernor for the King at *Genes*, who receyued them in the Kings name: and
Beaumont summoning the Towne of *Pisa*, had for answer: *That they desired nothing more
then to liue vnder the obedience of his Maiesty, and therefore they yeelded vnto the King, vpon
promise not to deliuer them into the Florentins power.* Doubtlesse he was ill practised
in politick and military affaires, to seeke that by force which hee might haue without
toyle or shame.

And was it not a hard thing, to ruine a people which made such shewe of ten-
E
der loue and voluntary obedience to this Crowne. *Beaumont* camps before *Pisa* the
29. of Iune: batters it all night, and some part of the day following, beats downe about
three score fadome of the wall: and mounts to the assaults both with foote and horse.
But hee discovered not a deepe and large trench, which the *Pisans* had made betwixt
the wall and the rampar within, so as the breadth and depth amazing our men, they re-
mayned vpon the breach, rather as spectators of the worke, then hauing any desire to
enter.

Strangers speake truly, that wee are but a brunt, and that beeing withstood at the
first, wee are easily broken. The quality of the rampiers, the obstinacie of the Cit-
tizens, their ancient inclynation to the *French*, ingenders such a familiarity, betwixt
the beseggers and beseege'd, as conferring familiarly together, going into the
Towne of *Pisa*, and comming out safely as from a friend Towne: the soldiars
nowe fall to accusing their Commander of rashnesse, and support the *Pisans*
against

Against their Captaines, so as in stead of assaying them, they themselves encouraged
them to defend, & suiers *Tarlatin* bore at *Cestello*, to enter the Towne with some old
soldiers, to receive the command for matters of warre, as he did euer alter, with
much honor. This sufferance both of horse and foote, breeds other disorders. They de-
fine to haue the seege raised, spoiled the vittles that came to the campe: and *Beau-
mont* (unable to stay this insolencie) the *Coscons* first leaue the armie, in tumultuous
manner, and giue exanple to all the rest of the foote: The *Suisses* likewise found a re-
treat, & the horse returne into *Lombardie*: leauing the *Florentins* affaires in great con-
fusion and disorder.

The *Pisans* embrace the oportunitie: and with one breath take *Libresetta*, freeing
themselves towards *Lucques*. And the King complayning, that the *Florentins* had
I preferred *Beaumont* before the Lord of *Alegre*, would haue sent backe his men at
armes, to winter about *Pisa*, that roading vp and downe the Countrey, they should
keepe it as it were blockt vp, giuing them hope, and promise of a new seege in the
Spring. But the *Florentins* refusing this offer, despairing of any better succellie by the
French forces, exposed themselves to the common iniuries of their ill willers, the *Ge-
neuois*, *Siennois*, *Luquois*, and all others, who desired their ruine. On the other side, the
King considering, that the Popes vnion with the Emperour would bee wonderfull
preiudiciall vnto his deffense for the reuenge of the reuolt at *Naples*, although
he had some reason of discontent against *Alexander*, who had nothing assisted him, du-
ring the warres of *Atlan*: yet his Maiestie shewed himselfe alwaies most tractable to
C the second the Popes continuall deffines, in fauor of the Duke of *Valentinois*, sending
vnto him, (vnder the comand of the Lord of *Alegre*) three hundred Launces, and two
thousand foote, accompanied with threats, *To be reuenged of those that should oppose
themselves against the Popes deffins, as an iniurie done to his owne person.* And the Pope
likewise promised him, both his sonnes person, and his men, whensoever hee should
recouer *Naples*. So *Borgia* (ioyning sixe hundred men at armes, and sixe thousand
foote, to the *French* troups,) enters *Romagna*, takes *Pesere*, *Rimini*, *Brisquella*, and
runs without any resistance throughout all the vallie, vntill that *Faenze* stayed, for a
time, the violence of this streame. He camps before the Towne in Nouember, bat-
tles it, makes a reasonable breach: and the fift day of the seege, giues a fierce assault,
D valiantly defended, as the death of *Honore Sauelli*, and a great number of his men,
slaine at the first charge, forced him to found a retreat, and the snowe (falling with an
exceeding cold) to raise the seege.

The former threats had terrified the Potentates of *Italie*: and the Kings request vn-
to them in priuate, made them abandon *Romagna*. The *Venetians* renounced the pro-
tection of *Peter Astor*, Lord of *Faenze*. *John Bentiuole* his vnkle contemned himselfe, fear-
ing to incense the King, and the Popes forces: and the Duke of *Valentinois*, could not
endure, that an vnwarlike people; (hauing no other head but a yong man, of eightene
yeares of age) should obscure the fame of his first exploits: he returns in the begin-
ning of the new yeare, laden with ladders, and seeks to surprize it: but in vaine. Pol-
E lie not succeeding, he returns to force, and by the taking of *Ruffy*, and other pla-
ces of the countrey, he makes the enterprize easie. A new breach is made, and new
assaults giuen: the first without effect, the second gaue hope of victorie: but the vio-
lence of the Canon which battred in flanke, the incoutring of a deepe & large trench:
the death of *Ferdinand Farnese*, with many other men of worth: and the number of the
wounded, makes them to leaue the assault.

But at length he carries it. The losse the *Florentins* had receiued in this assault, and
the dispaire of succours, cooled this first heate, & feare making the apprehend hard
conditions, if force reduced them into the victors power, they treated to yeeld, their
I liues and goods saued, vpon condition that *Astor* their Lord, should with his libertie
choofe what retreat he pleased, enioying the reuenuew of his patimonic. But poore
Astor oh *Borgia* who soeuer shall read the detestible life and horrible death of thy
father, will alwaies indge thee, a right and worthie sonne of such a father) being
yong and verie beautifull, was with goodly shewes and honorable demonstrations
H h h 3 of

1501. of loue retheyned in the *Valentinois* Court, and loone after conducted to *Rome*, where A
 The pitifull death of the Lord of *Fasch*, murdered by *Borgia*.
some one (sayeth the Originall, naming no man, but noting the villain with his finger) *hauing taken his pleasure of him, and glutted his lust*, they caused him to be secretly murdered with his bastard brother: and the Pope with the approbation of the Colledge, giues to his sonne *Borgia*, the inuesting and title of Duke of *Romagnia*. This estate seemed to him imperfect, without the adiunction of the territory of *Bologne*. But the Kings expresse commandement, not to attempt any thing against the estate of *Iohn Bentiuole* (whome he had taken into his protection) caused the *Valentinois* to content him: for that time, with a transaction from *Bentiuole*, to haue passage and victuals through his country, a tribute of nine thousand ducats yeerely, a certaine number of horse and foote, and *Castel-bologne*, (a place vnder the iurisdiction of *Bologne*) and so he transported his forces into *Tuscane*.

Marke here a notable example of a childe to his father. One of the sonnes of the *L.G. Montesper* going to *Pozzuolo*, to visit the sepulcher of his father, suffered himselfe to be so much ouerruled with passion, that after he had washed all parts of the monument with his lamentable teares, he fainted, and fell downe dead vpon the Sepulcher of his father, who had as little sence of those his latest sorrowes, as he had feeling of so great a fault, to giue such libertie to the rage of nature.

The Florentines in great perplexity.

The *Florentins* are mightely perplexed, they had greatly moued the King by their bad order in the recovery of *Pisa*, as we haue heard before, but there springs vp newe motives of discontent: The exceeding charge they had beene at, and were still forced C
 to beare for the warres of *Pisa*, the ieaousie of the Popes forces, and of his *Borgia*, made them slacke in paying the King the money, which the Duke of *Milan* had lent them: and the debt which hee pretended to bee due vnto him by reason of the pay, made by his maiesty to the *Suisses* which he had sent against *Pisa*, whom hee had maintayned with his owne money: vpon refusall which the *Florentins* had made them, vnder colour that they would retire into their Country before their time perished: and the King (who sought to empty their cofers, to the end he might gouerne them more absolutely) demanded it very earnestly. Moreouer they grewe more weak by their owne ciuill discords, which troubled them in the popular gouernment, where in many of the Citizens being suspected, eyther as friends to the *Medicis*, or desiring D
 an other kind of gouernment, matters were managed with more confusion then counsell: and to increase their crosses, the King did presse them for the aides and summes of money promised for the voiage of *Naples*, pretending: That he had performed the conuentions they had made together, whereto they were bound: seeing that by their owne fault they had hindred the recovery: therefore hee was no more bound to protect them. And in truth *Julian de Medicis*, beseeching him in person, and at the Popes perswasion, to restore him and his bretheren into their estates, vpon promises of a great summe of money, hee most willingly opened both eare and heart to these offers.

The Florentines freed by a fayned transaction with *Borgia*.

All these considerations drew the *Valentinois* into *Tuscane*, with seauen hundred E
 men at armes, five thousand choise foote which *Bentiuole* gaue him, (the French companies lodging apart, to attend the Kings army which began to march): But he knew, that the king would not bee pleased with this entry in Hostile manner into the *Florentins* Country, and that otherwise his army was both weak of men and munition, to force any Towne.

The *Florentins* also knowing themselves naked, both of horse and foote, others then of the Country: oppressed with ieaousie, feare and diuisions, hee makes this accord with them: That there should bee a confederacie, betwixt the common-wealth of Florence, and the Duke of *Valentinois*, with a prohibition not to aide the rebelles on eyther side: and that the *Florentins* should entertayne him for three yeares at their charge, F
 with three hundred men at armes and six and thirty thousand ducats yeerely, which men at armes hee should send to them when soeuer they had neede, eyther for themselves, or any other, and should not oppose themselves against him, for the defence of the Lord of
Plumbin

A *Plumbin*, who was in their protection.

But this composition was onely to disarme the *Valentinois*, and to send him packing. And hee well informed of the policie, staying in the same County, spoyled it in reuenge, both by fire, and sacke, most like to an open enemy, trying them with demandes, which partly they refused, partly deferred, hoping that the Kings authority should free them from these bonds, which necessity of the time and *Borgia*s force had extorted from them.

The King indeed held the rodde, but stayed his arme: he was pleased the *Valentinois* should terrifie them, but not tyrannise ouer them. For although hee would willingly haue seene some other forme of gouernment at *Florence*. yet an alteration then would B
 haue beene very preiudiciall vnto him: the King being loath to see the *Valentinois* aduanced to any other authoritie, or by any other forces then his Maiesties. So by the commaundement of *Lewis*, he leaues *Florence*, and enters the territorie of *Plombin*, taking *Surgerette*, *Starline*, and the Islands of *Elbe* and *Pianosa*, where leauing a sufficient garrison, as well to guard the places, as to molest them of *Plombin*, he continually returned towards *Rome*, to ioine with the armie, that was marching to the conquest of *Naples*.

The warres of *Naples* resumed.

Nothing crossed the course thereof, but the alarms which the Emperour had formerly caused. But when one treats with a Prince, that is flexible for money, the accord is soone made. The gold of *France* must now stay the iron of *Germanie*. Philippe the Arch-Duke might doe much: he was a Prince inclined to peace (and it may be, he died too soone for the good of *France*, leauing an heire, whose birth and all the courtes of his life, hath beene most fatal to the Crowne) and the traffick of his subjects made them loth to heare speake of warre with the French. But that which did most import, the King offered to giue *Claude* his onely daughter, in marriage to *Charles*, son to the said Arch-Duke: and for a dowrie, when they should be both of age, to confirmate the marriage (for neither the one, nor the other was yet three yeares old) to giue the Duchie of *Milan*. So by the meanes of *Philippe*, and for money, *Lewis* obtained a prolongation of the truce, in the which the King of *Naples* was not comprehended: who notwithstanding, by the meanes of fortie thousand ducats, and a bond D
 of fiftene thousand more monethly, purchased a promise from *Maximilian*: Not to make any accord, but to comprehend him in it, and to make waire in the Duchie of *Milan*, when as need should require, to diuert the Kings forces. There yet remained one scruple, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and of *Castille* by *Isabell* his wife, might stirre vp the *Venetians*, and happily the Pope, (both prompt inough to oppose ioyntly against the greatnesse of this Crowne:) Hee was concurrent with our *Lewis*, in the right of the succession of *Naples*: for although *Alphonso* King of *Arragon* had disposed thereof to *Ferdinand* his bastard, as his owne proper good, gotten without the rights of the Crowne of *Arragon*: Yet *Iohn* his brother (successor to the Realme of *Arragon*) and since *Ferdinand* sonne to *Iohn*, had alwaies protested of their lawfull pretensions to the estate of *Naples*, as a good, purchased by *Alphonso*, with the forces, and treasour of *Arragon*.

And this *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* temporised like a Spaniard: watching his opportunitie, to attempt some great matter for his owne benefite: He did not onely make demonstration of all the duties of a good kinsman to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and his other successors: but the better to lull him a sleepe, hee allied himselfe to the sayd *Neapolitain*, giuing him his sister *Iane* in marriage, and consenting that *Iane* her daughter should marrie with young *Ferdinand*.

This concurrence of two Kings in like desire, caused the one to free himselfe from lets, and crosses: and the other to get a part of that which hee could not compassie F
 wholly, and so then to share betwixt them, the conquests of the sayd Realme: vpon condition: That the King of *France* should haue the Cittie of *Naples*, with all belonging to the land of *Labour*, and the Province of *Abrazzo*: *Ferdinand* should for his part haue all the lands, and territories belonging to *Apulia*, and likewise to *Calabria*, agreeing

The Realme of *Naples* diuided, and a betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*.

1501. agreeing that euery one should conquer his owne part, without any bond to ayde A
one another, but onely not to hurt one another, and that they should doe homage
vnto the Pope, *Lewis* with the title, no more of King of *Sicile*, but King of *Ieru-
salem* and *Naples*, imitating the example of *Frederick* the second, Emperour of
Rome, and King of *Naples*, by his wife the daughter of *Iohn*, King of *Ieru-
salem* (in
name but without effect) and of *Naples*, and *Ferdinand* in qualitie of Duke of *Apulia*
and *Calabria*.

The armie
going to
Naples.

The capitulation was no sooner concluded, but the King prepared his armie vnder
the command of *Lewis* of *Armagnac* Duke of *Nemours*, sonne to *James* beheaded at
Paris, vnder *Lewis* the eleventh, and the Lord of *Aubigni*, an ancient, wise, and well
experienced Capitaine. In the which were *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Earle of *S. Paul*, brother
to *Charles* Earle of *Vendosme*, sonnes to *Francis* of *Vendosme*, who dyed at *Verceil*, *Lewis*
of *Bourbon*, Prince of *la Roche-sur-Yon*, great grand-father to the Duke of *Montpensier*
now liuing, *Charles* of *Bourbon*, afterwards Duke of *Bourbon*, and Constable of *France*,
Lewis of *Bourbon* Earle of *Montpensier*, his brother, *Gaston* of *Foix*, Vicount of *Narbonne*,
the Kings Nephew, sonne to *Iohn* Vicount of *Narbonne*, but by reason of their young
yeares, obeying the aboue named commanders. The troups were a thousand Lan-
ces, foure men to a Lauce, sixe thousand *French* foote, foure thousand *Suisses*, and
the Duke of *Valentinois* with his forces. The armie at sea, commanded by the Earle of
Rauaslein, Gouverneur of *Genes*, consisted of three Caragues of *Genoua*, and sixe
ships, with many other small vessels, laden with many foote men, so as they esteemed
their footemen to be twentiethousand: who by the Popes fauour, and *Borgias* his
sonnes, passed through all *Italy* without any resistance.

Frederick's
simplicitie.

Frederick King of *Naples*, had not yet discovered the secret conuention of the two
Kings, who proceeding plainly, did sollicit *Gonsalue* (who lay at Anchor in *Sicile*, vn-
der colour to succour him) to come to *Caliste*: and very simply put some places in *Ca-
labria* into his hands, as he demanded: but this was but to make the conquest of *Fe-
dinands* portion the more easie. So hoping (that *Gonsalue* having ioyned with his ar-
mie) he should haue sufficient forces to withstand the *French*, he went and camped at
S. Germaine, with seuen hundred men at armes, six hundred light horse, and six thou-
sand foote, with the troups which the *Colonois* brought vnto him, hauing likewise sent
his eldest sonne *Ferdinand* to *Tarentum*, to commit the Prince of *Basignan*, and the
Earle of *Melete* to prison, accused to haue intelligence with the Earle of *Caiazza*, who
was in the *French* armie: the which being come neere vnto *Rome*, the Ambassadors of
France and *Spain*, giue notice vnto the Pope of this diuision made betwixt their mai-
sters, with an intent afterwards (say they) to make warre against the enemies of *Christi-
an religio*: and according to the tenour of this agreement, they demand a league,
the which was presently granted. Doubtlesse the more wee seeke to shadow and
colour an iniustice with goodly shewes, the greater it appeares.

Two Kings
blamed for
this diuision.

Behold the desseignes of two Kings, discovered and layde open to all the world,
and both ioyntly blamed. *Ours*, for that he had rather drawe a corriuall into *Italy*, to
whom his enemies and ill willers might sue, then to leaue the full possession vnto *Frede-
ricke*, offering (as we haue sayd) to hold the realme of him, and to pay him a yearly tri-
bute. The other, for that, desire to haue a part of the realme had made him to conspire
against a King of his owne blood, whom (the more easie to ruine) hee had alwayes en-
tertained with lying promises of succours, blemishing the glory of that noble title of
Catholike King, which hee and his wife *Isabell* had lately obtained. This league
amazed *Fredericke*, but more the generall mutinie, whereby *Saint Germaine*
and the neighbour places had rebelled at the b.uite of the *French* forces, euen be-
fore that *Aubigny* parted from *Rome*: so as in steed of keeping the field, as hee had
pretended, hee shuttes himselfe vp, meaning to defend his Townes. *Capoue* was the
first place of defence that he made choise off, and did fortifie it with three hundred
men at armes, some light horse, and three thousand foote, vnder the command of
Fabricio Colonne and *Rainunce* of *Martiane*: and leauing *Prosper Colonne* for the garde
of

Rebellion in
the estate of
Naples.

A of *Naples*, he lodged in *Auerse*. *Fabricio* had caused the messengers of some *Neapoli-
taine* Barons of the *French* faction, to be murdered at *Rome*, being sent to treat with
him touching an accord for their maisters: and see now, these murders are reuenged,
if not vpon the person, at the least vpon the Authors goods. *Aubigni* in passing, burnes
Marine, *Cani*, and certaine other places belonging to their houle: then drawing to-
wards *Montfortin*, he findes that *Iulius Colonne* had shamefully abandoned it, leauing
by the same meanes, all the other Townes about *Capoue*, euen vnto *Vulturnus*, to the
victors discretion.

Frederick aduertised that *Aubigni* had passed *Vulturno*, leauing *Auerse*, he retired in-
to *Naples*. *Auerse*, *Nole*, and others, yeelding vnto the *French*, prepared them the way
to *Capoue*, the which enuironed on cyther side the riuer, and battered fiercely on all
parts, endures a hotte assault, and repells them with great losse. The Canon shotte
shakes the strongest walles, and the rough assaults amaze the most resolute, they re-
new the batterie, and all prepares to a second assault. The people mutined, the Cap-
taines and souldiers fainted, and *Fabricio Colonne* parted from a Bastion with the
Earle of *Caiazza*, when as our men greued with the first affront, force the breach,
ouerthrow the defences, enters it, kill all they meet in the furie, ransome such as they
finde after their furie past, and sack the Towne. A happy victory, if the horrible inso-
lencie and licentiousnesse of the victors, had not defamed it. Many women, maidens
and Nunnes, to auoide this first furie, were retired into a Tower. *Borgia* would see
them, and chose out fortie of the fairest, the rest seiued as a pray for the souldiers lust,
who after solde a part of them at *Rome*. *Fabricio* seeing the Towne taken, fled away
speedily, but some galloping after, brought him back prisoner to the Campe. *Don*
Hugues of *Cardonne*, and all the other Capitaines and men of qualitie, saued their liues
by ransome. *Rainuccio* of *Martiane* being hurt at the assault, dyed in the Duke of *Val-
entinois* mens hands.

Reuenge vp6
the Colonois.
The lamenta-
ble taking of
Capoue.

The souldiers
in solencie.

Capoue being lost, it made them loose all hope euer to defend any place: *Caliste* yeelde
presently, *Auerse* opens her gates. *Naples* compounds soderly for three score thousand
crownes, payable to the victors. And *Fredericke* being shut vp into *Catle-Neufe*, com-
pounds with *Aubigny*: To deliuer into his hands within sixe dayes, all the townes and forts
which were of the Kings portion, onely reseruing the Ile of *Ilicie* for sixe moneths, during
the which, it should bee lawfull for him to go whether hee pleased, but not into the realme
of *Naples*: To draw what hee would out of the Castles of *Naples*, except the artillerie of
King *Charles*, which remained there: That all offences should bee pardoned which had
bene committed since the first conquest of the Realme by *Charles*: and that the Cardinals
Colonne, and of *Arragon*, should enioy the spirituall liuings they possessed within the
realme.

The capitula-
tion of *Frede-
ricke*, who of
King of *Nap-
les* made
Duke of *An-
jou*.

Thus *Frederick* detesting the treacherie of the *Arragonois*, and desiring rather to flie
vnto the Kings protection, he came into *France*, to accept what his Maiestie should
gise him, which was the Duchie of *Anjou*, with thirty thousand Crownes of yearly
pension. An ill aduised resolution, for keeping himselfe in some place of safetie, hap-
pely he might (during the partialities which shall soone growe betwixt *Lewis* and *Fe-
dinand*) haue found meanes to recouer his realme: yet was hee happy in his misery,
changing a Crowne of thornes, a State full of troubles, to a quiet life, and yet ho-
norable: for euen after the *French* were expelled *Naples*, hee was still maintained
and kept in the same honour, and in the same estate, by the Kings great loue and
bounty.

Gonsalue at the same time conquered the portion for his Maister, and although all
the Countie did more affect the *French* command, yet hauing no man to receiue
them in his name, nor to defend them, all the Townes did willingly submit them-
selues vnto him, except *Manfredonia* and *Tarentum*, the which after some shew of
resistance, did in the end vndergo the *Castillian* yoake. *Ferdinand* eldest sonne to
Frederick, was at *Tarentum*, with secret commandement from his father, not to come
into *France*, though he should be forced to strike saile.

Gonsalues
exploits.

But

1501.

But seeing that both were wholly despoiled of their estates, and that our *Lewis* did A nourish the father, the *Castilian* might well entertayne the sonne. *Gonsalve* lends him vnto him, against his sollemne oath taken, at the receyuing of the sacrament, *To leaue him at his liberty*: but some nation preferres the interest of state, before the feare of God and the respect of his owne reputation.

Plombin deli-
uored to the
Duke of Va-
lentinus.

The Conquest of *Naples*, had made the *Valentinois* returne to his enterprize of *Plom- bin*, and *James Appian* Lord of the Towne (hauing manned it with a sufficient garrison, came vnto the King, who long before had taken him into his protection. But whilst he did sollicite in Court for the preservation of his estate, (though without any hope of fauour, by reason of the Kings promises made vnto the Pope, *Not to hinder him in his desires*) *Pandolfo Petruccio* deliuerd vp the Towne to the *Valentinois*, who by B the authority of the Apostolike see, and the support hee had from the King, made it well knowne in *Italie*, that his excessiue couetousnesse had no restraint nor bounds. In the meane time, the King treats a peace with the Emperour very effectually. Many reasons moued him therevnto: they desire to obtaine the possession of *Milan*: to of- fend the *Venetians*, to whome the prosperity of this Realme beeing very offensive, they did vnder-hand hinder the conclusion of this peace: and to recouer *Cremona* with *Gua- da aduue*, at the great instance of the *Milanois*. with *Eresse*, *Bergamo*, and *Crème*, the an- cient appertenances of the Duchie of *Milan*, and vsurped by the *Venetians*, in the time of *Philipp Maria Visconte*.

A treaty be-
twixt the
Emperour &
King Lewis.

For this treaty the Cardinall of *Amboise*, Lieutenant generall for his maiesty at *Mi- C lan*, went to the Emperour to *Trent*, where first they treated of the marriage of *Charles* the eldest sonne to the Arch-duke, *Philip* with *Claude* the onely daughter of *Lewis*: the Emperour granting to cyther of them, the inuesting of *Milan*, but not to the Kings heires males, in case hee had any: To recouer whatsoeuer cyther of them pretended to haue beene vsurped by the *Venetians*: To call a generall counsell to reforme the Church, not onely (ay they) in the members, but euen in the head. Doubtlesse there is small assurance in the loue of Princes, who gape after nothing but their owne great- nesse. Moreouer did wee euer see any thing succeed well with them, who haue co- loured their passions with the name of the Church, and the reformation thereof. This is properly sayd, to take the name of *God in vaine*: And likewise all the malicious practi- D ses and schoole tricks of a Cardinall, (whose ambitious spirit gaped after the Pope- dome, what could they bring forth but smooke for *France*, and combustion for *Italy*?) Truly the reading of Histories doth teach vs, *That the politike gouernment of preests, is vnfortunate and fatall*.

The truce
prolonged.

This treaty, hauing onely in shewe made way for a peace, was ended with a prolon- gation of a truce, giuing hope that these things treated on, should soone take effect. And this opinion was confirmed by the comming of the Arche-duke *Philip*, with his wife (daughter to *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* and *Isabell* Queene of *Castile*) who as ap- pointed to the succession, meaning to go and receiue the oath of fidelity of their sub- iects, they passed through *Paris* the 25. of Nouember, and from thence to *Blois*, where E the King and Queene remained: and there they concluded the marriage of their chil- dren: but man purposeth, and God disposeth.

Philip of An-
f. is pulled
through
France.

For with the newe yeare, the Emperour brought forth newe desseings, refusing flat- ly the inuesting of the Duchie of *Milan* to the King: and treating with the Potentats of *Italy* touching his passage to receyue the Imperiall Crowne, he found the *Florentins* tractable to the articles which he propounded, considering the hard condi- tions the King demanded, seeming to bee wholly estranged from them, saying that hee was acquit of the articles accorded at *Milan*, and they remayned still bound. Thus *Hermes Sforce* Ambassador for *Maximilian* at *Florence*, had obtayned a promise of the C. m. non-weale, to aide him in his voiage with a hundred men at armes, and thirty thousand Ducats, when as he should be entred into *Italy*. But the King fearing lest the *Florentins* despairing of his loue, should make some accord with *Maximilian*, in the ende he made an newe agreement with them, vpon milde conditions: That the King

A King (returning them againe into his protection) should defend them against all men, with his owne force and charge for three yeares following, during the which they should pay vnto his Maiestie forty thousand Ducats yearely: and it should be lawfull for the *Florentins*, to protect by force against the *Pisans*, or against any other that withheld their places. The *Pi- sars* are againe abandoned to the spoile, and the *Florentines* resolved to vanquish by a generall waste (the forerunner of famine) that place which they had in vaine tryed to subdue by the sword. This passed in *Tuscane*, when as no man perceiued what tol- lowed these garboiles.

The begining
of diuision
betwixt Lewis
& Ferdinand.

But two nations of such contrary humors, could they liue so neere neighbours, but some seedes of dislike should bring forth fruites of diuision? There sodenly E growes great controuersies betwixt our *French* and the *Castilians* for their confines. And why do we not vse a graue deliberation in our contracts, to make them so strong as nothing may infringe them? *Alphonso* of *Arragon* King of *Naples*, the first of that name, had (to make the collection of his reuenues the more easie,) diuided the realme of *Naples* into six principall Prouinces, The Land of *Labour*, the *Principallitie*, *Egadicte*, *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and *Abruzze*, whereof *Apulia* was subdiuided into three parts: the land of *Otrante*, *Bari*, and the *Capitanate* ioyning to *Abruzze*, and se- parated from the rest of *Apulia* by the riuer of *Lofante*, (otherwise called *Laufade*.) Seeing then that in the diuision, *Abruzze* was fallen to the *French*, had they not reason to dispute the possession, the sayd *Capitanate* being rather a portion of *Abruzze*, then C of *Apulia*? and the matter of greatest importance was, that not inioying *Capitanat*, they lost the reuenew growing of the custome of *Castell*, being one of the cleereft reuenews of the realme.

Moreouer *Capitanate* is a Corne countrie, and might easilie in a time of dearth fa- mish the land of *Labour* and *Abruzze*, whensoever the *Spaniards* should forbid the trans- port of graine from *Apulia* and *Sicile*. Herevpon either part drew what he could out of the reuenews of this custome, feeding still their contentions with new motives. The *Spaniards* maintained, that the *Principallitie* and *Pazilicate* were comprehended in *Calabria*, which is diuided into two, the hether and the farther, one high and the other lowe, and that the vallie of *Beneuent* possessed by the *French*, was a portion of D *Apulia*. And therefore *Gonsalve* chafed the *French* Magistrates out of *Tripalde*, and sent others to administer Iustice and right vnder the command, and authoritie of *Ferdinand*.

All things tended to open diuision. But let vs not flatter our selues. Was it not rea- son, that they which had deuoured an other, should afterwards consume them selues? The chiefe Barons of the Countrie, desiring to quench these first fire-brands of dis- cord, did mediate an enterview betwixt the Viceroye of *Nemours*, and *Gonsalve*, who agreed to enioy those places in common, that were in controuersie, and in the meane time set vp the banners of the two Kings, expecting what they should de- termine.

E The Viceroy was hotte and vehement, and could not endure a brauadoe. *Gonsalve* (of whom the *Spanish* and *Italian* Authors make no lesse account, then of a *Furius Ca- millus*; a *P. Scipio*, or a *C. Caesar*;) had doubtlesse goodly parts of a Captaine. Braue in armes, vigilant, industrious, patient in trauell, stately, prodigall, liberall, not voluptu- ous, a man of a strong and vigorous complexion: Hee sometimes by liberalltie, sometimes by sufferance, gaue libertie to his souldiers: then againe would restraine their insolencie imperiouslie, within the bounds of dutie: he loned and honoured men of valour: and very ingeniously did fitte himselfe to occurrents, iudging of things to come, with a good naturall discourse; by the comparison of the present, and what was passed, neuer grounding his desseignes vpon any vncertaintie. But all these good- lie vertues were blemished with a perpetuall dissimulation and treacherie: no feare F of God, no loyaltie where hee felt any profit; being accustomed to say, *That a braue Souldiour must grossly weare the webbe of his honour*.

The vertues
of Gonsalve.

His vice.

As

1502. As *Gonsalve* then (following the instructions and letters of *Ferdinand*, who already in A imagination had deuoured the whole Realme of *Naples*) had sowed the seeds of warre on all sides, the *Viceroy* protests by a publicke declaration, that he will make warre against *Gonsalve*, if he speedily depart not out of the *Capitanat*. And seeing the King of *Spain* resolved not to leaue the possession, hee enters *Tripaldi* by force the 19. of Iune: and consequently the other Townes which *Gonsalve* held in that Country. They are now imbarcked in warre, and the King is at *Lions*, to provide necessary things more commodiously to crosse the vniust practises of his aduersary. Vpon this desceing he sends 2000. *Suisses* by sea to supply his men, and entertaynes the Princes of *Salerno* and *Brignan*, with an intent to passe into *Italy*, if neede required.

New broiles
in Italy.

Lewis succors
the Florentines.

The newe tumults which *Vittelloze* (impatient of the death of his brother *Paul Vitellio*, beheaded at *Florence* as we haue sayd) did raise in *Tuscane*, drew him thither. They begun by the reuolt of *Aretze*, against the *Florentines*, at the perswasion of the sayd *Vittelloze*, of the *Vrsins*, *Iohn Paul Baillon*, *Pandolfe Petrucci* and others which desired the returne of *Peter of Medicis*, into the state of *Florence*. The *Florentines* protecting themselves with their new league with the King, flie to him, accuse the Pope and the Duke of *Valentinois*, to be the Authors of these stirres: found forth the imminent danger of the Duchie of *Milan*, if the aboue named (vnited and coniuured to ruine their estate) reduce it into their power.

The King had beene long tyred with the insolency, and ambition of the Pope and his sonne. He did foresee, that the treaties of accord being broken with *Maximilian*, C the *Venetians* would soone crosse him: and that hauing open warre with the *Spaniards*, the inuading of *Tuscane*, doone by the secret practises of others, would proue very preiudiciall vnto him. And therefore he sent foure hundred Lances to succor the *Florentines*, with commandement to *Vittelloze* and his adherents: Not to molest those any more whome he had receyued into his protection: the which he declared to all those that should feare to incurre his indignation. In the meane time the Duke of *Valentinois* vpon the confusions of *Aretze*, went out off *Rome* with his army, and vnder a false pretext to take *Camerin*, hauing before (to weaken *Guidobalde* Duke of *Vrbino*, drawne men and artillery from him,) leapes into that Duchie, and takes all his estate without any let, except the Rocks of *S. Leon*, & *Matuole*, to the great discontent & amazement of *Vittelloze*, the *Vrsins* & *Petruccio*, who by an others ruine began plainely to discouer their owne. This conquest had made the *Valentinois* to assaile the *Florentines*, if the commandement made him fro the King, or rather the coming of his maiesty, had not diuerted him. *Camerin* was the object of his armes. He tooke it, & with a barbarous inhumanity caused *Iules of Varane* Lord of the sayd place to be strangled with his two sonnes.

The Duke of
Valentino is
his cruelty.

The King arriues at *Ast*, and *Lewis of Tremouille* comes into *Tuscane* with two hundred Lances, three thousand *Suisses*, and great store of artillery, for the recovery of *Aretze* in fauour of the *Florentines*. The Pope with his *Borgia*, foreseeing that the King being incensed against them, as the chiefe motives of this warre, would spoile *Borgia* of *Romagnia*, and other places which he possessed: and that they were too weak to E withstand this storme, they returne to their accustomed practises: imputing the rebellion of *Aretze* to *Vittelloze* and his Associates, whome they could not (say they) neither by prayers nor authority diuert from this enterprife. And to pacifie the King, the *Valentinois* sent word to *Vittelloze*, that if hee did not giue vp *Aretze* and other places belonging to the *Florentines*, he would cast him out by force.

Vittelloze was ready to beare the whole burthen, but by what meanes? considering the weakenesse of his forces, and that the strongest were ready to reconcile themselves, and to leaue him in the mier: therefore makes no delay, but consignes *Aretze* and the other *Florentin* Townes, which the violence of his forces had put into his power, *Monsieur Saint Souin*, *Chastillon d'Aratze*, *Cortone* and the rest of *Valdichiane*: all which F were presently by the Kings command restored to the *Florentines*. The affaires of this world require euery man to shroude himselfe vnder the strongest. The King hath no sooner set footing into *Italy*, but all the Princes and common-weales (according to their

An other
alliance be-
twixt the
King and
Pope.

A their accustomed manner) flie vnto him, some to get pardon, some to maintaine their estates, and all in generall to draw his Maiesties forces against the Pope and his sonne. But doth it not commonly fall out, that what many desire, succeeds but seldom? Their priuate interest and respects, are most commonly contrary to their outward shewes, and desires. So the King, not so much moued by the Popes exact diligence, (who by all meanes and messages, sought to pacifie him, and to returne againe into fauour,) as by the Cardinall of *Amboise* perswasion, (who to entertaine the Pope in vnion with the King, presumed to frame himselfe a ladder, to mount vnto the Popedom, & to aduance some one of his house, to be Cardinall) he happily followed of two wayes the worst, fauouring the Pope, and his followers. The wise reader may iudge thereof by the event of the historie.

B True it is, the Emperour was a chiefe motiue to draw our *Lewis* to this accord. His fingers itched, he could not be quiet: and vnder colour of his passage (which he did so much affect) to receiue his Imperiall Crowne of the Pope, he might happily trouble the state of *Italy*, to the Kings great preiudice. and indeed he had already sent many horse and foote to *Trente*, making great offers to the Pope in fauour of this passage. Moreouer, the King was not ignorant, how vnwillingly the *Venetians* did see the state of *Milan*, & the realme of *Naples* in his hands: Adding thereunto, the imperious threats which foure Cantons of the *Suisses* made. That if the King did not yeeld them the rights he had to *Belinzone*, and giue them *Volteine*, *Schafouse*, with other outragious C demands, they would compound with *Maximilian*. But to adde more crosses, he must dispute the conquest of *Naples* by the sword.

Made vpon
sundry con-
siderations.

The *Suisses*
braue the king

All these considerations made our *Lewis* desirous to entertaine the Popes friendship, whereby *Maximilians* desires were sodainly disappointed. So the King, (hauing more libertie to provide for the estate of *Naples*) sent a fresh supply by sea, of two thousand *Suisses*, and tenne thousand *French*, the which ioyned to the *Viceroy*, who had already taken all the Capitanate, except *Manfredonia* and *S. Angelo*. They camped before *Canoie*, the which *Peter of Nouarre* yeelded by composition, to depart with bag and baggage. The taking of this place, did shut *Gonsalve* into *Barlette*, without money, with little vitells, and lesse muniton. And the *French* Captaines alledging, (against D the aduice of the Lord of *Aubigni*), that the armie could not all campe about *Barlette*, for want of water, and many other reasons? they resolved, a part of the armie should remaine thereabouts, to maintaine a kind of seege, and the other should seeke to recover the rest of the realme. After this Counsell, the *Viceroy* seized vpon all *Apulia*, except *Tarentum*, *Otrante*, and *Gallipoli*: and then hee returned to *Barlette*. The Lord of *Aubigni* entring *Calabria* with the other part of the armie, tooke and sackt the Towne of *Cosenze*, with some other places.

The exploits
of the French
in the King-
dome of Na-
ples.

But our prosper ty lasts not long, we commonly sleepe in the midst of our course. This happie beginning, made our *Lewis* more carelesse, then the cause required: the which if hee had continued, hee might easily haue expelled the enemy, (before hee E had beene supplied) out of all the state of *Naples*: but hee tooke his way for *France*, after he had treated a new with the Pope, and receiued the *Valentinois* into fauour againe, vpon condition, To aid him in the warres of *Naples*, when need should require: and a promise from the King, To giue the *Valentinois* three hundred Lances, to helpe him to conquer *Bologne* for the Church, and to suppress the *Vrsins*, *Baillon* and *Vittelloze*, against whom the King was wonderfully incensed for the outrages they had done to the *Florentines*, and for that they had shewed themselves too slacke in the execution of his Maiesties commandements, especially *Vittelloze*, who had refused to yeeld the *Florentines* the artillerie which he had taken from *Aretze*.

This reconciliation made the *Valentinois* fearefull to all *Italy*. And doubtlesse who- F soeuer is neighbour to a cruell, and inexorable man, hath need to stand vpon his guard. Moreouer a wicked man hauing so firme and strong supports in the Kings court, where the Cardinall of *Amboise* ruled all: how could hee but dayly presume to comit new insolencies? The *Venetians* were wonderfull icalous of *Borgias* great enie-
increasing

The *Valentinois*
fearefull to
the *Vene-
tians*.

1503. increasing dayly, shewing the King by their Ambassador, how much it did derogate from the beautie of the house of France, and the glorious surname of most Christian King, to fauour a Tyrant borne for the ruine of people, and the desolation of Prouinces, disloyall, cruell, thirsting for humane blood: by whome so many gentlemen, and Noblemen had bene so treacherously slaine: who sometimes by the sword, sometimes by payson, glutted his crueltie vpon his allies, his kinsmen, his brethren, & vpon them, whose age, euen the barbarous Turkes would haue respected.

The Venetians
oppose against
him.

A League
against the
Valentinoi.

But the King did not build so much vpon the Popes friendship, as hee doubted his hatred. Moreover, he thought (being firmly vnited to him,) no man should dare to attempt any thing against the authoritie of his Crowne, in the estates of Milan and Naples. The Kings answer was. *That he neither would, nor ought to hinder the Pope, from disposing at his pleasure, of places belonging to the Church.* The Venetians therefore forbearing to crosse the prosperitie of the Valentinoi, for his Maiesties respect, behold, many small brookes ioyned together, make a great streame. The *Vrsins*, the Duke of *Gravine*, *Vitellozza*, *John Paul Baillon*, *Liucrot of Ferme*, *Hermes*, for *John Bentiuole* his father, *Anthony of Venafre* for the *Siensis*, with many other heads, make an offensive, and defensive League: by means whereof, and by the surprise of the Castle of *Saint Leon*, *Guidobalde* recouered all his duchie of *Vibm*. They go to field with seven hundred men at armes, and nine thousand foote: but they displease the King, arming themselves with his authoritie, hoping (it may be) that he would not be discontented to haue the *Valentinoi* molested by another. C

The *Valentinoi* flies to the King, and speedily provides for conuenient remedies: first hee pacifieth *Cardinal Vrsin*, by the means of *Iulius* his brother, and by diuers policies did so cunningly practise, first one, then another of the confederates, (confused, and troubled with the Kings succors, which the King gaue commaundement to the Lord of *Chaumont* to send to *Borgia*, with expresse charge, to countenance his affaires by all means,) that the first which was taken in the snare, was *Paul Vrsin*, whom he held to be a fit instrument to dispose of his companions, and to draw them innocently into danger. But what did these poore Commanders, capitulating with a wicked wretch, whose sweet wordes was a snare for their death, and who must shortly serue as an instrument of Gods wrath against them. Truly whilst they employ the forces (which they had leuied to suppress him,) in his fauour, for the taking of some places, and that they suffer themselves to be lulled more a sleep with his goodly shewes, and sweet speeches, he prepares for their ruine. After they had by his commaundement taken the Towne, and Castle of *Sinigalle*: hee comes thither the next day, with all his companies in order: hee causeth them to bee taken prisoners, strips their troupes: and to make the last day of this yeare famous, hee strangles *Vitellozza* and *Liucrot of Ferme*. The first must follow the miserable courie of his house, all his other brethren (and according to the order of their ages) being dead of violent deaths. *John* was slaine with a cannon before *Osme*, vnder Pope *Innocent Camille* with a stone before *Circelle*. *Paul* was beheaded at *Florence*. And *Liucrot* felt in his person, the treason whereby he had in a barker treacherously murdered *John Frangine* his vnkle, with many Citizens of *Ferme*, to usurpe the Seigneurie thereof.

Fatal to the
authors,

The violent
death of
Vitel-
lozza
and
Liucrot.

The notable
cruelties
of the
Valentinoi.

The Cardinal
paysoned.
The Duke of
Gravine and
Paul Vrsin
strangled

Now we shall see a yeare full of memorabill, & famous accidents, begun with the Popes impietie, & treacherie: but he was ignorant what should presently befall his own person and state. Being aduertised of his sonnes exploits at *Sinigalle*, hee calls the *Cardinal of Vrsin* to the Vatican: who (trusting in his faith, whom all the world knew to be faithles) was lately come to *Rome*. Being arrived, he is taken prisoner, and with him *Rainold Vrsin* Archb. of *Florence*, the *Protonotaire Vrsin*, and the *Abbot of Aluane*, brother to *Barthelmeu*, & *James of S. Croix* a Romain-gentleman, whom some few dayes after hee caused to bee deliuered vpon a good caution: but the *Cardinal* ended his dayes there by prison: and the *Valentinoi* hearing that the *Cardinal* was prisoner, hee caused the Duke of *Gravine*, & *Paul Vrsin* to be strangled. The hee approached to *Sieme*, meaning to seize thereon vnder colour to expel *Pandolfo Petruccio*, as an enemy, and

disturber

A chamber of the quiet of *Tuscane*, promising, that when he had chafed him, he would presently returne with all his troupes to *Rome*, without indomaging their territories. The *Siensis* thinking it no reason, that the whole City should incurre so great danger to maintaine the power of one priuate Cittizen, and *Pandolfo* desiring rather to accept that with euery mans good liking, which in the end the peoples hatred & the peril of his person would force him vnto, he parted out of *Sieme*, leauing the same garrard & the authority with his friends, so as his departure bred no alteration in the government. This enterprize displeased the King: for although he were not sorry, to see *Vitellozza* & his adherents punished, yet desired he not their totall ruine, the which with the conquest of so great estates made the Pope; and his *Borgia* too mighty. He desisted therefore from this attempt, not so much to obey the King, as finding the taking of *Sieme* difficult, being a great Towne & strong: conuerting all his forces to the totall destruction of the house of *Vrsins*, *John*, *Iulio*, *Francis*, *Fabian*, and *Organtin*, who hauing ioyned with the *Sauelli* were in *Ceruelre*, had taken the bridge of *Lamentane*, & scoured all the country. When he had refrayned their courses, hee inuaded the possessions of *John Jordan*, who was then in the Kings protection and pay, bearing armes for his seruice at *Naples*. The King was greatly moued herewith: and to controule the presumption, & insolencie of the *Valentinoi*, hee commands him to forbear to molest the estate of *Jordan*, & to restrain his excellent courtesies: hee procures an vnion betwixt the *Florentins*, *Siensis* & *Bolognas* for their comon defence; to take from the Pope & his son, all means to extend themselves any farther into *Tuscane*. The *Spaniard* fortifies himselfe in the meane time, in the realme of *Naples*, and our affaires decline. The Earle of *Mele*, the Princes of *Salerno* & *Bygnan*, were incamped at *Villeneufue*. & *Don Hugues of Cardone* (passing from *Messina* into *Calabria* with 16. hundred foote, *Spaniards*, *Calabriens* and *Siciliens*, and a hundred men at armes) marched to succour it. going through a narrow plaine betwixt a mountaine and a little river, ioyning to the way with a cauley, desiring rather to enter into *Villeneufue*, then to fight. The Earle encounters them beneath the river: & not able to draw them into the plaine, hee passeth the water to cut of their way to *Villeneufue*, & to charge them. But very indiscreetly, for being troubled with the cauley, they were easily defeated and the Towne reicued. And behold *Manuel of Benaude*, (hauing *Anthony de Le* D

The French
defeated.

Deu with him, who of a simple soldiar became a braue Captaine, and shall win many victories) leading two hundred men at armes, two hundred *Genetaires*, and two thousand foote, takes *Lozarne* at the second assault, where the Lord of *Ambricourt* was lately entered with thirty Lances, and the Earle of *Mele* with a thousand foote. *Ambricourt* was taken, but the Lord of *Aubigni*, approaching with three hundred Lances & five thousand foote, forced the victors to retire to *Villeneufue*, and gaue the Earle means to saue himselfe & to keepe the Castel. *Aubigni* following them in the rayle to the foote of a high mountaine, cut off threescore men at armes & some thousand foote, with 13 hundred prisoners, taking 15. enscignes. But this was with the death of *Grign*, a braue captaine, who led the company of the Earle of *Caiazzo*, being dead of sickenes a little after the taking of *Caspoua*. At the same time *Porta Carrera* brought two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse, & two thousand foote, who dying at *Rhegium*, left the command of his troupes to *Fernand Andrade* his Lieutenant.

The Spaniards
defeated.

Few dayes after, *Gonsalue* departing from *Barlette*, set vpon the Lord of *Palisse* who lodged in *Rubos*, with a hundred Lances, & three hundred foote, as securely as in an assured peace, & hauing surprised him suddenly, battred it furiously and made a breach: he forced him to yeeld the place, and to remaine prisoner with his troupe, and then he returned safely to *Barlette*: notwithstanding the Duke, of *Nemours* companies lodged for their ease in diuers places about *Barlette*, whilst *Gonsalue* endured with an admirable patience both hunger & pestilence, within the same City. Moreover fifty French Lances sent to surprise some money, which was brought from *Tranito* to *Barlette*, were defeated by such as *Gonsalue* had sent for the conduct thereof. All these petty losses were without doubt foretellings of a change of our good fortune. But what neede was there in the beginning of this so visible a Catastrophe, to hazard a fruitlesse combat, for

1503. falling to our disadvantage, it must needs greatly diminish our reputation, & make the whole nation to be scorned: although the honor & valour of a whole country consists not in the combat of a few private persons. A Trumpet returning from *Barlette* (where he had treated of the ransom of some prisoners) reports some speeches which he had heard to the prejudice of the *French*: who displeased therewith, they defie the *Spaniards* and *Italians*. Thirteen *French*, make offer to fight with thirteen of theirs. The field was chosen betwixt *Barlette*, *Andrie* and *Quadrate*. It chanced that having broken their lances, with no advantage to either party: falling to their other armes, a *Frenchman* overthrew an *Italian*, and advancing to kill him, he himselfe was slain by another *Italian* that came to rescue his companion. In the end, after a rough and bloody fight of some houres, the *Italians* (having slain many of the *Frenchmens* horses) remained maisters of the field and bodies, leading their enemies prisoners to *Barlette*.

The *French* defeated in combat.

Troubles by the *Suisses*.

While a State stands firme, every one feares to attempt against it, but upon the first disfaour every one seeks to pull a plume. Some Cantons of the *Suisses* seek to fish in a troubled water, and to obtaine by force, what they could not get by fauour: which was the case of *Bellinzone*, the which they had surpris'd in *Lombardy*. To this end they come before *Locarne*, camping towards the wall, upon that great Lake which stops the descent from the mountains into the plaine: and the other Cantons seeing the enterprise succeed well in fauour of the first assailants, run to ayde their companions, to the number of fifteen thousand. These were too many mouths in a straight & barren country, whose fury must soone faint, for want of artillery, victuals, money and horse. The Lord of *Chaumont* did wisely fore-see all this, who furnishing his castles, upon the mountains, & keeping his troupes in the plaine, kept this great warne from comming into open places, whilst that he assembled all the forces of *Lombardy*, and the allies of *Bologne*, *Ferrare*, and *Mantoue*. The *Venetians* (being required to send the succours which they were bound unto for the defence of the State of *Milan*) sent some companies, but so late as they were vnprofitable. Thus the *Suisses* wanting victuals, the *French* having sonke many barks which brought them provision upon the Lake, and the *Suisses* themselves beginning to be diuided, for that the whole gaine of of their armes redounded to them alone that possessed *Bellinzone*, they retired in the end, upon condition to deliuer what they had taken of the Kings, except *Musogues*, as not belonging to the Duchy of *Milan*: and *Bellinzone* at a certaine time.

A counterfeit peace with the *Spaniards*.

Thus ended this great shewe, and *Philip* Archduke of *Austria*, returning from his voyage, armed with authority from his father in Lawe, and mother in lawe, to make a peace with the King, it was concluded at *Blois*: That the Realme of *Naples* should be injoyed according to the first diuision; but *Philip* should keepe those Prouinces, for the which they had taken armes. That from that day, *Charles* his sonne, and *Claude* the Kings daughter, should intitle themselves Kings of *Naples*, and Dukes of *Apulia* and *Calabria*: and both the Kings portions should be governed in the name of the two children, untill the consummation of the marriage: when as the King should giue his part for his daughters dowry. This peace was of a happy consequence. Armes were laid aside betwixt 2. mighty Kings. It bred loue betwixt the Emperour and our *Lewis*: & new disseines against the *Venetians*: who the King desired to annoy: & it may be, the Pope (being hated of all the world) had bin forced to vndergo a Councell, a matter which he feared exceedingly. Doubtles there is alwayes an Antipathy betwixt bad Popes and good Councells. But this peace was but counterfeit by the *Spaniards*: yet it seemes not that *Philip* proceeded therein like a Foxe, considering his quiet spirit, & the alliance he made with this crowne. *Lewis* and *Philip* sent presely to proclaime it at *Naples*, & to command the Captaines: That attending the King of *Spains* ratification, & holding what they did possesse, they should abstaine to all acts of hostility. The Viceroy surceaseth: but *Gonsalue* had his watch-word, how elidurth he'd lobey *Philip*? *Gonsalue* answered, That untill he had receiued the same commandement fro his King & Queene, he might not lay down armes. He grew the prouder, for that the king trusting in this peace, had neglected things necessary for wars, & kept backe 30 thousand

But not ratified by the *Spaniards*.

A thousand foot which should haue bin imbarcked at *Genes* & three hundred Launces lent to that end, vnder the Lord of *Peris*: Contrariwise *Gonsalue* was newly reinterced by two thousand Laniquenets, which the *Venetians* (against the articles of their accord made with the King) had suffered safely to passe by their gulphes. The Viceroy (foreseeing that he must stand vpon his gard) lends for all the *French* companies which he had dispersed into diuerse parts, and the forces of the Countrey, except those which made warre in *Calabria*, vnder *Aubigni*: but in the assembling thereof, he gaue the first blow, to the ruine of the *French*, in the Realme of *Naples*. The Duke of *Atri* and *Lewis* of *Ars* a *French* Captaine, were ioyned together, to goe vnto the Viceroy, knowing well that *Peter* of *Nouarre* was so lodged, as he might indamage them being diuided. *Lewis* advertised that the *Nauarrois* had taken the way of *Matero*, to ioine with *Gonsalue* followed the tracke of *Lewis* of *Ars*. But it chanced at the same time that *Rutiliane*, (a Towne in the Countrey of *Bari*), being reuolted, had called backe the *Nauarrois*, who being vpon this occasion turned from *Matero* to *Rutiliane*, incountred the Duke of *Atri*, charged him, and defeated him, *John* *Anthonie* his vncle being slain, and himselfe prisoner.

The Duke of *Atri* defeated by the *Spaniards*.

And to increase these mischiefs, *Freian* *Prouensal* a knight of *Rhodes*, was come into the hauen of *Otrante*, with foure *French* gallies, with promise from the *Venetian* Magistrate, not to suffer them to be molested by the *Spanish* fleet, which hovered neer abouts: who entring soone after into the same port, *Freian* (to the end his losse should not benefit the enemies) freed his gallie slaues, sincks his gallies, and saues himselfe by land, with his people. An other iniurie, which shal greatly incense our *Lewis* against the *Venetians*. Hereafter all things fall out opposite for our men: but see, their violent heate makes them run headlong to their totall ruine. *Calabria* is the meanes. They had commandement from the King to temporise, and onely to keepe themselves from surpris, expecting either a confirmation of the peace, or some greater succours. But what meanes is there to temper the furious courage of the *French*, the enemies lying so neere them? *Manuel* of *Benauide*, having repaired his armie, and fortified it with five thousand men which *Ferdinand* had sent him, was ioyned vnto *John* of *Cardone*, & the two armies approached within a League and a halfe. *Aubigni* within *Gioie*: the *Spaniards* at *Seminare*. *Aubigni* was fortified with foure peeces of Canon, vpon the river side, whereas *Gioie* is seated, to hinder the enemies passage: the *Spaniards* being resolute to passe in, they caused their foreward (led by *Manuel* *Benauide*) to march on directly to the river, to entertaine *Aubigni*, who was planted directly on the other side, vnder the colour of some parle, whilst the battail, and the reereward, passed a mile and a halfe about *Gioie*. *Aubigni* discouering this cunning stratagem, flies thither in great hast, without any artillery, to charge them before they were alpassed. But it was too late: all marched in order, to help our *French* running thither without order, & almost out of breath. The charge was sharpe, and the issue doubtful, fighting with great obstinacie, and no man seemed desirous to turne his backe. Doubtles the full decision of controuersies approached to the confusion of our men: who being the smaller number, & having lost many in this resolute fight, they were in the end forced to giue way to the *Spanish* horse, and euery man to seeke for his safetie, as he could. *Ambriacourt* was againe taken prisoner, and some other *French* Captaines, with the Duke of *Somme* and many Barons of the realme. *Aubigni* saved himselfe in the fort of *Angiole*, but being presently beset, and vnfurnished of succours, and defence, hee was forced to yeeld himselfe prisoner. Such is the alteration of the affaires of this world. This noble and valiant Captaine, had but few yeares before, defeated *Ferdinand* *Gonsalue*, in the same place: and now by a strange alteration, he is charged, defeated, and a prisoner. Moreover, that the end of a misfortune in *Calabria*, might be the beginning of another in *Apulia*, *Gonsalue* being forced by famine, and pestilence, to abandon *Barlette*, and to retire to *Trignole*, a Towne betwixt *Canose* (where the Viceroy remained) and *Barlette*: The Viceroy (foreseeing that *Gonsalue* putt vp with this first successe, would attempt

The *French* defeated.

Aubigni taken prisoner.

1503. tempt some higher enterprises) he calls vnto the Lords of *Ars, Alegre, Palisse, Chanda-*
ou, Traian Carraciolo, and other Commanders. And as he propounded vnto them on
 the one side the enemies forces, growne glorious by many notable victories, and now
 presenting themselves to make triall of a new battaile: on the other side, their owne
 weake troupes, diminished, and terrefied by reason of the former disgraces, asking
 their aduice, whether they should accept, or flee the hazard of a battaile: many were
 of opinion to referre it vntill the next day, seeing there remained scarce an houre: when
Alegre (in a manner alone among many) blamed the feare and cowardise of such as
 sought delaies. Then the Viceroy said, *For my part, I am ready to fight, but I feare this*
brave Counsellor will repose more trust in his counsers legges, then in the valour of his arme,
when it shall be needfull to fight: foretelling the issue of the fight, and the flight of *Ale-*
gre. He therefore purs his men in battaile, and leades the foreward, with Captaine
Ars: the battaile he giues to *Chandiou*, and the reerward to *Alegre*.

It is a frivolous ceremonie to call a counsellor, and conteme good aduice, prefer-
 ring opinions that doe but resemble the truth. And what reason had our men to feare
 from succors, hauing so many enemies in front, to hazard all vpon a shew of valour?
 Seeing the discomoditie of the way, being barren of water, and the exceeding heate
 beyond the ordinarie of the moneth of May, required rest. But man cannot auoid
 his fortune, when it approacheth he runnes after it. The Duke of *Nemours* takes the
 way to *Crispino*, sending some troupes before, to seize vpon the place: but the *Span-*
iards being arrived first, lodged in certaine vineyards, & intrenched their lodging with
 a large ditch. The *French* arriving, (not able to iudge, whether those they did see before
 them, were all, or a part of the *Spanish* armie, for that the light horse led by *Fabrizio*
Colonne, the Lances of the men at armes, & the fenel stalkes, which were very high in
 that Countie, tooke from them all knowledge:) did assaile the enemy with great
 furie. But the smoke, and dust which the *Spanish* Canon raised in the ayre, blinded
 our men, who could not come to handle blowes, by reason of the enemies trench.
 The Viceroy seeking to force them by another way, is slayne with a harguebus, ex-
 tinguishing in him the name and familie of the Earles of *Armagnac*, and daunting the
 courage of the whole armie: the which by the death of their Commander present-
 ly fled, (being fauoured by the approaching night, whose darknesse couered their de-
 treat) preferring some from death, and others from prison.

Chandiou (otherwise called *Chandenier*, a gentleman of *Poitou*, neere vnto *Niort*)
 was likewise slaine, fighting at the same ditch: *d' Ars* seeing the most part of his men
 slaine, and that *d' Alegre* had fulfilled the Viceroyes prediction, cursing the wilfulness
 of the man, who by his contumacie, at an vnseasonable time, and vnfit houre, had
 made a shamefull breach in the honour of the *French* nation, and diuerted the Vice-
 roy from the true meanes to make warre: in the end he saues himselfe in *Venouse*. *Ale-*
gre running vp and downe, gathers vp the peeces of this shipwrecke, with the Prince
 of *Salerno*, and many Barons of the Countie, whilst that *Gonsalue* following his
 good fortune, tooke his way to *Naples*: at whose approach the *French* shut them-
 selues vp into the new Castle: and the *Neapolitains* the fourteenth of May, recei-
 ued *Gonsalue*, vpon condition to maintaine them in their rights, and privileges.
Auerse and *Capoue* were also light in their change.

But what vrgent necessitie thrust our men into this aduenture? They had strong
 places enough to maintaine themselves foure or five moneths, during the which either
 some notable succors, or the approaching winter, might breed some alteration. Out of
 doubt the impaciencie of the *French*, (who cannot temporise) was the cause of this
 last losse of the realme of *Naples*, rather then any necessity that forced them: yet *Lewis*
 of *Armagnac* had equalled the reputation of the brauest Captaines that had bin long
 before him. When as good commanders haue managed an vnfortunate war, we must
 iudge modestly of the issue of humaine forces, & confesse that they haue done their du-
 ties: that others might haue incurred the like difficulties, & raise our considerations
 higher, to him that placeth, & displaceth kings from their thrones, as it best pleaseth his
 diuine

A diuine providence. The King resolved to send two mighty armies, one by sea, and the
 by land, to saue the castles of *Naples, Caiete* & some other places, which yet held good:
 and to invade *Spaine* with two other armies: the one in the countie of *Rossillon*, which
 ioynes to the *Mediterranean* sea: the other towards *Fontenabie*, and other places lying
 vpon the Ocean: and at the same instant with an army at Sea to invade the coasts of
Catalgne & *Valence*. But whilst these were preparing, *Gonsalue* battered the Cittadell,
 and *Peter of Nauarre* made a myne, where hauing giuen fire, the violence of the pou-
 der made a breach, by the which the *Spaniards* (attending in battaile the issue of this
 stratagem) enter, some by the breach of the wall, some by scalado. On the other side
 the *French* issuing out of the new Castle, to expell them the Cittadell, the *Spaniards*
 turne head, and repulsing our men towards the ravelin, they enter pell mell with them:
 and aduancing with the same fury to the gate, they force the *French* to yeeld them the
 Castle. Very happily for the enemy, for the next day there arrived from *Genes*, to suc-
 cour them, fixe great shippes and many other barkes, laden with victuall, armes, mu-
 nition, and two thousand foote. But this was physicke after death, and the worke being
 ended, this army retyres towards *Caiete*. The Castle de *l'Oeuf* was taken by the
 like myne.

The *French* enioyed *Caiete* yet, with other places there abouts, and in *Abruzzo*, *A-*
quila, the rocke of *Euandre*, *Rossare*, *Matalone*, with many other places belonging to the
 Barons of the *Anguin* faction: and *Lewis* of *Ars*, being with the Prince of *Melfe* (wor-
 thy doubtlesse of our history, seeing that *Gonsalue* hauing offered to leaue him his E-
 state absolute, if hee would ioine with the *Spanish* faction, hee chose rather to depart
 with his wife and children) being fortified in *Venouse*, hauing surprised and vanquished
Valentine Bernaude with some *Spanish* troupes, he annoied the whole countie. The con-
 clusion of this warre consisted in the keeping, or losse of *Caiete*: hauing a very conue-
 nient haven for ships that came from *Genes* or *Prouence*, *Gonsalue* therefore bends his
 forces thither. But *Alegre* hauing drawne forth 400. Lances and 4000. foote, prefer-
 red at the battell, the which he had lodged in *Fondi*, *Itri*, *Tracette*, the fort *Guillaume*
 and else where, enters into *Caiete*, abandoning the other places to the victors discre-
 tion, to saue that which did most import: who hauing battered the wall, made a breach,
 and receiued great losse at two assaults, hauing intelligence of the arrivall of the Mar-
 quis of *Saluce* (made Viceroy by the King in the Duke of *Nemours* place) with fixe
 great *Genoa* Carackes, fixe other ships and seamen Gallies, followed by others, carry-
 ing a thousand foote of the Ile of *Crosica* & three thousand *Gifcons*, he retires his men
 to *Naples*, well diminished with skirmishes, assaults, and with retreat, amongst others
 of *Sante Armentel*, *Alphonse Lopes*, *Iohn Liteftin* a *Germane*: but about all *Gonsalue*
 grieved for *Dom Hugues* of *Cardone* and *Roderike Maurice* slaine with a Cannon shot.
 These small good haps were crossed by the taking of the fort of *Euandre*, *Aquila* and al
 other places of *Abruzzo*, the which drewe all *Calabria* to the *Spanish* obedience.

The King in the meane time sent seuen thousand foote, and eight hundred men at
 armes, commanded with the Title of Generall, by the Lord of *Tremouille* (who
 then by common consent was held one of the chief for martiall affaires: but surprised
 by sickness at *Parma*, he gaue the charge therof to *Francis* of *Gonzague* Marquis of *Man-*
tona) and eight thousand *Sussex*, to the which the *Florentines* did adde 2. hundred Lan-
 ces the Duke of *Ferrare*, the *Bolognois* and *Gonzague*, a hundred men at armes, and the
Stennois a hundred more: the which being ioined with those troupes that were in *Ca-*
tere, made about the number of a thousand eight hundred lances, *French* and *Italian*,
 and aboute eightene thousand foote, besides the army at sea, wherein were great
 forces. For the passage of this army by land, the King desired to bee sarified of
 the Popes intention, and of the *Valentinois*; for the Pope (who made an ordinary
 traffike of other mens losse and calamity) signified, that as a common father
 (and hee) to both parties, he would remaine a newter, suffering either of them to
 leaue troupes indifferently in the territories of the Church, he granted free passage
 to the said armie. And the *Valentinois* offered the king, to ioine vnto his army 500. men

A general o-
 uerthrow of
 the French.
 The Duke of
 Nemours, slaine

The indiscre-
 tion of the
 French.

The Castles
 of Naples, Caiete,
 &c.

Poitou
 Chandenier

The Kings
 new army for
 Naples.

1503. at armes, and two thousand foote, but some letters intercepted from the *Valentinois* to *Gonsalve*, discovered the very botome of his thoughts, capitulating, that *Gonsalve* hauing taken *Caiete*, and consequently all the realme of *Naples*, the *Valentinois* should seize vpon *Pisa*, and then ioyning their forces they should invade *Tuscane*. But as the Pope and his *Borgia* would serue two maisters, and the King pressing them vehemently to declare their mindes plainly, beheld a strange Catastrophe of the Popes Tragedy. The Pope and *Borgia* had before time poysoned the Cardinalls, of *Saint Angelo*, of *Capoue*, of *Modena*, *Vrsin*, and many other rich personages, whome commonly by their death they disrobed of their goods. They had likewise sworne the death of *Adrian* Cardinall of *Cornete*. They were to suppe coolely in an arbour in a garden belonging vnto *Adrian*: & for the effecting of their desseing, the *Valentinois* had sent before some flagons of poysoned wine, whereof hee gaue the charge to a grome that was ignorant of the busines, with expresse commandement, that no man should touch them. It chanced that the Pope comming before the cloath was layed, distempered with heate and thirst, called for wine.

The taster, thinking this flagon had beene especially recommended for the Popes owne mouth and his sonnes, filled of this wine to the Pope. And as he was drinking, the Duke of *Valentinois* comes, to whome (beeing desirous to drinke) they gaue of the same flagon. Thus Pope *Alexander* the 6. died the next day, the 18. of August, whose immoderate ambition, vnrestrained arrogancie, detestable treachery, horrible crueltie, vmeasurable couetousnesse, selling both holy and profane things, had infected all the world, verifying in his person: *That the wicked man labours to bring forth outrage, but he shall bring forth that which shall deceiue him: hee hath made a pit, and is fallen into it.* And, *The eternall God searcheth out murders and remembers them.* The *Valentinois*, through the vigor of his youth, and speedie counter poysons, (beeing put into the belly of a moyle newly killed) prolonged his dayes, to seale many deathes in his foule not dying so soone.

He had often foreseene al accidents that might happē vnto him by the death of his father, & provided remedies for the all: but he reckoned without his host, not supposing to see his father dead, & himself at the same instant in extreme danger of death. And whereas hee did alwayes presume after his fathers decease, partly by the feare of his forces, partly with the fauour of the *Spanish* Cardinalls, which were eleuen, to cause a Pope to be chosen at his pleasure, hee is now forced to apply his Counsell, to the present necessity. And imagining, that he should hardly at one instant withstand the hatred of the *Colonnais*, and *Vrsins*, if they were ioyntly handied against him: he resolved to trust them rather whom he had onely wronged in their estates. So restoring to them their lands and possessions, hee presently reconciles himselfe with the *Colonnais*, and others of their faction, who by the coming of *Prosper Colonne* to *Rome*, had already filled all the City with ieaiousies and tumults: some fearing least this reconciliation should drawe the *Valentinois* to the *Spanish* party: others apprehending the coming of the *French* army. Moreouer the *Vrsins* assembled all their partisans, and thirsting after the *Valentinois* blood, sought to reuenge the outrages which all their family had sustayned. So as in hatred of the deceased Pope and his sonne, they burnt all the thoppes and houses of some *Spanish* marchants and courtiers at *Monte-Iordan*. All the other Parons in the dominions of the Church, by their meanes, returned to their lands and goods.

The *Vitelli* returne to *Citta of Castello*. *Iohn Paul Baillon* chased from before *Perouse* at the first siege, returns, and by a furious assault takes it. The Towne of *Plumbin* receiues her first Lord. The Duke of *Vrbino*, the Lords of *Pesere*, *Camerin*, and *Singalle* are reestablished in their possessions. The *Venetians* assemble many men at *Rauenne*, and giue cause of suspect to invade *Romagnia*, which onely remayned vnder the *Valentinois* command, desyring rather to serue one onely a mighty Lord, then to haue a particular Lord in euery Towne. Notwithstanding all these disgraces, yet both the *French* and the *Spaniard* made great instance, to enterrayne him, or to winne him to their

The death of
Pope Alex-
ander.
His disposi-
tion.

A their party: the *French*, for that he might (beeing armed) crosse their passage into *Italie*, & hee discovered himselfe in fauour of the *Spaniard*, and molested them in the estate of *Naples*: the *Spaniard*, for that they desired to make vse of his fortres, and to get (by his meanes) the suffrages of the *Spanish* Cardinalls for the election of a future Pope. But the *French* armie approached *Rome*, and the King might hurt or helpe him, more then the *Spaniard*, both within *Rome*, and in his other Estates. He therefore passed this accord the first of September, the Cardinall of *Saint Seuerin* and the Lord of *Trans*, Ambassador, vnder taking for the King, *To aide the King with his forces in the warre of Naples, and in any other enterprise against almen, except the Church.* And the sayd Agents bound his maiesty, as well to protect the person of the *Valentinois*, as all the estates which he possessed, and to aide him to recouer those which he had lost.

The Cardinall of *Amboise* vpon the first newes of *Alexanders* death, postes thither, to labour for the Popedom, building chiefly vpon Cardinall *Ascanius* promises: whome two yeares before he had drawne out of the Tower of *Bourges*. But so many ambitious braines, fraught rather with diuisions and partialities, euery one for his owne private profit, then assisted with the holy spirit, to whome notwithstanding they gaue the first voice in their election, did in the ende frustrate both the *French* and *Spaniard* to install *Francis Piccolomini*, Cardinall of *Siene*, beeing old, worne, & sickely: to the which the whole Colledge agreed, both for that this neutrall election might dispesse the diuers pursuits of the pretending nations: as also, for that the newe Popes infirmity gaue them hope to proceed shortly, to the subrogation of another. To reuue the memory of *Pius* the second his vncle, who had made him Cardinall, hee was called *Pius* the third.

Election of a
newe Pope.

Yet this election did not pacifie the troubles within *Rome*. The *Valentinois* and the *Vrsins* being within the walles, fortify in them selues daylie with newe companies, resolved to obtaine by force, the Iustice which their reasonable demandes could not get of the Colledge of Cardinalls, when as their *Partisans* were arriued. This contention did greatly trouble both the Court and the people of *Rome*, & did mightily preiudice the *French* affaires: for this vehement affection, wherewith they see the *Valentinois* supported by *France*, drew the *Vrsins* to the *Spaniards* pay, whose forces were of no small consequence for an absolute victory. But the desire the *Venetians* had to see the King disappointed of the Realme of *Naples*, and the liberty they gaue the *Vrsins* to leaue their pay, made the world to iudge, that eyther they had perswaded this family to the *Spanish* party, or at the least they had consented thereto. And this was an other cause of discontent, to be reuenged of them in time.

The *Vrsins* &
Colonnais re-
conciled, ban-
die against
the *Valentinois*.

The *Vrsins* being enterrayned by the *Spaniard*, and reconciled with the *Colonnais*, by the mediation of the Ambassadors of *Spaine*, and *Venice*, and ioyntly resolved for a common reuenge vpon the *Valentinois*, they fall vpon his troupes in the suburbes: the which (beeing vnable to withstand so violent a charge) were forced to giue way vnto their violence, and the Commander to saue himselfe in the Castell *Saint Angelo*. E hauing likewise with the Popes consent taken the Captaines oath, to depart when hee pleased. The tumult beeing thus pacified, it gaue them free liberty to attend a newe election: for *Pius* nothing deceyuing their conceyued hope, of his shorthe Popedom, died the twentie sixth day after his creation. But alas, *Alexander* had seised but as a scourge for that great Iudge: but now hee takes his rodde in hand, to breake *Italie* in peeces. The Cardinall of *Saint Pierre*, mighty in friends, in reputation and in wealth, was chosen, the last of October, and named *Iulius* the second: by nature factious, and terrible, vnquiet and turbulent: but statelie, a great defender of the liberties of the Church, and a most franke receiuer of the loue and fauour of all those that might aduance him to this dignity.

Iulius the 2.
chosen Pope.

The *Valentinois* flight to the Castell of *Saint Angelo*, and the dispersing of all the troupes hee had with him, made the Townes of *Romagnia* (which had till then continued constant & firme in his obedience,) to call home their ancient Lords, or to embrace sundry parties. And the *Venetians*, good fishermen in a troubled water, aspiring

1503. aspiring to the command of all *Romagnia*, had seized upon the Castles of the valley of *La-A*
monie, of the Towne of *Forlimpoppe*, of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Montefiore*, *S. Archange*, *Verruque*,
The vsu pati-
ons of the Venetians.
Gattiere, *Salignagne*, *Meldale*, and in the territorie of *Imole*, *Tosignagne*, *Solaruole*, *Monti-*
bataille, and had easily seized upon *Imola* and *Furly*, if by the new Popes complaints,
(whom they had strangely discontented) they had not put their men into garrison.

The *Venetian* usurpations did wonderfully displease *Islio*. but what could he doe,
being newly aduanced to the chaire, vnprovidd of forces, of money, or of any hope
of succours from the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, being not yet resolved whose En-
signes to follow? To retaine (in fauour of the Church) some places which the *Valen-*
tinis yet held, and to oppose him in some sort against the *Venetians* (although he lo-
ued the *Valentinis* heeles better then his face,) he agrees with him, that he should go
to *Ferrara* and *Imola*, to receiue such forces as he could leuie. But he is no sooner par-
ted, but a new desire of command suggests, that it should be good the *Valentinis*
should deliuer vnto him such Castles and places as he commanded, to the end the *Ve-*
netians should not inuade them in his absence. And to this end, he sends vnto him
the Cardinals of *Volterre*, and *Surenne*. Upon the *Valentinis* refusal, the Pope being
offended, sends to arrest the Gallies, wherein hee had imbarcked at *Ostia*, and cau-
seth him to be brought from *Magliana* to *Vatican*, honoured and much made of, but
safely garded. Thus you see the *Valentinis* power reduced to nothing, spoiled in a
manner of all he had vsurped, his troupes stript by the *Florentins*, and himselfe at this
instant so well watched, as he could not go the length of himselfe. But lets see what
becomes of so many great and goodly desseignes of our *Lewis*. He intends not onely
to recouer his losses in the realme of *Naples*, but also with one breath, to crosse the af-
faires of *Ferdinand* in *Spaine*.

The Lord of *Albret*, and Marshall of *Gié*, marched towards *Fontarabie*, with foure
hundred Lances, among the which *Peter* of *Foix* Lord of *Lantree*, and the Lord of
Lescun, so famous in our Historie, made first shew of their vertues, and fiew thousand
foote, *Gaskons* and *Suisses*. And to make warre in the Countie of *Roussillon*, was sent
the Marshall of *Rieux*, accompanied with *Gaston* of *Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, by the
death of *Lewis* of *Armagnac*, the Vicounts of *Paulin* and *Bruniquet*, the Earle of *Car-*
main, the Lords of *Montaut*, *Terride* and *Negripelisse*, leading eight hundred men at
armes, and eight thousand foote, *French*, *Gaskons*, and *Suisses*. And at the same instant
an armie was readie at sea to inuade the coast of *Catalogne*, and the realme of *Valen-*
but he that ouergripes himselfe holds little: these were but shewes without effect. For
the Lord of *Albret* being entred into the Prouince of *Guipescos*, whether that the ene-
mies forces were greater then his, or fearing least the *Castilian* should be reuenged of
the King of *Nauarre* his sonne, he retired, and went into *Languedock* to the Marshall of
Rieux to besiege *Sauflès* with their ioynt forces.

But the King of *Spaine*, hauing assembled a great armie at *Parpignan* from all his
realmes, and marching in person, with a resolution to raise the siege by some notable
stratagem: our men finding themselves too weake, retired to *Narbonne*, with a success
contrary to the Lord of *Albons*, in the yeare 1496. And the *Spaniards* after some roades
and spoilings, on this side the mountaines, content to haue repelled the enemy, con-
cluded a truce for fiew moneths, by the meanes of *Frederick*, (whom *Ferdinand* King
of *Arragon* and of *Castile*, held in hope to restore him to his throne) and Queene
Anne moued our *Lewis* therevnto, onely for the regarde of that which concerned
the affaires of *France*.

By this truce, the thoughts and forces of these two Kings, are conuerted to the
warres of *Naples*. The *French* armie, hauing passed the lands of *Valmontone* and of the
Colonna, marched through the territories of the Church, with an intent to take in the
Castle of *Secque*. Here our men receiued their first affront. *Secque* well assailed, F
was well defended, causing our men to retire: who despairing to winne *S. Germaine*,
take their way by the Sea coast. But the question was, how to passe *Garillon*, which
was not to be waded through at that season. *Gonsalue* was incamped on the other
side

A side: our *French* by reason of their Canon, winne the passage of the riuer, make a
bridge thereon, and aduenture to passe. The *Spaniards* repulie them, euen to the mid-
dest of the bridge, and by the force of their shotte, force them to go to land, hauing
lost fiew hundred men, *French* and *Suisses*, and some hundred drowned: the enemy two
hundred, and *Fabius* the sonne of *Paul Vrsin*, a young man and of great hope.

It is a matter of dangerous consequence, to attempt to passe a riuer in the face of a
mightie armie, and commanded by a discret Captaine, if they be not well fortified
with trenches. This second disgrace incouraged the *Spaniard*, terrified our *French*, and
made them loose all future hope. Doubtlesse the most important part of an armie,
is a good commander, and commonly few doe willingly vndergo the command of a
B stranger, if he be not especially fauoured by the heauens, & hath won great credit, and
giuen great testimonies of his valour. Herein the *Spaniards* did exceed them: and this
defect in the *French* armie, had bred great contempt of their generall: and more con-
fusion then concord among the Capitaines. So as the Marquis of *Mantoue* Lieutenant
for the King, cyther thinking himselfe vnfit to gouerne so great an armie, or (as *San-*
drucourt charged him) carrying away with him the *Italian* forces, that the *French* might
be so much the weaker, or for that hauing receiued this double repulse, he would no
farther ingage his honour, parted from the armie, laying all the fault vpon the con-
tumacie of the *French*.

All difficulties conspired their ruine, the hard season of the winter, the situation of
C the moorish countie, the continuall raine and snow, want of pay, the impatiencie of
the toyles of warre, and more: uer the great suffrance of the enemy, who fortified with
a deepe ditch: and two bastions in the front of the enemies armie, continually garded
the passage, whilest that our men wasted themselves with fruitlesse attempts, and by
their vnseasonable stay, the which quailed as much the heart of their courage, as the
couetousnesse of the victualers, the ordinary theft of the Treasurers, the dissention of
Captaines, and the disobedience of souldiers, vsuall in troupes wanting a vigilant com-
mander, and of authoritie, and the increase of ordinary diseases did hurt them. Being
inuitoned with these difficulties, the enemy hath a new supply by *Bartlemew* of *Alui-*
ano, with the rest of the *Vrsins*. And *Gonsalue* finding himselfe now to haue 900. men
D at armes, a thousand light horse, and nine thousand *Spanish* foote, aduertised moreouer
of the disorders and continuall decay of our armie, the which being stronger in
cavalerie then in footmen, those being cut in peeces which they had lately left at *Castle*
Gaillaume, were so disperfed, as their lodging contained ten miles in circuit: a grosse
error of the Marquis of *Saluce*, hauing an enemy in front, who could well embrace all
advantages: he secretly casts a bridge ouer the *Garillon*, foure miles about that which
our men had made at the passage of *Suie*, where the *French* kept no gard: he passeth
the 27. of December in the night, and possesseth *Suie*. The Marquis vnderstanding that
the *Spaniard* did passe, riseth sodenly; breakes his bridge, and causeth the armie to
E march towards *Caiete*. *Gonsalue* hindres his passage by *Prosper Colonne*, and the light
horse men, that being molested by them, they should be inforced to march the more
slowly. he ouertakes them right against *Scandi*, and stayes them with continuall skir-
mishes, vntill that *Gonsalue* comes vpon the reereward of them. An armie that retires
with feare, receiued the first stroake of death, when they are skirmished with. Our
French were driuen to the passage of the bridge which is before *Mole* of *Caiete*, and
whilest the Viceroy staid there to giue the Canon time to passe, the battaile and tere-
ward of the *Spaniards* arriue. *Bernardin Adorne*, the Lords of *Cramont* and *S. Colombe*,
with some Cornets of *French* & *Italians*, make it good a long time, and fauour the re-
treat of the foot, vntill that by the death of *Adorne* and many others, with the wound-
F ing of *S. Colombe*, the rest of these horsemen seeing the troupes to haue gotten some
ground, doe likewise take their way to *Caiete*, alwaies beaten behinde, euen vnto the
head of two wayes, whereof the one leads to *Itri*, and the other to *Caiete*. Here all dis-
band, those which are best mounted saue themselves: the slowest, the wounded, the
sicke, the Canon, and the munition, remaine at the victors deuotion.

The French
defeated quine

At

1504.

At the same time *Fabricio Colonne*, (having passed the river with five hundred horse and a thousand foot) spoiled the companies of *Lodowike of Mirandole*, *Alexander of Triunale*, *Peter of Medicis* (who followed the French armie) retiring by sea to *Caserte* with many Gentlemen, and foure peeces of artillerie, their barke ouertaken with a storme in the mouth of the river, was swallowed vp in the waues, and all in it drowned. *Gonsalue* knew well, that so great a multitude of men being retired into *Caserte*, would breed a sodaine famine, and soone yeeld him the Towne. He besieged it, and our men not able to dispose themselves, to endure the tediousnesse of a doubtfull expectation of succours, made the first day of the yeare 1504. famous by this accord with him: *To depart with liues and goods out of the realme of Naples, eyther by land or by sea, and that the Lord of Aubigni, and all other prisoners, should bee deliuered on either side.*

The realme of Naples wholly loit by the French.

So our French are againe dispossessed of the estate of *Naples*, and exposed to cold, hunger, and to a long and painfull retreat, that although of so great an armie, few were slaine by the enemies sword: yet the most part of them which departed after this capitulation, found their graues in hospitalls, market places and streetes: and of such as tooke their way by sea, few suruiued long the extreame discommodities which they had endured: amongst others, the Marquis of *Saluce*, *Sandricourt* and many Gentlemen of marke. It were better to forelee all these difficulties, before wee part from our houses, then to go so farre to seeke our graues. Captaine *Bayard* returned, admired greatly euen by *Gonsalue* himselfe, hauing purchased great glory and reputation amongst the French.

The chief causes of this ouerthrow.

Doublelesse, besides the discord and bad gouernment of Captaines, the sharpnesse of the time, and impatience of our men in militarie labours: two things principally had wrested this victory from the King. The one was the long stay of his armie in the territories of *Rome* for the Popes death, so as winter came, and *Gonsalue* had leisure to practise with the *Frysins* before this armie entred the realme. The other was the treacherous couetousnesse and theft of the Commisaries and Treasurers, who commonly emptie the Kings coffers to fill their owne bagges, to the preiudice of the soldiers pay, and the order they should take for victuals. *Iohn Herouet* Treasurer, condemned of theft, was publicly executed: *Alegre*, *Sandricourt* and others, were for a time in disgrace with the King. The losse of *Naples*, the death of so braue a Nobilitie, the infinite numbers of men slaine in these attempts, had filled the realme and Court with great heauinesse and mourning, euery man cursing the day wherein that miserable desire to purchase new estates in Italy, had first entred into the hearts of our Kings of France. The King seeing well how much his reputation would bee blemished with strangers, and how much the losse of so flourishing an armie, would weaken his forces, was not without feare: eyther that *Maximilian* would alter some thing in the State of *Milan*: or that *Gonsalue* (following his course) would imploy his victorious armie to the subuersion of the sayd Duchie: and those which followed the French partie in Italy, feared least in his way he should alter the estate of *Tuscane*. Without doubt it was likely, that the King, wanting money, weake of men, and the French daunted in courage, and without any desire to repasse the Alpes, would without any great resistance, haue giuen place to the victors violence. But *Gonsalue* content with the surname of Great Captaine, which the Spanish boasting had giuen him, restrained his desires within the limits of this happy victorie. True it is, that many extremities kept him back. He did owe much vnto his armie, who made great instance to be payd, and put into garrisons. Moreouer, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, to lead his armie out of the realme, from whence the enemy was not yet fully expelled. But that which stayed the course of his prosperities, was a dangerous sicknesse, so as he could not execute any enterprize in person: he sent *Bartlemewe of Aluiane*, against *Lewis of Aris*, who during the stay of the armie vpon the bankes of *Garillan*, had seized vpon *Troye* and *S. Seuer*, and had put all *Apulia* into armes.

This stay of *Gonsalue*, held the rest of Italy rather in ialousie, then any way troubled it.

And

A and the Pope (forbearing yet to discouer his desseins,) laboured to get the possession of such Castles as the *Valentinois* held of *Furli*, *Cesene* and *Bertinoire*. The *Valentinois* was content for *Cesene*: but the Pope hauing sent *Don Pedro d'Ouiede a Spaniard*, to receive it in his name: the Capitaine of the place iudging the composition of no force, for that the *Valentinois* was a prisoner, caused him to bee hanged. So as the Pope, dispaying to get it without his libertie, agrees with him. That he should bee put into the Castle of *Ostia*, with commaundement to the Cardinall of *S. Croix* to enlarge him, when he had consigned the said Castles. This consignment made, the *Valentinois* escapes with the Cardinals permission, and retires to *Naples*, from whence *Gonsalue* sent him afterwards to *Ferdinand* his King, who confined him prisoner to the Castle of *Medina del Campo*. An act in truth vnworthy the sinceritie of a great Prince, but most worthie of this Duke, who not satisfied with the wickednesse hee had formerly done, denised anew, to trouble other mennes estates, and to sowe dissensions throughout all Italy. A prison which did greatly comfort all *Romagnia*, being freed from the euill spirit, which so tormented it.

The Duke of Valentino, prisoner in Spaine.

A common necessitie is vsually the mother of a peace, or truce betwixt Princes, that haue long tormented one another. Behold the Kings of France and Spaine, both wearie of warre, conclude a truce. *Lewis* sought it, and *Ferdinand* accepts it willingly, thinking by this meanes to confirme his new conquests, with more safetie, vpon condition: That it should be lawfull for the subjects of either partie, to trafficke throughout all their realmes and dominions, except at *Naples*. The Kings of Spaine haue alwaies treated vpon aduantage with our Kings. *Gonsalue* doth cunningly make his profit of this clause, placing vpon the frontiers of those places, which the French did yet possess, (as *Rosane* in *Calabria*, *Oire* in the land of *Otrante*, *Venoufe*, *Connersan*, and the Castle of *Mont in Apulia*) gards to watch that no man liuing should conuerse in any place that was held by the Spaniard. The which brought the inhabitants to so great a straight, as resolving to yeeld to the enemy, *Lewis* of Aris, was forced to retire into France.

A truce with the Spaniard.

But what auayles it to auoyd one danger, and fall into another? We haue not yet breathed from our trauels past, and see, we now studie on new iarrs, and confusions. In truth the estate of this world is like a chessboard, where Princes with a variable change, play most couerous games, sometimes with losse, sometimes with gaine: & oft times (treating with men in whome there is no trust) they fall out of one mischiefe, into a greater inconueniencie. At the same time, Ambassadors being come from *Maximilian* and *Philippe*, to confirme that which had bin propounded, by the coming of the Bishop of *Cisteron*, and the Marquis of *Final*, sent expressly by the Pope for that busines, this peace was in the end concluded: That the marriage of *Claude* the Kings daughter, with *Charles the Arch-Dukes eldest sonne*, should take effect: that all the former inuestitures of the Duchie of *Milan* being disannulled, *Maximilian* should grant the inuestiture vnto the King for himselfe, and his heires males: and for want of males, should giue it in fauour of the marriage of *Claude* and *Charles*: and if *Charles* should die before the consummation of the sayd marriage, to *Claude* and the Arch-Dukes youngest sonne, in case hee married with her: for which possession the King should pay vnto *Maximilian*, vpon dispatch of the letters patents, threescore thousand florins of the Rhin, and threescore thousand more, within sixe moneths after, and euery yeare, on the birth day of our Lord God, a paire of spurs of gold.

A peace betwixt the King & Emperour.

All these Princes were wonderfully incensed against the *Venetians*, by reason of the usurpations made by them in their estates. They make a League for their common defence, and to offend the *Venetians*, meaning to pull from them, what they had usurped. And for that the promises which *Maximilian* had vainely giuen to *Lodowike* were the cause to hasten his ruine: he was a meanes the King should set him at libertie, and giue him some good pension to liue withall in France. But this was a short comfort for *Lodowike*, whose turbulent spirit would haue practised some alteration. This capitulation being so profitable to all these Princes, the Pope being com-

A League against the Venetians.

K k

prehended

1509. prehended therein, it was likely it should hold. But there must be stronger bands to tie it: that is, a reciprocall loue, without the which all treaties are fruitles. The end of this yeare is famous by the death of *Frederike*, sometimes King of *Naples*, the which deprived him of all his vaine hopes, to recouer his Realme of *Naples*, by the accord of the two Kings, and by that of *Isabel* Queene of *Castile*, a vertuous Princesse, noble, wife, and beloved of her subiects.

Frederike of Naples dies.

The yeare following, disposed the two Kings and the Potentates of *Italie*, to lay aside armes: *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* hauing new desseins, and foreseeing that by the death of his wife, *Philippe* his sonne in law would challenge the Crowne of *Castile*, (as hauing married the inheritrice of the said Realme) desired only to preferue the Realme of *Naples*, by meanes of the capitulation lately made. Our *Lewis* was not altogether freed from doubt, for that *Maximilian* delayed (according to his vsuall tediousnesse) to ratifie the peace. The Pope desired innouation, but his forces were too weake without the support of some mightie Prince. The last League had put the *Venetians* in alarm, hauing thereby three mightie enemies against them. To pacifie the needst, they offer vnto the Pope, to restore all they had vsurped, except *Faenfe*, *Rimini*, and their appurtenances. And the Pope knowing, that the Emperors warre against the Elector *Palatin*, would hinder his passage into *Italie*, ioyntly with the King, for that yeare, accepted the obedience the *Venetians* offered him, in regard of the said places, without making them any shew of a more mild and tractable disposition. The King (for the accomplishment of that which had beene treated of,) sent the Cardinall of *Amboise* to *Haguenau* a Towne of *Alsatie* (newly taken from the Countie *Palatin*) where the Emperour did solemnly sweare, and proclaime the articles agreed vpon, according to the which, the Cardinall payed halfe the money, promised for the inuesting of *Milan*.

The *Venetians* are reconciled to the pope.

New troubles in *France*.

During this ratification, there growes new seeds of dissention in *Italie*. The Cardinall *Ascanius*, brother to *Lodowike Sforce*, treated with the Ambassador of *Venice* at *Rome*, and had also (according to the common opinion) some secret intelligence with *Consul*. It was in shew to invade the Duchie of *Milan*, the which they knew to be vnturnished of *French* souldiers: the people inclining again to the name of *Sforce*: and (that which made them the more bold,) the King being surprisid with a dangerous sicknesse as the Pilifutians dispaying of his health, the Queene prepared to send all her iewels into *Brittanie*, if the Marshall of *Gré* had not placed men vpon the way to stay the: for the which, the king afterwards was as wel placed, as the Queene, by her dislike, sought to bring him in disgrace. Doubles the people should oftentimes suffer much, if their counsels were not stayed by the prouidence of God. The King recouers his health, and the Cardinall *Ascanius* dies suddenly of the plague, at *Rome*, interring with him the desseins of *Milan*.

Appealed by the death of Cardinall *Ascanius*.

The King is freed of one danger. And as God by means vnknowne of men, change the great stormes into calme sun-shines: our *Lewis*, who till then had the greatnesse of the Arch-Duke *Philippe* in iealousie, fearing to make him his enemy, hee finds now that the death of *Isabelle* of *Castile* doth free him of his feare: for that the Arch-Duke, contemning the testament of his mother in Law, deuised to take the gouernment of the Realme of *Castill* from *Ferdinand* his father in lawe, the which could not be done but by their common quarels, and the weakning of their forces, the King (remaining betwixt both, free from troubles,) should thereby fortifie himselfe, with men, money, and munition, for the aduancing of his desseins. And the *Aragonis*, on the other side (forced to seeke a support against his sonne in lawe,) desiring a peace with the King, hee obtaines it, by the marriage of him and *Germaine*, sister to *Gaston* of *Fais*, daughter to his Maiesties sister, vpon condition: That the King should giue her in dowrie that part of the Realme of *Naples* which belonged vnto him: the King of *Spain* binding himselfe to pay him within tenne yeares 7. hundred thousand ducats for the charges past: and to indow his new spouse, with 300000. ducats. Which dowrie (*Germaine* dying in marriage without children) should returne to *Ferdinand*: but

A peace betwixt the king and *Ferdinand*.

A but if he died first, it should returne to the crowne of *France*. A happy conclusion both of a peace, and of the yeare, if it could haue intainted loue betwixt these two Princes. But it shalbe soone broken, and alwayes our peace with the *Spaniards* hath beene full of discord.

Peace with the *Spaniards* pronounced to *France*.

Let vs now open the springs of new warres. The Pope had without the Kings priuie given all the benefices that were fallen voyde in the Duchie of *Milan* by the death of Cardinall *Ascanius* and other Clergie men. Moreouer in the creation of many Cardinalls, he had refused to admit into the society the Bishop of *Auch*, Nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboise*, and the Bishop of *Batoux* Nephew to the Lord of *Tiemo*. And moreouer hee had armed some galleys, to be in a readinesse (as some gaue out) to free *Genes* fro the rule of the *French*, in case the King died, as some feared, and other did hope. All these considerations, together with the Kings discontent, seemed to breed some diuision with the Pope: yet his friendship was profitable for the King in the warre he pretended against the *Venetians*, against whom he knew the Pope to be ill affected, for the desire he had to recouer the Townes of *Romagna*.

Notices of new troubles.

Hee therefore sent the Bishop of *Cisteron* his Nuntio into *France*: to propound vnto him many offers, and desseins, for the execution of this common enterprise. Moreouer the Pope seeing himselfe as it were forced at the Kings instance, to prolong the Cardinall of *Amboise* his legation in *France*, and for iealousie hee had that this Cardinall aspired by all means to the popedom, he could not relouie to loyne in all points with the King. But he knew moreouer that being diuided from his maiesty, his Counsellors could not succeed happily: in the ende they treat a new amity & league together, and to make the king the better affected, he giues a Cardinalls hat, to cyther of the forenamed Bishops, and power vnto the King to dispose of all benefices within the Duchy of *Milan*.

The Pope and King are reconciled.

The more the King confirmed himselfe in the Popes alliance, the more hee loathed that of *Maximilian* and of *Philip* his sonne: the passage which hee pretended into *Italie* with a mighty army to recieue his imperiall Crowne, and to cause his sonne to be chosen King of the *Romans*, being greatly suspect vnto the Kings: and the greatnesse of *Philip* (who, by capitulation had sent his Father in law *Ferdinand* back into *Aragon*) hauing already so apparently estranged the Kings loue from him, as he gaue *Claude* his daughter in marriage to *Francis* Earle of *Angoulesme* (the next heire to this Crowne, after the Kings discease without heyres males) at the sute & supplication of all the Parliaments of his Realme. The which serued for an excuse to *Philip*. And the more to diuert *Maximilians* passage into *Italy*, the King sent men to succour the Duke of *Guelthes* (a great enemy to *Philips* prosperity) and to molest his Prouinces of the Low-countries in his absence. As these things passed, the Pope burning with desire, to restore vnto the obedience of the Church, all such places as had beene taken away (intreated the King (according to their agreement) to ayde him in the recovery of *Perouze* and *Bologne*. This request was very pleasing vnto the King: it was a meanes to rye the Pope, whom they had in some iealousie in Court, to haue beene pray to some practise, which *Octauian Fregose* had made to dispossesse the King of the Seignury of *Genes*. Moreouer *Bentiuole* Lord of *Bologne*, seemed more affected to *Maximilian* than to him: and *John Raul Baillon*, the vsurper of *Perouze*, was in disgrace with the King, hauing refused to ioyne with his army, when it was vpon the *Garillon*.

Count of *Perouze* mortally wounded by the Earle of *Angoulesme*.

The King seeks by all meanes to craile *Maximilian*, with his sonne *Philip*.

Notwithstanding the protestation which the *Venetians* made vnto the King, To take armes for the defence of *Bologne*, if the Pope did not first make the graut of the rightes of *Faenze* belonging to the Church, did somewhat diuert him: referring the execution to another time. Yet the Pope (being vehement and peretory by nature) goes out off *Rome* with five hundred men at armes, and giues notice of his comming to the *Bolognais*, commanding them to prepare to receiue him, and to lodge 300. *French* Lancies in their country, whereof he had yet no assurance.

The Popes exhortation.

Then *Baillon* fearing his comming, goes to meete the pope, and deliuer him the torts of *Perouze* and *Perousin*. In the end by the perswasion of the Cardinall of *Amboise*,

1506. the King commanded *Charles of Amboise* Lord of *Chaumont*, to assist the Pope in a person with five hundred Lances, and three thousand foote: amongst the which were *Gilson of Foix* the Kings nephew, and Duke of *Nemours*: *Peter of Foix* Lord of *Lautrec* his cousin, the Lord of *Palisse* and others. *Bentiuole* and his children amazed at this sodaine arrivall, beseech *Chaumont* to be a mediator, and to procure them some tollerable conditions: who dealing with the Pope, obtained leave to depart safely out of *Bologne*, to remaine in what part he pleased of the Duchie of *Milan*, to sell and carry away all their movables, and to enjoy the revenues they possessed by any iust title, without any molestation. Thus *Bologne* returned to the obedience of the Church: and the Pope having given the Duke of *Nemours* a sword enriched with precious stones, amongst the which there was one Diamond of inestimable value, eight thousand Ducats to *Chaumont*, and ten thousand for his men: he converted all his thoughts

to annoy the *Venetians*. At this time dyed *Philip* the Archduke, of a Fever, within few dayes, in the Cittie of *Bourges*, young of yeares, strong and healthfull of body, leaving an heire (the fatal scourge of the *French* Monarchie) who within few yeares shall mount vpon the Theater of our Historie, to acte many and diuers tragically parts. And the Duke of *Valentinois*, to finish the last acte of his Tragedie, having slipped downe with a corde from the forte of *Medina de'l Campo*, and sought for refuge with *Iohn of Albray* King of *Nauarre*, brother to his wife, was in the end slaine before *Vienne*, fighting for his brother in law: Too honorable a death for such a tyrant.

Chaumont was no sooner returned, but there sprung vp a new occasion to imploy his forces: the *Genouois* taking occasion, not of any desire they had to rebell, but onely of ciuill discords betwixt the people and the Nobles, (the which do often transport men beyond their first resolutions,) did sacke the Noblemens houses, and did tumultuously create a new Magistracy of eight popular men, whom, to authorise them the more, they named *Tribunes of the people*: they seized by force on *Speite* and some other Townes lying vpon the Easterne riuer. The Lord of *Ransstein* being absent, flies speedily to *Genes*, with a hundred and fiftie horse, and seuen hundred foote. The King had sent vnto them *Michel Riccio*, a Doctor banished from *Naples*, to perswade them to seeke rather the mildnesse of his mercie, then to tye the rigour of his forces. But a mutinous people is like vnto a wilde horse, which runnes furiously, vntill some downefall stay him: for instead of giuing care to his counsell, they go to besiege *Monaco*, lying vpon the sea, in a commodious place, and of great importance for the Cittie of *Genes*. they create *Paul de Noue*, a Dier of Silke, Duke of *Genes*, beate downe the Kings armes, and set vp *Maximilians*: they take *Castellat*, a Castell built aboue *Genes*, in the mountaine: and against their faith, cut the *French* mens throates that were in Garrison.

So the King imputing that to the *Genouois* as a rebellion, which they had done by ciuill discord, marched himselfe in person, followed by eyght hundred Lances, eightene hundred light horse, twelue thousand foote: and an armie at sea, consisting of eight Gallies, eight Galleons, and many Foists and Brigantins: he raised the siege at *Monaco*, takes the Bastion which they had built in the top of the mountaine, forceth the *Genouois* to yeld to his mercy, disarms them: & the 29. day of April, enters into *Genoua*, in complete armour, with his sword in his hand, vnder a Canopie, accompanied with all his companies of men at armes, and Archers of his garde: who (at the pittifull crye of the people, demanding mercy of his Maiestie) he grants them pardon, paying a hundred thousand Ducats in ready money, and two hundred thousand more to be payd at certaine dayes, for the charges of this expedition, and to build a Citadell. And in token of absolute authoritie, he commanded that the monney of *Genes* should from that time be coyned with the stampe of *France*: and then he ended all this tragedie with the death of *Demetrius Iustinian*, one of the chiefe *Tribunes*, who by his examination laied open all the prauiues and hopes the Pope had giuen them: and soone after by the death of *Paul de Noue*, the new Duke of *Genes*, with three score others, which he put into the hands of the Magistrate.

A In the meane time the Pope (who found himselfe farre engaged in the rebellion of *Genes*), seemed discontent: hee accuseth the King, that he had perswaded *Bentiuole*, anwe, to surprise *Bologne*, meaning to declare himselfe afterwards an enemy to the Church, and by violence to installe the Cardinall of *Amboise* in *Saint Peters* chaire, pressing the Emperour and the *Venetians* to make warre ioyntly against the King. *Maximilian* had (in a Diet held at *Constance*) got the content of the Princes of the Empire thereto: and the King, to preuent this storme, which threatned him from *Germany*, and to free both the Pope and the *Venetians* from ialousie, soone after the taking of *Genes* he dismissed his army, and himselfe had presently returned, if the desire of a parle with the King of *Arragon* his Nephewe had not stayed him. *Sauone* was appointed to that end, where having promised respectiue a mutuall preferuacion of loue and good intelligence, they treat of the reformation of the Church, by meanes of a holy and free Counsell, and to reconcile our *Lewis* with *Maximilian*, and they two assaile the *Venetians* with their common forces.

Moreover the Pope had sent the Cardinall of *Saint Croix*, for Legat to *Maximilian* and the *Venetians*, *Florentins* (whome the King would not receiue into his protection, against the passage of *Maximilian*, but with this clause, excepting the right of the Empire) and all others that depended of themselves (except the *Marquis of Mantoua*) had sent their Agents to this Imperiall diet of *Constance*, some for desire of innouation, some for hope, others for feare. Which things troubled the Kings minde: especially the Ambassage of the Cardinall of *Saint Croix*, whome he knewe to bee alwaies desirous of *Maximilians* prosperity. In the ende, the conclusion of this diet (the which the Pope attended wauering betwixt hope and feare, sometimes desiring *Maximilians* coming into *Italy*, and sometimes apprehending the memory of ancient quarrells betwixt the Emperours and Popes, was, That they should giue vnto *Maximilian* to follow him into *Italy*, eight thousand horse, and two and twenty thousand foote, entertayned for six monethes, and that the companies should be in field nere vnto *Constance*, by the midst of October.

Vpon this conclusion *Maximilian* demands passage of the *Venetians*, through those countries which they held in *Italy*. They graunt it, so as hee come without an army, D else not. But they excuse themselves vpon the necessity of the league they haue with the King, and vpon the conditions of the present time: yet notwithstanding, except that which they should be forced vnto by vertue of the said alliance, for the defence of the state of *Milan*, in fauour of the King: they would not oppose themselves to any of his aduancement. And in truth, being loath to offend *Maximilian*, or to giue the King occasion to presume too much, they did not seeke vnto him for any new alliance, hoping it may bee, that *Maximilian* leauing their frontiers in peace, would turne his forces either against *Bourgogne*, or against the Duchies of *Milan* and *Genes*.

To preuent all inconueniences, the King had sent great numbers of horse and foote towards *Milan*, and did leaue (with the permission of the Catholike King his Nephew) E two thousand five hundred *Spaniards*, five hundred Lances in *Bourgogne*, vnder *Tremouilles* command, foure hundred *French* Lances, and foure thousand foote, ioyntly with the *Venetians*, to preuent any alteration that might happen towards *Trente*: and to distract the Emperours forces into diuers parts, he fauored the Duke of *Cueldres*, who molested the Country of *Charles*, grand-childe to *Maximilian*. And to begin his voiage, *Maximilian* beeing come to *Trente*, caused a proclamation to be publicly made, the third of February: That he was resolved to passe in hostile manner into *Italy*. And first that time leauing the name of King of the *Romans*, tooke vpon him that of chosen Emperour. But this was to brag of mountaines, and to bring forth mol-hilles. He goes from *Trent* with fiftene hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, not of that number F which had beene promised him at *Constance*, but of the ordinary traine of his Court, & leaues in his owne territories, and the *Marquis of Brandebourg* with five hundred horse and two thousand foote. But there was no reason the seruant should be more happy then the master. The *Marquis* returnes, hauing only presented himselfe before *Rouere*,

The Pope seems discontented with the King.

An interview of the Kings of France and Arragon.

The King seeks to hinder the Emperours passage.

The vaine attempts of Maximilian.

1508. and demanded in vaine to be lodged within the towne. And *Maximilian* hindered by many trenches which the Mountainers of *Singue* had made, returned backe foure dayes after his departure. If he had gone back to take a greater leape, (as the *Prouerbe* saith) it had bene a good signe, but to turne his back, it was a disgrace.

Open warre.

Behold an open warre, and the *Venetians* are netted with these weake beginnings. But conquests of Villages, are like bonafires of Strawe. *Maximilian* taking the way of *Friul*, for the comodity of the passage, & the country being more open, with six thousand men leuiued in those marches, did tunne aboue fortie miles into the *Venetian* territories: hauing taken certaine villages of small moment (performing the office of a simple Captaine, rather then of an Emperour) he returned towards *Tuspruch*, to engage some Jewels, and to make prouision of money by some other means. which failing, had caused eight thousand *Swisses* to leaue his pay, whereof five thousand went to the King, and three thousand to the *Venetians*. And to increase the mischiefe, *Maximilian* had left nine thousand foote and horse at *Trente*. *Earle* *meu of Aluiane* (sent by the *Venetians* to succour *Friul*) seized vpon the passages of the Valley of *Cadore*, by the which the *Germaines* might saue themselves: he charged them, slew aboue a thousand, and tooke all the rest (in a manner) prisoners. So the careful valour of *Aluiane* made vaine the former exploits of *Maximilian*.

Poon, Swisses forsake the Emperour.

Maximilians forces defeated.

It is all one to be well or ill beaten. The *Venetians* put in practise this common saying, not without some offence to the King, who did not willingly behold the prosperous course of their victories, in regard of his owne desseins. They were forced to take armes, and before they lay them downe, they take from the Empire *Trieisle*, *Portonon*, and *Fiume*: then passing the Alpes, *Possena*. On the other side, the *Germaine* armie towards *Trente*, had put to sword three thousand *Venetian* foote, set to garde mount *Bretonic*. The Bishop of *Trente* encouraged by this small stratagem, with two thousand foote, and some troupes of horse, went to besiege *Rine Trente*, a great bough vpon the Lake of *Garde*: but as he did batter it, two thousand *Grisons*, which were in the *Germaine* Campe, fell into a mutinie by reason of their pay, and spoile the victuals of the whole Campe. So all being in disorder without respect of command, and without obedience, the *Grisons* being gone, all the rest of the armie (being about seven thousand men) were forced to retire. Thus ended all these great shewes, and *Maximilian* hauing rashly giuen credit to the Popes suggestions, reaped nothing for his indiscretion, but shame, losse, & contempt. Being thus perplexed, he seeks to withdraw himselfe out of the country, and finding the *Venetians* well disposed to make an end of this warre, and to preferue (by means of a truce) the places which they had conquered in these garboiles: he easily obtaines a truce for three moneths, where by they laid downe armes, to resume them soone after, but with more dangerous effects. This was the xx. day of April. In corrupted bodie, the remedies we apply to diuert one inconuenience, do commonly ingender another, more dangerous. So the truce (made betwixt *Maximilian* & the *Venetians*, wherein they had exceedingly neglected the King) in stead of quiet and rest which they expected, bred more horrible calamities then the former warres. The *Venetians* sought it by their insolent manner of proceeding. The Emperour studied by what means he might repaie the infamie and losse he had newly received: and now they incense him more, receiving *Aluiane* into *Venice*, in a triumphing manner. And the King found himselfe much wronged, for that presuming to name him in this truce, and to comprehend him as an adherent, they had notwithstanding provided for their owne safetie, and left him charged with the cares and troubles of the warre: seeing that in their fauour he had opposed himselfe against *Maximilian*, as we haue seene. The Emperour being then so weakly assisted by the forces of the Empire, and finding his owne too feeble, deuised to vnite himselfe with the King against the *Venetians*, as the onely remedie to recover both his estates and his honour lost.

A truce betwixt the Emperour and Venetians.

New motives of warre.

Moreover, this new disdaine reuiued in the King the ancient remembrance of the wrongs he had received by them in the warres of *Naples*, and since in diuers other accidents: thrust forward with an exceeding desire to wrest out of their hands *Perona*, *Crimona*

A *Cremona*, and many other townes possessed of long time by the Dukes of *Milan*. And the Pope crossing them, possessed with that first desire to recouer those places which they vsurped of the Church, taxing them that the banished men of *Furle* had of late dayes, by means of their Senate, sought to enter into the said towne: discontented moreover, that the *Venetians* had, in contempt of the authority of the *Romane* Court, given the Bishopricke of *Vidence*, to a *Venetian* Gentleman, contrarie to the collation which the Pope had made to his Nephew *Sixtus*, he perswaded the King against the desiring rather to remaine a newt in the midst of these contentions, & be a spectator, then to inuade. In the end, (vnder a colour to treat a peace, betwixt the Archduke *Charles*, sonne to *Philip*, & the Duke of *Guilares*): they must meet at *Cambraie*. For the King, came the Cardinall of *Amboise*: and for the Emperour, *Marguerit* his daughter Gouverneste of *Flanders*, assisted in this treaty by *Matthew Lange*, a trusty Secretary to the Emperour: and for the King of *Aragon*, an Ambassador of his. The 9. of Decem- ber they conclude a peace betwixt their Masters, and a perpetuall league against all men, euenly one to recouer from the *Venetians* the places which they had taken from them, and to spoyle them of the territories of the Church vsurped by them: what sooner we treat, the Church must be one, but more with a colour, then any deuotion.

A league betwixt the French King, the Emperour, & Ferdinand against the Venetians.

The Emperour did solemnly confirme this new league, if the *Aragonais* feared the increase of the King his Vnckles greatness, and preferred the safety of the realme of *Naples* before any thing which the *Venetians* enioyed: yet dissembling his conceits he performed all solemnities required. The pope was more scrupulous: hee had sent his commission, but had not yet consented. Many considerations moued thereunto: a desire to recouer the Townes of *Romagna*, and a disdain against the *Venetians*. Moreover he feared to incense the King, rejecting this association: yet he held it a very dangerous thing for him, that the Emperour should extend himselfe in *Italy*. Thus troubled in mind, he resolues, for the mildest course, to obtaine a part of his desires by an accord, rather then all by warre. He lets the *Venetians* vnderstand, that the storme which threatened them by the vnion of these princes, would proue farre more tempestuous, if they forced him to giue his consent. That yeelding willingly the places they had taken from the Church, it should make him refuse to ratifie the treaty of *Cambraie*, made in his name, but without his approbation: without the which their alliances would easily turne to smooke, if they refused, he would pursue the with spirituall and temporall armes. Oft times, those which haue the name, the age and countenance of wiser men, conclude to the ruine of their country. The *Venetians* at this time followe the worst aduice. And the Pope ratifies the treaty the which he had deferred vntill the last day assigned for the ratification. The King armes and passeth the Alpes in person, followed by the Princes of his blood, *Charles* of *Bourbon* Earle of *Vendosme*, *Charles* of *Fourlon* afterwards Countesse of *France*, sonne to the Earle of *Montpensier*, *Lewis* of *Fourlon*, Prince of *Roche-sur-Yon*, *René* Duke of *Alençon*, and his sonne *Charles* the Duke of *Longueville*, *Gaston* of *Foix* Duke of *Nemours*, *Peter* of *Foix* Vicount of *Lantree*, *Lewis* of *Tremouille* Vicount of *Thouars*, the Earle of *Montmorencie* grandfather to the Constable that now liues; the Lords of *Palisse*, *Andouins*, *Grandmont*, *Curton*, *Boissi*, *Coligni*, *Ejouteville*, and almost all the Nobility of *France*, which followed (as to a certaine victory) their King, and so many braue and generous Princes, with ioy and courage, amounting to forty thousand fighting men, besides three thousand horse, & six thousand foote, which *Chaumont* brought out off the Duchy of *Milan*, and the troupes of *Anthony* Duke of *Lorraine*, who accompanied his Maestie in this voiage. The King hauing passed the Alpes, sends *Montjoye* his Herald presently to proclaime warre against the Senate of *Venice*. And for that the Pope complained that the time specified in the capitulation expired without any effects of warre, the King commands the Lord of *Chaumont* to begin.

The Pope enters into the league. The King goes into Italy.

He thereupon passeth the riuer of *Adde*, the 15. of Aprill, and camps before *Treui*, battes & forceth it to yeeld at discretion, taking prisoners *Iustinian Morosin*, Comisary of the *Venetian* *Stradiots* or light horse, *Visselle* Cita de *Castello*, *Vincent* de *Nalde*, &c.

1509. other Senators, and with them a hundred light horie, and a thousand foote. then he repasseth *Addé*, to attend the Kings coming at *Milan*. The Emperour was gone into *Flanders*, to require a leuying of money, from the subjects of *Charles* his grandchild: a testimonie that he could not begin the warres within fortie dayes after the King, as his promise was.

The *Venetians* prepared, and seeing a great part of *Christendome* armed against them, they seeke to dissolue this vniō by reasonable offers. But the Pope could no more accept that which he had before desired. The Catholike King had not credit enough to diuert the rest. The Emperour full of disdain, would not so much as see *John de Essoille* their Secretarie. As for our *Lewis*, they hoped for nothing from him, but by the sword. They therefore entertaine two thousand men at armes barded, foure fighting men for euery Lance: three thousand light horie and Stradiots: fiftene thousand foote, of the flower of *Italie*, and fiftene thousand others chosen out of their territories: they arme many vessels to garde the bankes of *Romagnia*, the Townes of *Apulia*, the approaches of the Lake of *Garde*, *Po*, and other neighbour places, fearing to be molested by the Duke of *Ferrare*, and the Marquis of *Mantoua* their enemies. But behold bad signes, and prodigious fore-runners of losses, wherevnto (besides the threats of men) the *Venetians* shall be shortly subiect. A Barke carrying ten thousand Ducats to *Rauenna*, was drowned. The Castle of *Bresse* was fiered with lightning, the place where the Charters of the Common-weale did lye, was sodenly ruined. And that which did most terrifie them, their great counsell being assembled, fire tooke their Arceball, whereas the Salt-peter did lye, and burnt twelue gallies, with a great quantitie of munition.

Farall prognostications for the *Venetians*.

The *Venetians* censured by the Pope.

Moreouer hauing entertained *Iulius* and *Rancevrsus*, and *Troile Sauelle*, with five hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote: the Pope commanded them vpon greuous censures, (as defendants of the Church) not to depart out of *Rome*. And presently did publish in forme of a monitorie, a horrible Bull, containing: *The usurpations the Venetians had made in the sea of Rome: the authoritie they did arrogate to the preiudice of the Ecclesiasticall libertie, and the Popes iurisdiction. To giue Bishopricks and other spirituall luings being vacant: To decide spirituall causes in secular Courts, and other things belonging to the censure of the Church: specifying moreouer, all their disobediences past, and admonishing them: To yeeld up within 24. dayes next ensuing, the townes of the Church which they possessed, with the fruites receiued since they enioyed them, vpon paine to inturre, not onely the censures and curse of the Cittie of Venice, but also of all the territories vnder their obedience, and of all others that should receiue any Venetian, declaring them guiltie of high Treason, and detested as perpetuall enemies to all Christians, to whom he gaue power to take their goods in all places, & to make their persons slaues. Against this Bull, they cast forth a writing about *Rome*, containing (after a long protestation against the Pope and our *Lewis*) An appellation from the monitorie, to the next Council, and for want of humane Iustice, to the seate of *Iesus Christ*, a most iust iudge, and the Soueraigne Prince of all.*

The *Venetian* armie being assembled, made their beginning famous by the recouerie of *Trent*, after the retreat of *Chaumont*. But it was famous to the Conquerour: for during the heate of the spoile, the King (who came to releue it) passed the ruer of *Addé* with his whole armie, without any let, the 9. of May. And *Trinuice* seeing the armie past: *This day* (sayd he) *O most Christian King, haue we wonne the victorie*. The King lodged within halfe a league of the *Venetian* Campe, and (holding it more glorie, if of himselfe, without the assistance of any other, he ended this warre,) he drew the enemy by all meanes to the combate. The enemies desseigne, was to keepe themselves close in places of strength, to aye the necessitie of fighting, and to keepe the *French* from attempting any matter of importance. So both armies continued a whole day, one in view of an other. The next day, the King stood foure houres before the enemies lodging, with his troupes in battaile, and tooke *Riuolté*, in their view, without making any other shew, then to want courage to come to the fight. Necessitie must

A must then force them to it. hunger driues the *Woolfe* out off the wood. The king (to cut off the vitrells that came to them from *Cremona* & *Crema*, raiseth his campe, to lodge at *Vailé* or *Pandin*: and the *Venetians* (to ingage their enemies in the like difficulties,) resolute to follow them at the heeles; and alwayes to lodge in places of aduantage. There were two wayes to the said places. The one was longer and lower, which going bias against the ruer of *Addé*, was in forme like a bow: the other shorter and higher, but straight as a line. The King takes the lower, the enemy the higher, *Chaumont* led the forward of the *French*, *Aluiane* the *Venetian*. They approach neere vnto *Agnadel*, when as *Aluiane* being forced of necessity to fight, plants six peeces of artillery vpon the cauffie of a brooke which was then almost dry, which parted the two armies, and his foote in the vinyardes adioyning to it, and comes resolutely to charge our forward. The combate was long and doubtfull: for that, by reason of the stocks and branches the *French* horie could not fight commodiously. And now the *Suisses* begin to waue: when as the King sending *Charles* of *Bourbon* to encourage them, and aduancing himselfe with his battaile into a more large and open place, hee redoubled the shock, fauoured by his artillery: the which the enemy could not discouer by meanes of certaine small trees and bushes. So as after a resolute fight of eyther side, about three houres, the Kings presence not suffering any one to faint, and the *Suisses* returning to their first heat, the *Venetians* wonderfully spoyled by the horie, and Cannon, and hindered by the raine and haile which beat in their faces, began to yeeld both in courage and force: and finally resoluving to sell this victorie to the *French* very deare, sayling rather in force then courage, they desired rather to loofe their liues, then their honours, by turning of their backs.

The Earle of *Pestilano* (with whom was the greatest part of their forces, incoun-tered with a squadron of their owne men flying, greued that *Aluiane* had contrary to his aduice, presumed to fight: and thinking that his indeauours would preuaile little to obtaine the victorie) he desired rather to saue the rest of the armie, then to see all lost by the rashnesse of an other. The Earle of *Bernardin du Mont*, was slaine, and some men at armes, & about ten thousand foote. *Bartholomew* of *Aluiane* was prisoner, and hurt in the eye, & twenty peeces of great artillery lost. Of the *French*, no men of mark: but some five hundred foote were slaine. The King caused the dead to be buried, and for a trophie he built a Chappell in the place of battle, the which he named *S. Mary of Victory*. So ended the battell of *Agnadel*, or *Guiradaddé*, or (as others call it) of *Vailé*, the 15. of May.

This happy victorie purchased the King the next day, *Carravage*, and then *Bergame*, *Bresse*, *Crema*, *Cremona*, *Pisqueton*, *Pesquiere*, and other places, whereof the King would not accept one, but vpon condition, that the *Venetian* Gentlemen, that were within any of them, should yeeld themselves prisoners vpon ranfome.

On the other side, the Pope with foure hundred men at armes, foure hundred light hories, eight thousand foote, and the artillery of the Duke of *Ferrare*, tooke *Cerite*, *Solara*, *Basquille*, all *Valdelamone*, *Granarole*, all the Townes of the territory of *Faenze*, *Ruffi*, *Rauenna*, *Imole*, and all the Townes of *Romagnia*, but more through fauour of the Kings victorie, then by his owne forces. The Marquis of *Mantoua* recouered *Asole* and *Lunato*, which the *Venetians* had vsurped from *John Francis* of *Gonzague* his great grandfather. And the Duke of *Ferrare*, *Polesine* of *Rouigne*. In *Istria*, *Christopher* *Frangipani* invaded *Pisante* and *Diutnie*.

The Duke of *Brunswike* entring into *Friul*, for the Emperour, tooke *Feltre*. *Bellone*, *Triefté*, and then *Verona* and *Padoua* returned to the obedience of the Empire. The Earles of *Lodron* seized vpon some Castles and villages in their iurisdiccions, and the Bishop of *Trent*, got for his share, *Riue de Trente*, and *Agresse*. The King of *Arragon* making his profit of an other mans paines and charge, recouered *Brindes* and *Tarentum*. So euery one pulling his plumes, the Crowe (according to the Pro-uerbe) remained almost bare. Such are the fruits of a battell wonne in a Country not fortified.

The battell of *Agnadel*.

Won by the King against the *Venetians*.

The exploit of the Pope's armie.

This

1509.

The Popes
incontinencie.The Veneti-
ans begin to
reouer their
losses.Padoua reco-
uered.The Marquis
of Mantua
is surprized by
the Venetians.

This check had abated the naturall pride and haughtinesse of the *Venetians*, but their ruine toucht the hearts of the *Italians* diuerly. Some were well pleased, for that without any obseruation of faith or equitie, (thrust on with an insatiable ambition and couetousnesse,) they made profession to seize vpon ail, that opportunitie offered them. Others began to sigh, lamenting the generall calamitie of *Italie*, ready to yeele to the seruitude of a stranger. The Pope was one of the first that grieved at this great fall: and fearing the Emperours power and the Kings, he deuised how to cross their affaires, and to take from them all meanes to ruine this common-weale, the ancient fear of I bertie. He accepted of the *Venetians* Ambassage and submission, and reuoked the sentence by the which they were excommunicate. The which gaue them a beginning of hope: but more when they see the King content to haue recovered his owne, and not to exceed the limits of the capitulation of *Cambray*. And that which reuiued their spirits, certaine banished men, newly restored at *Treuisse* by the *Venetians*, to make the memory of this benefite famous, troupe together, plant the banner of *S. Marc* in the Market place, and expell *Leonard of Dreßine*, who without any armes or force, had receiued the City in the Emperours name: they bring in seuen hundred *Venetian* foote, and consequently, all the forces they had assembled in *Sclauonia*, and *Romagnia*.

Without doubt *Treuisse* alone repaired the *Venetians* honour: and the chiefe cause of this accident, as also to put the *Venetians* in more hope, was the negligence and ill gouernment of the Emperour, who during the course of so many victories, had made shew but of his name onely: and these importune delayes had caused the King to take his way towards *Milan*, to returne speedily into *France*. The Kings dislodging of his armie, gaue courage to the *Venetians* to recouer *Padoua*, which they knew to be furnished of men for the defence thereof. *Andrew Gritti* one of their Commissaries, had assembled two thousand men of the Country, with three hundred fouldiers, and some horse, and finding by chance the port of *Codalungue* halfe open, by reason of some Carts laden with Haye, that were lately entred: he seized thereon without noise, and kept it, untill the companies lead by the *Cheualier Volpe*, *Titole of Perouse*, and *Lußana of Bergamo* were arriued, who held it almost an houre before that any alarme was giuen in the Towne. This reprisall made the way to recouer *Legnague*, a very commodious towne, to annoy *Vinence* and *Verona*.

One of the ancients sayd, that we must reuerence fortune, else she will shew herselfe terrible. Hereafter she leaues the Emperour, and returnes to the *Venetians*. The Marquis of *Mantona* lodged in the Isle of *Escale*, in the countrie of *Verona*, attending the preparatiues which the Bishop of *Trente*, gouernour of *Verona* made, to besiege *Legnague*. *Luc Maluezz*, with two hundred light horse, and *Titole of Perouse*, with eight hundred foote, and fiftene hundred of the country, besides the garrison of *Legnague*, entering one morning into the said Ile, surprized the Marquis his troupes sleeping, spoile them, leading the Marquis with his Lieutenant *Boissi* (nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboise*) prisoners: leaving a lesson to commanders in the warre, to be vigilant, to weigh their owne forces, and not to contemne their enemies. On the other side, the *Venetians* in *Friul* recovered *Valdefere* by force, *Bellone* by composition, and fortified themselves in the *Vincentin*, by the taking of many places, as of *Serauale*, a passage of great importance, the which *Maximilian* recovered soone after, with the like crueltie vpon the *Italians*, as the *Italians* had vsed vpon the *Germanes*, at the taking thereof: for hauing not yet assembled sufficient forces to go to field, they make small attempts, besieging now one bourgh, then another, with small honour and reputation, for the qualitie of an Emperour: solliciting notwithstanding all his confederates, to vnite their forces for the taking of *Venice*. But who should haue reaped the profit? The Pope would not haue the Emperour nor King possesse it: and the Catholicke King detested this enterprize as vniust and dishonest, moued therevnto, not with the loue of vertue, but with enuie, the which he bare to the greatnesse of our *Lewis* his vnkle, who he thought should haue the greatest benefit by this conquest.

Whilst

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1509.

The siege of
Padoua.The Empe-
rours army

Whilst that the Emperour filled all *Italy* with a vaine feare of his forces, hee sent the Prince of *Anhalt* with ten thousand men into *Friul*, who at his entry tooke *Cadore* with a great butcherie of those that defended it: and the Duke of *Brunswike*, whome the Emperour had likewise sent, did put to route eight hundred horse and siue hundred foote, which *John Paul Gradenc*, Commisarie of *Friul*, brought to the succour of *Cintra* of *Austria*, which the *Germanes* besieged. *Christopher Frangipan* did also defeat the *Venetian* officers followed by the forces of the Country, hee wasted the Countrie, and seized vpon *Chasteanneuf*, *Fiume* and *Rasprach*. And the *Venetians* sending *Angelo Treusan* Generall of their army at sea thither, recovered *Fiume* and *Rasprach*. To conclude: by sundrie prizes, and reprises, mens goods and liues were continually in prey.

The Emperour hauing now assembled all his forces, prepares for the siege of *Padoua*. Besides the forces of the Empire, he had seauen hundred *French* Lances, commanded by the Lord of *Palisse*: two hundred men at armes, which the Pope had sent him: Two hundred more from the Duke of *Ferrare*, vnder the command of the Cardinall of *Esse*: six hundred men at armes. vnder diuers *Italian* Captaines, eightene thousand *Lansquenets*: six thousand *Spaniards*: six thousand aduenturers of diuers nations, and two thousand foote, which the sayd Cardinall brought vnto him for the Duke with so wonderfull a preparation for peeces of battery and munition, as the issue of this siege held all *Italie* in suspence. The Emperour had already taken *Limini*, neere *Padoua*, by force, when as there chanceth a signe of happy successe for the *Padouans* and *Venetians*. *Philip Rosse*, and *Frederick Gonzague of Bessole*, went with two hundred light horse, to gard the artillery that came out of *Germany*. siue hundred horse issuing out of *Padoua*, hauing intelligence thereof, charge them in the night, defeat them siue miles from *Vinence*, and take *Philip Rosse*.

And in exchange, *Maximilian* hauing extended his companies about twelue miles off from *Padoua*: to be assured of the commoditie of victuals and pasture, takes by assault and sackes the bourg of *Esse*, *Montselice* and *Montagnane*, ouerthrowes three thousand peasants at the bridge of *Bouolente*, and carries away a great prey of cattle, which they had gathered together: at length after many delayes (which gaue the *Padouans* Dyleture to fortifie and furnish themselves with victualles) hee is planted before the Towne walles, the fiftene day of September.

As for the defence of *Padoua*, the *Venetians* had furnished it with six hundred men at armes, fiftene hundred light horse, & fiftene hundred Stradiot, or *Albanais*, commanded by Captaines of great experience, the Earle of *Petillane*, *Bernardin of Montone*, *Anthony Pie*, *Luc Maluezz*, *John the Gre*, and twelue thousand choise foote, vnder the charge of *Denis de Nalde*, *Titole of Perouse*, *Lactance of Bergamo*, *Saccocio of Spolite*, and many other of meaner qualitie, and ten thousand foote *Sclauones*, *Creskes* and *Albanais*. And why should not two and twentie thousand foote, and three thousand six hundred horse defend *Padoua*, with that multitude of *Venetian* youth, who (to make proofe of their valour and piety to their countrie) had willingly thrust themselves into the Towne, seeing they could not haue forced them in field, within any small trench? *Padoua* was furnished with great store of all kinde of artillery, victualles, and a great number of peasants, who continually labored in the fortifications.

The fortifi-
cations of Pa-
doua.

The ports and other fir places were furnished with bastions without, and cuier vault vnderneath full of barrells of poulder, to blowe vp such as did assaile them. And within round about the Citie a palisado, or fortification of piles, trees and peeces of timber, fortified with a deepe ditch sixteene fadome broade: thanked with Cafemats and small Towers full of artillery: and behind the ditch a rampart of the same breadth, round about the Towne, except some places where they could not plant any artillery, and before the rampart, a parapect of seauen cubits high, to couer them that should defend the ramparts.

Behold all the Imperiall army is now planted before *Padoua*: but this was not to at-
tempt

1509. tempt a Towne besieged, but rather an army camped in a Towne which made against an army, holding the field. The artillery thunders eight dayes together, and pretailes so much, as it seemes they neede not to shoot any more. They giue an assault to the bastion, at the point of the port of *Cadaluigne*.

The *Spaniards* and *Languenets* (seconded by some men at armes on foote) winne the bastion, and plant two ensignes: but both the fortresse of the ditch, the valour of the defendants, the abundance of instruments for defence, artillery, stones, artificers, and all other kind of offensive armes, force them to abandon it in hast, many remayning dead or wounded: so as the army being ready to assaile the wall (the bastion being won,) he retired and disarmed without any farther attempt. *Maximilian* despairing of victory by these preiudiciall beginnings, after seauenteene dayes (seeing rayseth his campe, and passing in his retreat by *Vinence* and *Verona*, receiues their oath of fidelity: he then dismisseth almost all his army, and tooke the way to *Trente*, determining to make a truce with the *Venetians* for some monethes. But growne proud with this prosperity, seeing his associates to aide him so coldly, and supposing that a surceasing of armes would be preiudiciall vnto them, they prepared to recouer *Vinence*, *Citelle*, *Bassan*, *Monfalcone*, *Montagnagne*, *Esse*, *Polesine*, & in the end to make warre against the Duke of *Ferrare*.

But he that vndertakes too much, repents sometime. Desire of reuenge is a dangerous Counsellor, and the resolution not to endure a wrong eyther done, or pretended to be done, grounded rather vpon passion then reason, is commonly the cause of the Authors ruine. *Alphonso* Duke of *Ferrare* recouering of *Polesine*, had (in hatred of the *Venetian* name) wonderfully spoiled the gentlemens houses of the Country: heerecained the Towne of *Esse* from *Maximilian* in fee, and *Montagnagne* in mortgage. The *Venetians* (building the motives of their disdain thereon) send their Generall *Angelo Treuisan* with seauenteene galleys, and a great number of other smaller vessels, towards *Ferrare*, and a good number of horse by land, to second their army at sea: the which being entred into the riuer of *Po*, and hauing burnt *Corbole*, and some other villages neere adioyning, they spoiled all the Country, euen vnto the Lake of *Scure*, and without difficulty recouered all the territory of *Polesine*. To withstand these violent courses, the *Ferrarois* plants his artillery vpon the bankes of *Po*, to stop the passage of this army, and forceth *Treuisan* to cast anchor in the midst of the water, behind a small Island right against *Pulicelle*: a commodious place to molest the *Ferrarois*, and there hee fortifies himselfe with two bastions vpon the bankes, the one on the side of *Ferrare*, the other opposite, whilst that other vessels assaying the Duke of *Ferrare* Country in an other part, take *Comache*.

The Duke strengthened with a hundred and fiftie Lances, which the Lord of *Chivillon* brought him, & two hundred men at armes, which the Pope sent him, (discontented that the *Venetians* had inuaded this Duchie, without respect of the superiority which the Church hath ouer it) fauored with the knowledge of the Country, and the nature, and opportunity of the riuer, hauing brought his Cannon to the banke opposite to the enemy, being couered with a strong causey, after an assault giuen to the bastion, where his men had the worst, hee saluted the *Venetian* shippes so furiously, as some not able to resist, yeelded: others fiered with the shot were miserably burnt with the men that were in them: others sinking, escaped the enemies hand, and the generall saved himselfe by flight in a Cock-boate, his galley flying, shooting and defending it selfe, was in the end suncke.

To conclude, the riuer being full of blood, fire and dead men, fiftene galleies came into the Dukes power, some great shippes, many foistes, and other small vessels in great number: threescore ensignes taken, and two thousand men slaine. This army defeated, *Alphonso* sent presently *Hippolite* Cardinall of *Esse* his brother, against that army which had taken *Comache*: but the losse of the other hauing forced them already to retire, the Cardinall employed his forces to recouer *Lorete*, which the *Venetians* had fortified.

This

A This done, the Pope desirous to tie the Duke of *Ferrare* vnto him, to the end that acknowledging the good he should receiue by his intercession, he should depend more vpon him, then on the King, against whome he layed the foundation of great hatred, was a meanes the *Venetians* should yeeld *Comache* to the *Ferrarois*, and should no more molest his estate. And to reconcile them with *Maximilian*, he sends *Achilles de Grassi*, Bishop of *Pesere*, his Nuncio vnto him. But through the Emperours excessiue demands, and the Kings Ambassadors crossing it, *Achilles* returned without effecting any thing.

The season made them proceed coldly in matters of warre, vntill the end of this year. *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* had contended before the King for the gouernment of the realme of *Castile*: the first for *Charles* his grandchild, the second building vpon B his wifes testament, as we haue seene before. In the end, the Cardinal of *Amboise*, (not considering how much this accord did preiudice the Kings affaires) drew *Maximilian* to content, that the Catholike King, in case he had no heires male, should be gouernor of the realmes of *Castile* and *Naples*, vntill that *Charles* his grandchild should come to the age of fiftie and twentie yeares, and should pay vnto the said *Charles* fortie thousand ducats yeerely, fiftie thousand to *Maximilian* at one payment, and should ayd him according to the treaty of *Cambray*, to recouer that which belonged vnto him. A match which gaue courage to *Ferdinand* to incounter the Kings greatnes: the which, in regard of the realme of *Naples* he alwaies feared. Doubtlesse ambition did so blind the eyes of this good Cardinall, as hee could no more discouer this grosse policie, then C foresee that death prepared him a bier in stead of a Pontificall chaire. In the end of this year died the Earle of *Petillane*, Generall for the *Venetians*, old and of great experience in martiall affaires.

Although they proceed slowly in matters of warre, yet Princes mindes were disquieted with many distemperatures, especially the Emperours, who despairing to get the victorie of the *Venetians* by his owne proper forces, perswaded the King to attempt the recouerie of *Padoua*, *Vinence* and *Treuisse*, receiuing a sufficient recompence. The King knew well, that whilst the *Venetians* possessed a foote of land, he should still be compassed in with continuall charge, and dangers. But hee was diuerted from repassing of the mountaines, by the sicknesse of the Cardinal of *Amboise*. D to whom onely hee committed all his affaires: fearing likewise, least a new armie should wholly withdraw the Popes affection, who long before deuided, by what means he should disloodge the French out off the Estates of *Italie*, and fearing (as we haue said elswhere) least the King (being armed) should dispossesse him of his chaire, to placethe Cardinall of *Amboise* in it, hee labored to draw the *English* from the Kings friendship: he practised to ioyne with the *Suisses*, by meanes of the Bishop of *Sion*, to the preiudice of his Crowne, and protected the *Venetians*.

In truth, we may behold three Princes act three diuers personages vpon this theatre. The King of a faithfull alitie: the Emperour of a weaker: and the Pope of a d. f. loval. In the end, the King (the better to supplie the affaires of *Italie*) goes to *Lions*, with an intent to pacifie the Pope, or at the least, to keepe him from being his enemy. To this end he sends *Albert Pie* Earle of *Carpi*, with commission to offer the Pope both the Kings forces and authoritie in all occasions, to impart vnto him the affaires that were now handled. The requests which the Emperour made vnto him, and to leaue it to his discretion, to passe or not, into *Italie*: were not these sufficient submissions, to pacifie any discontented mind?

Contrariwise, *Julius* receiued the *Venetians* into fauour, and the foure and twentieth day of Februarie gaue them full and absolute remission. Hee still solicits the *English* to take vpon him the title of Protector of the sea of *Rome*, against the King of *France*, against whome (sayd hee) if hee made warre, many others (to whom his power was odious) would take armes. But hee drew the *Suisses* with more efficacie to the protection of the Church, paying a thousand florins yeerely to euery Canton. The boldnesse and presumption wherewith they refused to re- nue their alliance with our *Lewis* (but vpon condition to augment their pensions) Pope,

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had

1510. had justly displeased the King: but this vnseasonable repulse shall proue very preiudiciall to this Crowne. The King in exchange allies himselfe with the *Valaisans* and *Grisons*, who bind themselves to giue passage to his people, and to deny it to his enemies, and to serue him for pay, with such forces as they could make. The Pope fortified with this new alliance, bends all his thoughts to support and raise the *Venetians*, to reconcile them to the Emperour, and by their rising to pull downe our *Lewis*.

But the Popes alienation serued only to kindle new fires in *Italie*. The Emperour and the King discontent with the shewes, which the Pope made in fauour of the *Venetians*, vnited themselves more strictly together: and the Duke of *Ferrare* gaue the King occasion to aduance his forces, for the protection of his estate: for the Duke hauing set an impost vpon all the marchandise that passed by the *Poto Venice*, the Pope commaunded him to free it, as not being in the disposition of the vassall to impose tribute without the libertie of the Lord of the fee. And in case he disobeyes, he denounceth warre against him. The Duke thus threatened, flies to the King, who had before taken him into his protection, giuing thirtie thousand ducats, his estate also importing the King much for his affaires of *Lombardie*: yet loth to contend with the Pope, for the Duke of *Ferrare*, he propounded conditions, whereby the Pope might rest satisfied of the interests, which the Church, and hee, pretended against the Duke. In the end, as the Pope (the more he sees himselfe fought vnto) shewed greater signes of bitterness, the Lord of *Chaumont* enters into *Italie* with fiftene hundred Lances, and tenne thousand foote: to whom the Duke of *Ferrare* sent two hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, and two thousand foote. At their first landing, they take *Polesine Montagnagne*, and *Esse*. Then the Prince of *Anhalt*, Lieutenant to the Emperour, parting from *Verona* with three hundred French Lances, two hundred men at armes, and three thousand Lansquenets, ioyned with *Chaumont*, and ioyntly together, they march against *Vincence*.

The *Vincetians* abandoned by the *Venetian* armie, which retired towards *Padua*, flee to *Chaumont*: to obtaine some reasonable conditions of the Prince, who wonderfully moved with their rebellion, would not receiue them with any other condition, but to haue their goods at pleasure: and their liues saved. These victories were fruitlesse, without the taking of *Legnague*: the which the riuer of *Adice* diuides into two parts, whereof the lesse is called *Porto*. This riuer is diuided into many branches: about *Legnague*, passing the last branch, they incounter some footemen, set to gard *Porto*. Our men charge them, repulse them, kill a great number, chase the rest, and enter *pelmet* with them into *Porto*. The taking of *Porto* made the meanes easie, to batter the Towne on either side the riuer, for the effecting whereof *Chaumont* sent Captaine *Molare* with foure thousand men, and sixe peeces of artillerie, who hauing in a manner battered downe the bastion, which was vpon the cause, at the point of the Towne, the *Venetian* Comissarie retired himselfe into the castle, and the Captaine which commanded the bastion, yielded to depart with bag and baggage. The bastion taken, the Towne was sackt by *Molare*, and the Castle battered, yielded the next day, vpon condition, that the *Venetian* gentlemen remayning *Chaumonts* prisoners, the souldiars should depart with a white fluke in their hand. At this time died the Cardinall of *Amboise*, vnlike to the Lord of *Chaumont*, a man of a great spirit, and long experience in affaires, but with the seruice of his master, he did not forget the content of his owne priuate ambition.

Ciuitelle, *Marosique*, *Basiane*, *Feltre*, *P'Escale*, and other places there abouts (abandoned by the *Venetians*) opened their gates vpon vew of the Canon. To conclude, all places wheras the armies passed were exposed to takings, & retakings, sackings, and burnings: and all persons were at the victors mercie. *Monfelicie* remained yet. The Towne is seated in a plaine, and the Castle on the mountaine compassed in with three wals, wherof the lower required two thousand men, for the defence thereof. By reason then of a new conuention betwixt the King and the Emperour, That his armie should

A French
army enters
Italie.

The death of
the Cardinall
of Amboise.

1510. continue yet a moneth longer in *Italie*, and that the extraordinary charge, about the payment of the companies, which the King had till then defrayed, should afterwards be payed by the Emperour, and the foote-men also, for that moneth: and in consideration of fiftie thousand Crownes, which the King should adde to fiftie thousand others, that hee had formerly lent the Emperour, *Verona* with the territories thereof should remaine in pawne to his Maiestie, vntill it were satisfied: *Chaumont* besieged it. Seven hundred foote, and some companies of horse hauing vpon their approach abandoned the Towne, kept the fust wal. He batters it, and makes a breach in diuers places. The French (followed with fiftene hundred *Spanish* Launces, newly arriued, vnder the command of the Duke of *Termini*) mount to the assault, chase the garrison, and skirmishing with them, they enter *pelmet* within the other two walles, and so to the Castle, the most part being flame. Such as were retired into the dungeons, yielded, when as the *Germains* setting it on fire, burnt both the place & the men: so as of this number few escaped, either the furie of their armies, or of the fire. The Towne was likewise consumed to ashes. This done, a new commandement from the King, calles backe *Chaumont*, with his army, into the Duchie of *Milan*, which the Pope began to disturbe. Moreouer two armies of diuers nations ioyned to gather, to make greater conquests: hardly can the commanders remaine long vnited in one will. And the *Germains* (who can doe little alone) lodged in *Lonique*.

We haue hether to seene, that Pope *Iulius* desleins tended, not onely to restore the Church to her pretended estates, but also to expell the French out of *Italie*. His first proiect was effected. And now many considerations draw him to the second. The *Venetians* are partly restored, and all at his deuotion, hauing reuoked their censures. Hee is strictly allied with the *Suisses*. He knowes well, the *Arragonois* will be alwaies glad to see the Kings greatnes diminished, to haue the better meanes to settle himselfe at *Naples*. He finds the Emperours forces, & authoritie to be feeble. He is not out of hope to draw the King of *England* into armes. And that which feeds this courtoous passion, he is well informed, that the King hath no will to make warre against the Church: and that at all euents, it shall be in his power to make peace with him: and this is the last helpe the Popes haue alwaies relied on. But with what colour may *Iulius* arme against our *Lewis*? The King will not giue ouer the protection of the Duke of *Ferrare*, & *Iulius* desires exceedingly the possession of his Duchie, grounded (although the Seignourie of *Comache*, from whence *Alphonso* drew the salt belonging directly to the Emperour) vpon the discord for the salt pans, and customs which *Alphonso* leuied vnlawfully, and without the leaue (sayd he) of the Lord of the Fee. This was a crosse deuice, to cloake his courtoousnes. To colour this, he vrgeth the King againe to renounce the protection of the *Ferrarois* absolutely: vpon his refusal, he protesteth to renounce the treatie of *Cambrai*: that he will not ioine with him, neither yet be opposite vnto him, and that without tying himselfe to any person, he will hereafter seeke to maintaine peace in the Church. But on *S. Peters* day, hee discouers in effect the motions of his spirit: that day the rents due to the Apostolike see are paid: hee refused to accept those of the Duke of *Ferrare*, alleaging for his reasons, that *Alexander* the 6. marrying his daughter *Lucrece*, could not (to preiudice the see,) reduce foure thousand ducats to a hundred. And the same day (hauing before refused to giue the French Cardinalls leaue to returne into *France*) aduertised that the Cardinall of *Archie* was gone to field, with his dogs and nets, he sent to pursue him, as after a fugitive, and held him prisoner in the Castle *S. Angelo*. And to win vnto him the Catholic King, against the most Christian, hee graunts him the inuesting of the Realme of *Naples*, vpon condition, to pay the same rent which the ancient Kings of *Arragon* had payed, and entertaynement for three hundred men at armes, for the defence of the King.

But behold a strange vnquiet spirit, who attempting at one instant to assaile *Ferrare*, *Genes* and *Milan*, troubles himselfe infinitely to bring forth paine and confusion. The *Ferrarois* offered to giue him the salt made at *Comache*, and to bind himselfe, there

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should

The Pope
seeks to expell
the French
out of Italie.

A League be-
twixt Ferdi-
nand and the
Pope againe

1510. should be no more made: yet proceeding against him, as against a notorious offender, he sends his troupes, led by the Duke of Urbino, into the territory of *Ferrare*: who with his first arrival, and at the onely summons of a trumpet takes *Cento*, *Picue*, *Bagnacavallo*, and *Lugo*. But as he camped before the Castell of *Lugo*, *Alphonso* coming with his people and some *French* companies, the Duke of Urbino raised the siege, leaving three peeces of Cannon behind him (it is a dishonor for a Commander to loose his artillery) and retired into *Imola*, giving *Alphonso* means to recover that which they had taken from him in *Romagnia*. But the army of the Church was no sooner refreshed, but they take the same places, and likewise *Modene*.

He sent eleven *Venetian* gallies against *Genes*, whereof *Grille Contarin* was general, and one of the Popes, in the which were *Ottavian* and *John Fregoses*, *Ierome Duce* and many other banished men. And by land *Marc Anthoine Colonne* with a hundred men at armes, and seaven hundred foote. About the same time six thousand *Suisses* (in the beginning of September) passing by *Bellinzone*, camped at *Varese*: where foure thousand more joyne with them: but this pious but fire of strawe. *Iulius* hoped that *Genes* being assailed both by sea and land, it would breed some infallible alteration, that the greatest part hating the *French* commande, would easily mainteine the name of *Fregoses*, and that the *French* (amazed with this alteration at *Genes*, being likewise prest by the *Suisses*) would recall into the Duchie of *Milan*, all such companies as they had both in the Emperour and the Duke of *Ferrare*: that by consequence, the *Venetians* would recover *Verona*, and hee enjoye *Ferrare*, and then with their united forces invade the state of *Mil.* But he reckoned without his host: let vs now see the proceedings of these armes. They shut those gates against him which he expected to find open. *Chaumont* the first brunt of the enemies approach, had manned *Genes* with some companies. *Brian Prouençal* was entred the port with six great gallies, the sonne of *John Lewis* of *Isiquie*, with eight hundred men of the Countrey, and a Nephew to the Cardinall of *Mail*, with no lesse number, was come into the Towne, for the King, and these together prevented all insurrections. So the Pope and the banished men, frustrated of their chiefe hope, retire to *Rapalle*. And *Colonne* foreseeing that hee should hardly recover any place of safety by land, for that the commons were risen, he shipt himselfe in the gallies with three score of his best horse, and sent the rest by land to *Spette*, who for his most part were spoiled vpon the Marches of the *Genouois*, *Luquois*, and *Florentins*. On the other side, the *Suisses* which camped at *Varese*, vnder colour (as they sayd) to go to serue the Church, found in the end to their harme, that they did but serue the ambition of one priuate man. *Chaumont* hauing manned all the passages with sufficient forces, sends *Trinuice* to *Mont Brianse*, that with his troupes & the helpe of the countrey men might keepe the *Suisses* from seizing on that passage, and he himselfe coasting along by them, and still skirmishing with them, with his horse and foote, and many field peeces, cuts off their viualles, and performing the duty of a good Captaine, without hazarding of any thing, he annoyed them at the passages of riuers. To defeat a poore but a warlike nation, there is nothing but blowes to be gotten: and in loosing they hazard an estate. In the end, besides the continuall charges of the *French* army, oppressed with want of viualles & money, they free our men (who are not accustomed to spend much in spies) of the doubt which troubled them, that is, whether they would passe to *Ferrare* by the Duchie of *Milan*, or turne by the hills vnder *Come*, *Lecque*, *Bergami* and *Bresse*, or els by the *Guissardade*, through the territory of *Mantoua*: for taking their way by the high places of *Come*, they went to lodge at the bridge of *Trese*, where (brought to extremities for want of bread and money) they retired by troupes to their houses. Whilest the *French* were else where busied, the *Venetians* (making profit of their absence, and of the *Germaines* retreat,) recover (without toile) *Esse*, *Montselice*, *Montagnagne*, *Marostique*, *Basciane* and *Vincence*. *Legnague* stayed their victories, but *Verona* ouerthrew them. They beseege it with eight hundred men at armes, three thousand light horse and ten thousand foote, besides an infinite number of peasants, and batter it from a mountaine opposite, being counter-battered and wonderfully

The *Suisses* retreat.

The *Suisses* retire.

1510. A wonderfully spoiled by the artillery from the Towne. But the *Venetians* desire was great, to conquer this City, and the valour of the beseegeed was no lesse to defend both their honors and liues.

They had foure hundred *French* Lances, three hundred *Spaniards*, a hundred *Germaines* and *Italians*, five hundred *French* foote, and foure thousand *Germaines*, which the Prince of *Anhalt* (dead some fewe daies before) had left there: A thousand foote, with some Cornets of *French* issue forth in the night, put them to the sword that kept the artillery, cloyed two peeces, and carried them away, when as *quale* of *Perouse* flying to the rescue, and being slaine with almost all that followed, *Denis* of *Nalde* arrived: who recovering the prey, repulsed and beate them within their walls. But the *Venetians* daunted with this checke, seeing no rising of the people, as they expected, aduersed of the *Suisses* retreat, and that *Chaumont* came to succour them, they retired to *S. Pomisee*. The warres continued in *Friuland* and *Isria*, with the accustomed infolencies and cruelties on either side, but more to the ruine of the Countrey, and buildings, then of the people. At the same time, the Marquis of *Mantoua* came out of prison, at the *Mantouans* sute to *Biazet* Prince of the *Turkes*, whose loue the Marquis had many yeares held himselfe.

The Pope was not growne wise, neither by his owne, nor other mens losses: his unfortunate attempts had nothing quenched his hopes: and they found the proverbe true, to their cost: *He that hath a companion, hath a maister*. A wit blinded with presumption: who (seeing his practises now discovered, the port of *Genes* furnished with a strong armie, the Towne provided of all things necessarie for defence) hopes to obtaine that now which he could not get: when the port was disarmed, hee persuades the *Venetians* to a second triall. They come to *Genes* with fiftene light gallies, three great, one galleasse, and three *Biscaine* ships. The *French* fleet going out off the haven, with two and twentie light gallies, after they had giuen order, that the contrary faction should not rise, met with them at *Porto Venere*: where by the thunder of their Cannons, and by the Tower of *Codisa*, they forced them to retire to *Cristauccetia*, whence the *Venetian* fleet parting to recover the gulfes, a tempest cast five gallies vpon the coast of *Messine*: the others beate and brused, were driuen vpon the coast of *Barbarte*, and in the end recovered the port of *Venice*, halfe lost. The armie which came by land, led by the Arch-Bishop of *Salerno*, brother to *Ottavian Fregose*, by *John of Safatelle*, and *Renier* of *Safate* the Popes Captaines, seeing the fruitlesse attempts of the fleet at sea, in stead of *Genes*, went to take *Fanane* in the mountaine of *Modene*. A small recompence for so many presumptiue sturres.

This disgrace did rather increase the Popes obstinacie, then make him faint. Hee might easily obtaine a peace of the King, and with such conditions, as might well content a Conquerour. The King was content to referre the Duke of *Ferrares* cause to iustice, and gave power to the Pope, to name such Iudges as he pleased. But *Iulius* following the holy Oracle, *Loued cursing and cursing followed him: and for that he took negligence in blessing, it forsooke him*. (seeing the King yeeld to so reasonable conditions, he impudently demands, that *Genes* be set at libertie, and with such bitterness, as the Duke of *Sauoies* Ambassador (offering his Princes intercession for their place,) he puts him in prison, and tortured him as a spie. Hee conuerts all his thoughts against *Ferrare*. The *Venetians* thrust him forward, fearing (least in the end, loosing the hope of this desseins) hee should bee reconciled to the King. And the King sufficiently informed of the Popes bad affection, resolues to defend the *Ferrarois*, and both by spiritual, and temporall armes, to crosse the Popes infolencies.

In the end of September the Pope comes to *Bologne*, with an intent to assaile *Ferrare*, both by water, and land: the *Venetians* on the one side, and he on another, pertrading himselfe, that at the same of his forces, the people would rebell against *Alphonso*. But the *Venetians* companies hauing brought many barks by the riuier of *Po*, into the territorie of *Mantoua*, to make a bridge: the Duke of *Ferrare* with the *French* forces, set vpon them vnawares, tooke them, and many vessels in certaine chanelles of

The *Venetians* repaired retire from *Genes*.

The *Venetians* make attempt against *Genes*.

1510.
The Pope re-
vokes the war
against the
Ferrarois.

Polefine, with the *Venetian* Commissarie. Then was there discovered a practice which the *Venetians* had in *Fresche*, for the which the Earle *John Maria of Martinengo* was be-headed there. This stay of the fleet did nothing discourage the Pope, but perswading himself that his own forces were sufficient to conquer *Ferrare*, he assembled them at *Medene*, under the Duke of *Urbino* being General, the Cardinal of *Pauc*, *John Paul Baillon*, *Marc Anthonie Colonne*, and *John Vitelle*, Captaines of authority, whilst that *Chaumont* incamped right against them at *Rubiere* and *Marfalle*, trying them with daily skirmishes: he gave the *Ferrarois* means, with the Lord of *Chastillon*, to recover *Polefine*, *Final*, and *Cenue*. Having sackt and burnt it to ashes, hee went to ioine with *Chaumont*, even as three hundred men at armes, many light horse, and foure thousand *Venetian* foote, to winne the passage of *Po*, and to ioine with the Popes forces, having already taken *Ficqueroles* & *Stellate* on the other side, forced *Alphonso* to go to the court of his countie. Thus the two *Venetian* fleets, having free passage ypon *Po*, did greatly annoy the *Ferrarois* territories, by daily inroades and spoiles: when as the Duke issuing out of *Ferrare*, put to route that fleet, which was entered the river of *Po*, by *Primare*, and came vnto *Adria*: the other which consisted of foists and small vessels, being entred by *Fornaces*, and come to *Pul selle*, seeking to passe into the river of *Adie*, by a river adioyning, they found the water to low, as they could not enter, but were to battered with the *Ferrarois* artillerie, as they abandoned their ships, seeking to save themselves and their Canons.

8. Conclusi-
ons made by
the French
Church against
the Pope.

The Pope seeing he could preuaile nothing by his temporall forces, he flies to the spirituall: excommunicating *Alphonso* of *Este*, and all those that were, or should come to his succour, namely *Charles of Amboise*, with all the chiefe of the *French* armie. This furious course made the King to assemble all the Prelats of his realme at *Tours*, with the most famous Doctours of all his Vniuersities, as well in dauntie, as in the civil and canon lawes, who resolve vpon eight notable conclusions against the Pope. That it was not lawfull for the Pope to assaile any temporall Princes, by force, in their territories, not belonging to the Church. That it was lawfull for any such Prince for the defence of his subiects and countie, so onely to repell this iniurie by force, but also to invade the territories of the Church, if they by any such hope, not with an intent to hold them, but to the end (the more being disposed thereto) should haue no more means to molest his estate: seeing the Pope himselfe, the aide of the said Prince, recovered the same lands, & usurped before by certain tyrants. That for so manifest a wrong and a misse attempt, any such Prince might with draw himselfe from the Popes obedience, for the defence of his temporall estate. Seeing he had formerly many other Princes and common-weales, to invade the dominions of the said Prince, who refused reward and one of the Apostolick see. That this subtraction being made, they should forsake *Ferrare* the common and ancient lawe, and the Pragmaticke sanction, enacted by the Council of *Basil*. That any such Prince might by force defend another Prince his confederate, and of whom he had lawfully taken the protection, for these Seigneuries which he had long enjoyed, and with a just title, seeing this consideration had beene made with the consent of the said Pope, who as the cause was comprehended therein: and that this Prince allied, according to the forme of the league, had giuen aide for the recovery of the patrimonie of *Saint Peter*. That the Pope pretending any thing due for any rights belonging to the Church of *Rome*, and the Prince on the other side challenged to holde of the Empire, and should referre this controversy to the consyre of indifferent Iudges, as equitie required, that in this case it was not lawfull for the Pope, without further knowledge of the cause, to make warre against any such Prince: the which if he did, the said Prince might oppose his forces with other Princes his confederates, so as that right had not become possessed by the *Romaine* Church within a hundred yeares. That if the Pope would not accept this honest and lawfull offer, but contrary to order and right, should give sentence against any such Prince, maine, among his right not to depend vpon the Church: neither he nor any other by opposing, should incurre the censure of the sentence, seeing that Prince had no free access, neither to go, nor send to *Rome* to defend his rights. That if the Pope uniuersally, (the due course of lawe not obserued,) should by his sentence, pronounce any censures against any such Princes, their allies and subiects residing in such a case, the sentence were of no force, neither could it by any means binde.

These

1510.

These conclusions taken, the King according to the resolution of the Council sent Ambassadors to *Julius*, in the name of the *French* Church, to admonish him by brotherly, & spirituall correction, that leaving his desseins, he should attend to peace, concord, loue, and charitie, and reconcile himselfe with the foresaid Princes: vpon refusal, they should summon him to call a Council, according to the decrees of the holy Council of *Basil*. That his answer heard, things should be ordered according vnto reason. In the meane time fortie light horse, & five hundred foot (having at the first summons of a Trumpet, yeelded *Carpie* to *Albert Pic*), were encountered by foure thousand foote, led by *Palise*, defeated, and in a manner all slaine. And *Chaumont* desirous to charge the Church forces, before they should ioine with the *Venetian* Companies, and three hundred *Spanish* Lances, which *Ferdinand* had sent him, in consideration of the inuention of *Naples*: but not able to drawe them, but to some light skirmishes, by the perswasion of the *Bentiuolis*, he turned his forces against *Bologne*, where the Pope remained sicke, both doubtfull of the peoples faith, being beleeged, and so discontented with the long stay of the *Venetians*, as he protested publicly to *Ierome Donat* their Ambassador, that if their succours entred not the next day into *Bologne*, he would agree with the *French*. And at that instant sent *John Francis Pic*, Earle of *Mirandole*, to treat with the Lord of *Chaumont*. *Chaumont* not to alter this good disposition, vnderstanding the Kings pleasure, keeps his troups within their lodgings, and sent backe the Earle with these propositions: That, *Alphonso* of *Este*, and all those the Pope had comprehended in his Censure should be absolved: That in regard of the *Venetians*, nothing should be done contrary to the treatie of *Cambrai*: That the controuersies betwixt *Alphonso* and the Pope should be decided within 6. months by Iudges chosen by their common consent. That *Modene* should be restored to the Emperour: *Cotignole* to the King, & the Cardinal of *Auche* set at libertie: & that the gift of all benefices within the Kings dominions should be according to this nomination. But *Chappin Vitelle*, entering into *Bologne* with 600. *Venetian* light horse, and a Squadron of *Turks*, which they had in pay, made the Pope to sing another note, That there was no means of accord, if the King did not absolutely abandon the defence of the *Ferrarois*. And *Chaumont* seeing that neither by treaties of peace, nor by force, he preuailed any thing, the people of *Bologne* holding themselves quiet, & at the Popes deuotion, being also afflicted with the warre, & want of victuals, he returned to *Chastellaufranc* & *Spilberte*, the which he had lately taken. *Chaumont* is no longer gone, but the Pope wonderfully incensed, exclaims against the King to all Christian Princes, as thirsting after his blood & the territories of the Church, having caused him to be beleeged with all his Cardinals & Prelats in *Bologne*, and returning to his former course with more vehemencie, he sends his troups to field, augmented by five hundred men at armes, sixteene hundred light horse, five thousand foote, and three hundred *Spanish* Lances. But whilst this armie sojournes about *Modene*, some squadrons running towards *Rhegium*, being defeated by the *French*, they left a hundred horse, and the Earle of *Matelique* was taken prisoner. Moreouer the Duke of *Ferrare* with the Lord of *Chastillon*, incamped vpon the *Po*, betwixt *Hospital* and *Bondin*, opposite to some other *Venetian* companies, that were on the other side of the river: they sunk nine of their vessels, and forced the rest to returne to *Venice*. These final victories were creft by the taking of *Salsuole* & *Forminge*, whilst that *Chaumont* resided himselfe within *Pania*, and *Aubigne* at *Rhegium*. These conquered townes needed *Julius* more violently against *Ferrare*, the which he knew was well furnished with men, and things necessarie for defence: and the *French* through the continual toyle of the warre, were tyred both in bodies, & mindes. And presuming to make the enterprise more easie, he went himselfe in person, the second day of *January*, before *Mirandole*, advertised that *Chaumont* had made an escape to *Milan*, drawn thither (as they said) with the loue of a young gentiewoman, a iourney which did greatly quail the courage, and hope of them that defended *Mirandole*, who see themselves abandoned, not so much by the negligence, as by the dissention betwixt *Chaumont*, and *John Laques of Triuulce*, (who then was gone into *France*) whereby, it may be, he was not much displeased to see the Earles *Mirandole*, (grandchildren to *Triuulce*, by reason

The siege of
Bologne.

1511.
Mirandole
taken.

of *Francis* their mother, his bastard daughter) deprived of that place. In the end, after all the duties that might be performed by men besieged, dispayring of succours, seeing a breach made, and the water of their ditches so frozen, as it bare the souldiers, they obtained in the ende (by the intermission of the Cardinals which assisted the Pope) to depart with bagge and baggage: vpon condition that *Alexander Triunle* Gouverneur of the towne, and all the Captaines, should remaine prisoners: and to redeeme the towne from sacke, which he had promised to his souldiers, they should pay a certaine summe of money.

After the taking of *Mirandole*, two things were propounded in Council by the French, whether they should assaile the enimie, or besiege *Modene*, or *Bologne*, to draw the Popes forces out off the Estate of *Ferrare*, & by that meanes to draw them into a convenient place for a battaile. Great Captains hold it for a firme maxime: & experience hath alwaies taught it, That we ought neuer to vndergo the hazard of a battell, but for some great advantage, or when as vrgent necessity doth constrain. This was the aduice of *Triunle*, newly returned to the Campe: & accordingly resolution was taken to go to *Modene*. But let vs obserue a Spanish trick. The policie & secret aduertisements of *Ferdinand* did more harme to the King his vncke, then the Popes open force. He thinks this to be a meanes to pacifie the Emperours spleene, and to sowe some diuision betwixt the King and him. *Modene* was held, time out of minde, to be a fee of the Emperour, and the house of *Este* had not inioyed it, but by the Emperours inuestiture. *Ferdinand* then aduise the Pope, to the ende the French should not haue it, to restore it to the Emperour, as a towne of his Iurisdiction. So *Vitfruch*, *Maximilians* Ambassador, hauing receiued it in that forme, gaue notice vnto *Chaumont*, That *Modene* did no more belong vnto the Pope, but to her ancient and lawfull Lord. And to enioy this restitution quietly, *Vitfruch* and *Chaumont* agreed together, that the French forces should not offend *Modene*, nor the territory thereof: and during these garboiles betwixt the King and the Pope, it should fauour neither party.

Then died *Charles of Amboise*, a Captaine, whom the name of the Cardinal of *Amboise* his Vncke, and the gouernements of the estate of *Milan* and of the Kings armes held in great reputation in *Italie*: a faithfull seruant to this King, but (to beare to great a burthen) he wanted a longer experience in the art of warre: seeing that after the death of his vncke, through that default he was become contemptible to his souldiers: to whom (to keepe them the better at his pleasure) he gaue too much liberty. *Jehan Jaques* of *Trinulle*, as Marshall of *France*, tooke vpon him the command of the armie, attending the Kings pleasure, and inflamed with an honest ambition to performe something worthy of his vertue, hauing in the moneth of May gathered together euell hundred Launces, and seuen thousand foote, he besieged, tooke, and sacked in one day the Towne of *Concorde*, and won *Chastelaufiane* by composition. Then approaching *Bologne*, he so amazed the Pope, as hauing founded the *Bolonois* minds, & drawn from them an oth of fidelity, he left the Cardinal of *Pauie* there, & retired to *Rauenne*. He is no sooner gone, but the people looking to the preseruatiō of their priuate & present estates, and seeing themselves surcharged with two armies, they take armes and hinder the Cardinal of *Pauie* from bringing in of any forces. The Cardinal being out of heart, fearing the armed people should seeke reuenge for their honourable citizens, whose heads he had lately cut off, as fautors to the *Bentiuoles*, flies in the night disguised into the Cittadell, and from thence towards *Imola*, with a hundred horse.

Bologne
taken.

The Legats flight being known, the people began to find out the name of *Popolo*, with great mutinie and tumult. *Laurence Ariosto*, *Francis Rinuche*, & other Captains of the towne, affected to the *Bentiuoles*, run to the gates of *S. Felix*, and *Lames*: break them downe, call the *Bentiuoles*, and receiue them into the towne. The Duke of *Urbino*, aduertised of the Legats flight, and of the peoples rising, dislodged in the night, (leaving most part of his tents and pavilions standing) with all his armye, except such as for the gard of the campe, were on the other side of the riuer towards the French, to whom he gaue no intelligence of his departure. The people vnderstanding of his retreat, and

The Popes
army in rout.

A the peasants comming downe from all parts, with great cries and shoutes, pursue them, take fittene peeces of great artillerie, and many leile, the Duke of *Urbino* standard, their munition and baggage. The souldiers had time to saue themselves, whilst that *Raphael* of *Parsi* one of the Captaines of the Church, made a stand at the bridge of *Rene*, vnill that by the taking and route of all his people, the whole armie had a free passage to *Belongne*. A victory extraordinarily happy, hauing in one night conquered a great Citie, & without perill or fight, broken a whole armie. The Bishop *Vitelli* held the Cittadell, and *Vitfruch*, posting thither in the night, perswades him to deliuer it into the Emperours hands: but three thousand Ducats which the *Bolonois* gaue him, made him to open the gates, the people hauing recovered it, to free themselves both from subiection, and the realousie of nations, and also from the feare they had, least the King should retaine it, they ruined it to the ground. The Duke of *Ferrare* making his profit of this victory, recovered *Cente*, *Pieue*, *Cotignole*, *Lugo* and other townes of *Romagnia*.

The *Bolonois*
raze their Cit-
tadell.

At the same time, the Emperours and the Kings Deputies, assisted by the Cardinals of *S. Croix*, *S. Mala*, *Baieux*, *Cosenze*, *Albret*, and many others, publish a Councell at *Pisa*, for the first of September, the which was lately returned to the obedience of the *Florentines*. To crosse this Councell, the Pope (following the aduice of *Anthoine de Mont* of *S. Sanfouin*, one of the eight Cardinals newly created at *Rauenne*) appointed a generall Council the first of May, at *S. Iohn de Lateran* in *Rome*. And to keepe the Kings forces quiet, he colourably gaue care to a peace, which the Bishop of *Tiuoli* his *Nuncio*, C and the King of *Scots* Ambassador treated for him with the King, and the Cardinals of *Nantes* and *Stragonia* with the Pope. But these practises of peace are broken by the Popes infirmities: the which hauing brought him euē to the pits banke, gaue him yet respite to sture vp long calamities. *Iulius* is no sooner freed from the danger of death, but he makes a new league with the Senate of *Venice*, and the King of *Arragon* against the French: To mainteine (said he) the vnion of the Church: to defend it from apparent Schisme, and to recouer all such places, as mediately or immediately depended on the Church.

A new league
against the
French.

The first day of Septem. was come, when as the Cardinals Attorneys, in their names, do celebrate the acts appertaining to the opening of the Councell of *Pisa*. And the Pope very wroth, that the *Florentines* had yielded to the celebration of this pettie Councell (as he termed it) in their estate, declared *Florente* and *Pisa* subiect to the Ecclesiasticall censure, by vertue of the Bull of the Councell which he had caused to be published, and he pronounced the aboue named Cardinals from the dignity of Cardinal, & subiect to the punishments of heretikes and Scismatickes. The *Florentines* & *Pisans* appeale from this censure to the holy councell, (not of *Pisa*, but to erre least in their termes) of the vniuersall Church: and by the Magistrates commandement, the priests continue the publick celebration of diuine seruice in their Churches. The pretext to reforme the church was godly and of great profit. But oh pleasant reformers: the Authors of this Councell, thrust on by their owne priuate ambitious desseignes, vnder colour of a generall good, contended of their owne priuate interest, so as euery one might plainly see, that whosoever should be chosen Pope, would haue no lesse need of reformation, then those they now vndertooke to reforme. So as euē at their first entrie the Cardinals tried both the contempt and hatred of the commons. They call the Clergie to assist in the Cathed: all Church at the first session. No one appeares, the Priests denie their ornaments to the Cardinals, offering to celebrate the Masse, & shut the Church doores. So as the Cardinals fearing they should not remaine safe at *Pisa*, vnlesse they were backed with forrein forces, & the *Florentines* vnwilling to admit any, remēbring the *Pisans* rebellion vnder *Charles* the 8. they decreed to haue the Councell transported to *Milan*.

They found the like difficulties at *Milan*. The Clergie abstaine from saying seruice, as before accursed persons: the commons curse them, and laughe at them in open streete, namely at the Cardinal of *Saint Croix* chosen President of the Councell, whom euery one noted to be the Author of this assemblie, hoping by fauour thereof to make himselfe a foot-stable to climbe to the Popedom. This disgrace of the *Milanois* made

A Councell
begins at *Pisa*.

The Councell
transported to
Milan.

1511. made them againe to transport the Councell to *Lions*. When *Julius* being suspected a fro his Popedom, & prohibitions made throughout all *France*, not to send any money to *Rome*, nor to bring any Bulles from thence: hee did not onely excommunicate all the *French*, but also graunted Bulles of pardon and remission, to any one that should kill a *Frenchman*: giuing the realme of *France* (& that of *Nauarre*, in hatred of *John* of *Albret* allied to the King, and at the perswasion of *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*, who had long gaped after some occasion to lay hold of it,) in prey to the first conquerour. So this Councell did nothing but increase their spleenes and kindle new troubles.

But as the King had an intent to assaile *Romagnia*, or to maintaine the war in anothers Country, attending his owne coming in person, the next spring with all the forces of his realme, behold sixteene thousand *Suisses*, with seauen field peeces (new raised by the cardinal of *Siō*, vnder the authority of *Julio*) come a lād at *Varese* & *Galere* & forthwith they send a trumpet to desie *Gaston* of *Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, who with the Councell of *Triunle* commanded the *French* armies, as Lieutenant general to the king his Vncle, *Gaston* (having speedily assembled seauen hundred horse, and such foote as the vrgent necessity would suffer him, the companies being diuided into sundry garrisons) presents himselfe before *Galere*, with much artillery.

The *Suisses* go forth in battail: yet vnwilling to fight in so open a place, they retire to *Busti*. In the meane time the companies of men at armes, and foote, come from all parts to *Milan*. Capitaine *Molare* with his *Gascans* came from *Verona*, and the *Lansquenets* fro *Carpi*, who cheered the mindes of the *Milanois*, being some what daunted by *Sodaine* an assault. And the more, for that, certaine letters were surprisid which the *Suisses* had written to their Lords, that they had no newes, neither of the Pope nor of the *Venetian* army. So as having found some difficultie to passe the river of *Adie*, they tooke (as in their iourney) the way of *Come*, and so euery one to his home. Shewing, that for want of conduct, assistance and paiement, they do commonly terrifie more then hurt.

Their retreat.

Warre in *Romagnia*.

After the *Suisses* retreat, behold all the Townes the *Ferrarois* held in *Romagnia* were exposed in prey to the *Spaniards*, being ioyned to the forces of the Church, who assembling at *Imola*, a thousand men at armes, eight hundred *Genetaires*, and eight thousand *Spanish* foote, with many Barons of the Realme of *Naples*, vnder the command of *Fabrizio Colonne*, their generally, and for the Pope eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and eight thousand *Italians*, vnder *Marc Anthoine Colonne*, *John Vitelli*, *Malateste* sonne to *John Paul Baillon*, *Raphael* of *Passy*, and others, all subiect to the command of the Cardinall, of *Medicis* Legat in the army, resolving to beseege *Bologne*. The Duke of *Nemours* had put into it, (besides the inhabitants and some horse and foote entertayned by the *Bentivoles*) two thousand *Lansquenets*, and two hundred Lances vnder *Odet*, sonne to *Peter* of *Foix* Viceroy of *Lautrec*, *Yues* of *Alegre*, *Anthony* of *Fayette*, *Peter Terrail*, surnamed Capitaine *Bayard*: and in the meane time assembled all the forces of *Italie* together at *Final*, to persueue *Bologne* from the enemy. A headie hundred fadome of the wall neere to Saint *Stephens* gate were layed euen with the ground, the Tower at the gate was already abandoned: and the *Spaniards* had already planted an enseigne vpon the wall, when as the beseeged placing their Cannon in counterbattery, and hauing slaine some of them that were mounted, they forced them to retire in disorder.

Bologne besieged by the *Spaniards*.

These first attempts had troubled the people, if *Gaston* had not suddenly reinforced the Towne with a thousand foote and a hundred and fourescore Lances. The beseeged thus fortified, a strange successe doubles their courage. *Peter* of *Nauarre* hauing let fire to a mine which he had made at the port of *Chastillon*, where there was a chapell, both the wall and the Chapell leaped so into the aire, as the army without, descouered the Towne plainly, and the soldiars prepared to defend the assault, but both the wall and Chapell falling downe, settled in the same place from whence the violence of the fire had forced them. Doubtlesse the *Bolonois* had reason to make a miracle of this aduenture, and to belecue, that this fall vpon the same foundation, was a manifest testimonye

A miraculous chance.

A monie of Gods assistance. This happy successe brought *Gaston* to *Bresse*, whether the *Venetian* armie marched, to effect some intelligences: but perswaded by the Capitaines of *Bologne*, that his absence would double the enemies courage, he parts from *Final*, and marching all night (notwithstanding the snow, and violent windes) enuied the Citty in the morning, with thirteene hundred lances, six thousand *Lansquenets*, and eight thousand *French* and *Italians*, before the enemy had any notice thereof: who being assured of the truth, retired their artillerie secretly, and tooke the way to *Imola*. In the meane time *Andrew Gritti*, generall of the *Venetians* (perswaded by Count *Lewis Anogare*, where *James* of *Aillon* Lord of *Lude* kept the Castell still. People newly conquered do

1512.

Bresse taken by the *Venetians*.

B commonly the like in all occasions. *Fergame* (the two Castels excepted, *Orcineche*, *Orcineche*, *Pontui*, &c many places thereabouts, obey the victors. The Duke of *Nemours* leauing three hundred Lances, and foure thousand foote in *Bologne*, poited with all speed to *Bresse*, and hauing intelligence that *John Paul Baillon* lodged in the Ile of *Esele*, with three hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horse, and twelue hundred foot, he goes to charge them with three hundred Lances, & seuen hundred Archers: hauing ouertaken them, as they were ready to passe the river of *Adie*, at the tower of *Magname*, he chargeth them, defeats them, and kills almost a hundred horse, takes many prisoners (amongst others *Gui* of *Rangon*, & *Balthazar Signorel* of *Percuse*) disperes all his foote, whereof the most part were drowned in passing) and takes two Fauconneux.

C which he had. The next day, in an encounter, he ouer came *Meleagre* of *Furli*, Capitaine of the *Venetian* light horse, the commander remaining prisoner: to continuing his defense, he arrived at *Bresse* nine daies after his departure, besieged it, takes it by force and sacks it. Doubtlesse this braue Prince did hazard his owne tume, if he had not, with great iudgement and order, commanded, that no man should looke to any speile, before the towne were fully at his command. And he did so well put it in practise, as the first that made shew to abandon his ranke, was slaine by his companions. But who doth vt such discipline at this day, when as being greedy of bootie, they loose so good occasions? Our *French* lost some men at armes, and many foote: but the enemy lost about eight thousand: some inhabitants armed, some *Venetians*, who were five hundred men. *Frederic* Count in Comillary of the *Stradiots* was slaine. *Andrew Gritti*, *Anthoine Justiman*, *John Paul Marfion* and his sonne, the Cheualier *Volpe*, *Balthazar* of *Sipion* one of the sonnes of *Anthoine* of *Pis*, Count *Lewis Anogare* his two sonnes, and *Dominique Buzon* Capitaine of the *Stradiots* were prisoners. Count *Lewis* and his children, the chief leaders of this rebellion, were afterwards beheaded. A reuolt deere bought by this Citty, which yielded not to any other in *Lombardie*, in Nobilitie and dignity: and in wealth (in *primito Milan*) it exceeded all the rest.

Bresse recovered by the *French*.

A new league against the *Spaniards*.

This chastisement made *Fergame* and the other reuolted Townes, to call backe the *French* whom they had lately expelled. These prizes and reprints, conquests and happy successe, prolonged the stay of the *French* in *Italy*, and yet they did nothing settle their affaires seeing what they enioyed, was rather a charge and expence to them, then any profit. But behold strange crosses both by land and sea, do hereafter, bandie against the happiness of our men. They giue the King intelligence from *Rome*, that *Henry* the 8. King of *England*, notwithstanding his promise, was ioyned in league with the Pope, & it was confirmed by writing, that a Galeasse laden with wines, corne, and other provision arriving in *England* from the Pope, had exceedingly altered *Henry*, with the Nobles, Clergie, and commons of *England*. That he should with his armie at sea invade the coasts of *Normandie* and *Brittanie*, and send 8000. foote into *Spain* to begin warre in *Quene* ioindy with the *Arragonois*. And they made already great preparations of men and shipping in *England*, and likewise of ships in *Spain*, to passe into *England*.

Moreover the Emperour was altered and changed in his affection, complaining that the King (contrary to the capitulation of *Cambrai*) did hinder the aduancement of the Empire in *Italy*. Hee required that *Rene* the Kings yongest daughter should be promised to *Charles* his grand-child, giuing him *Bourgongne* in dowrie, and that

that the Maide should then bee presently deliuered into his hands and custodie. A

That the controuerfies, for *Ferrare*, *Bologne* and the Councell should be referred to him. And moreouer hauing made a truce with the *Venetians*, for eight monethes, he protested, not to suffer the King to increase his estate in *Italie*: But these were but bare shifts to couer his bad intent. Besides, the Cantons of the *Suiffes* were so incensed against this Crowne, that although the King fought to winne their loues with store of gold, yet the persuasions of the Cardinall of *Sion* (whereby wee may see that Cardinalls haue bene alwayes dealers in matters of state) had newly made them graunte to the confederats a leuie of six thousand men. And the Pope, to straine all his strings against our *Lewis*, fearing least his extreeme rigour should induce the *Florentins* to followe the Kings fortune, to the preiudice of his desseins, he reuokes, without any fute, B the Censures wherewith he had bound them.

To quench this fire before it flamed farther, the King commanded his Nephew to march with speede against the confederats army, of whome he promised himselfe the victory, being amazed and yet the weaker, and then to assaile *Rome* and the Pope with all violence, desirous that this warre (to seeme the lesse odious) should be made in the name of the Councell, called first at *Pisa*, and that a Legat deputed by the Councell should receiue the conquered Townes, in the name thereof. The Cardinall of *Saint Seuerin* was appointed Legat of *Bologne* in the army.

So the Duke of *Nemours*, furnishing all places with men necessary for defence, gathers together all the forces the King had in *Italie*, he makes a company of sixteen C hundred Lances, five thousand *Lansquenets*, five thousand *Gasccons* and eight thousand *French* and *Italians*, to whom the Duke of *Ferrare* added a hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse, and a great quantitie of good artillery: *Gaston* hauing left his at *Fi-nall* by reason of the bad way. The enemies army was 14000 men at armes, a thousand light horse, seven thousand *Spaniards* & three thousand *Italians* newly leuied.

The French
army in Italy.

Gaston thrust forward as well by the Kings commande, as by his owne valour and desire of Glory, was desirous to see if the enemy would willingly trie the hazard of a battaile. They on the other side temporized, attending their *Suiffes*, and that the *English* and *Spaniards* beginning warre in *France*, should force the King to call backe all or the greatest parts of his troups: and yet coasted alongest the *French* army lest the Townes of *Romagnia* should bee left in prey, and the way layed open to go to *Rome*, lodging alwayes in strong places, neere to some strong towne, which might serue them for a retreat at neede. So the Duke of *Nemours* (not able to cut off their retreats through the commodity they had of the Townes of *Romagnia*, nor force them to fight, without great disadvantage) goes and incamps before *Rauenna*, hoping they would not be so base minded, as to suffer such a Citie to bee left before their eyes, and by this meanes an occasion should be offered to fight with them in an equal place.

The enemy discouering this purpose, sends *Marc Antoine Colonne* to *Rauenna*, with three score men at armes of his company, *Peter of Cist* with a hundred light horse, *Salezar* and *Paral* with six hundred *Spaniards*. The Towne is seated betwix two ri- E uers, *Ronque* and *Montone* which descending from the *Appenin* hills, straighten themselves neere vnto *Rauenna*, with so small a distance, that on either side they passe close to the walles, then joining together they runne into the sea three miles from thence. *Gaston* incamps himselfe betwixt the two riuers, & plants his artillery, some against the tower of *Ronque* betwixt *Fort Adrian* and *Ronque*, and some on the other side of the riuer of *Montone*, whether almost halfe his troups were passed to batter in diuers places, and to hold the riuer at his will. Hee batters the wall, makes a breach of thirty fadomes, chooseth ten out of euery companie of men at armes to couer the foote: diuides his army into three squadrons, & giues a furious assault, although they could not mount but with Ladders, the wall remayning yet about three yards high. Those F within maintaine it valiantly, and fighting the space of three houres, in the ende they repulie our men, with the losse of three hundred foote and some men at armes, with a great number of hurt: amongst others the Lord of *Chastillon*, the master of the or-
dinance

A distance, and *Spineuse*, who being hurt with the artillery from the Towne, died within fewe dayes after. In the meane time the Cittizens amazed, and fearing a more dangerous charge, treated of their yeelding, without the priuety of *Marc Antoine Colonne*, when as beheld the enemy comes, marching to their succour, who camps at *Minach* three miles from *Rauenna*, fortifying themselves with a trench, such as the shortnesse of time would permit, leauing an entry of about twentie fadomes.

Gaston raiseth the seege, turnes the mouth of the Cannon towards the enemies, and on Easter day the eleuenth of Aprill, passeth *Ronque*, leauing his reuerward led by *Jus d'Alegre* vpon the riuers side towards *Rauenna*, to succour the armie at neede; B to make head against those that should issue out off the Towne, & to keepe the bridge which they had made vpon the riuer of *Montone*: then disposing of his troups, he giues the avant-gard to the Duke of *Ferrare*, the battaile to the Lord of *Palisse*, and the Cardinall of *Saint Seuerin*, who great both in minde and body, couered from the head to the foote with most shining armes, performed the office of a Captaine rather then of a Legat. *Gaston* referred to himselfe no priuate charge, but would bee free, to see and succour in all places, the beauty of his armes, his cassake, his cheerefull countenance, his eyes full of vigour and shyning for ioye, made him very glorious. The enemies seeing our *French* passe the riuer, were ranged in battaile. *Fabrice Colonne* led the fore- ward the Cardinall of *Medici* Legat of the Councell of *Lateran*, the battaile, but (a fa- C tall figure) in a peacefull habit: *Caruagial* a *Spanish* Captaine, the reuerward. So the two armies approaching one to the other, stood immouable about two houres, the enemies being loath to abandon the compassse of their pallisado. The *Spaniards* artillery thunders, and at the first volee ouerthrowe many *French*.

The battaile
of Rauenna
wonne by the
French.

The *French* answers, but with a greater losse to their horse. *Peter of Nauarre* hauing caused the foote to couch flat vpon their bellies, *Fabrice* cries, presseth and importunes to go to the battaile, and not to suffer them to bee consumed by the Cannon. The *Nauarrois* contradicts, presuming that the more the danger increased, the more famous would the victory be which he expected. But the Cannon had so scourged their men at armes and light horse, as they could no longer keepe their ranks. There might D youtee men and horse fall dead to the ground, heads, armes and legges flie into the aie, when as *Fabrice* cries out. Shall wee die shamefully heere, by the obstinacie and naice of a willaine? Shall this army bee consumed, without the death of any one enemy? must the honour of *Spaine* and *Italie* bee lost for the pleasure of a *Nauarrois*? Speaking thus, he presseth out of the trench with his companie, all the horse-men followe him, the foote rise, and with fury charge the *Lansquenets*. All the squadrons ioyne, danger, glory, hope and hatred of nation against nation flesh them in the combate. *Fabrice Colonne* is already taken by the Duke of *Ferrares* companie, *Alegri* chargeth in flanke with his reuerward. The *Viceroy* of *Naples* and *Caruagial* are put to flight, leading with them E their Captaine prisoner, being couered with wounds and bloud. The *Marquis* of *Padulle* is likewise defeated with his squadron, and taken prisoner. The *Italians* foote forsake and began to turne their backs, if the *Spaniards* had not speedily come to secound them against the *Lansquenets*. But all the horsemen fled, and the *Spanish* battallion retired in order, when as *Gaston* turning to charge them with a great troupe of horse, withholding the victory absolute, if those retired whole, he went courageously to assaile them. But alas, as they charge the hindermost, they are enuironed by this battallion, cut in peeces for the most part, & he (throwen vnder his horse) was slaine, being thrust into the flanke with a pike. Doubtlesse a happy death for him, hauing this content in his soule, to die in so young an age, honored with so much glory, the which he had pur- F chased in fewe monethes by so many and so notable victories: but a fatall victory, polluted with the death of so braue a Commander, who but euen now began to make his name and his valour knowne, and by his fall carried with him the happinesse of the French, and the strength of this army.

Gaston of
Faix slaine.

1512 The *Viconte of Lautrec* his Cousin, remayned almost dead, by him, maymed with a twentieth wounds: but led afterwards to *Ferrare*, and being carefully looked vnto, hee escaped, to do the King notable service. *Gascon* being dead, the *Spaniards* retire without trouble or let: the rest of the army is broken and disperfed. The baggage taken, ensignes and artillery. Prisoners of marke, *Fabrizio Colonne*, the *Marquise* of *Pescara* and *Padulle*, *Eselle*, and *Bisonte*, the Earle of *Monteleon*, *Iohn of Cardone*, *Peter of Narre*, manie Barons and Noblemen *Spaniards*, *Neapolitans* and *Italians*, and the Legat of the Councell of *Lateran*.

Prisoners of account.

The number of dead.

Spaniards taken and killed.

The resolution of Lewis.

A new designe of the French.

Treachery in Paris commends.

There were slaine, according to the common estimation, ten thousand, & a third of the *French*, amongst which were *Alegre* and *Vincerois* his sonne, *Raimond* of *Saint Mary*, *Molare* and some other *Gascon* Captaines, *Jacob* Colonell of the *Lansquenets*, a braue man, and commended to haue assisted much with his troupe for the winning of this victory. Two thirds of the enemies, but almost all their chiefe Captaines and the beauest of their army, a great number hurt, and most of them that fled, were slaine and beaten downe by the Countrymen, which lay in troups by the way. And (for the last act of this Papal tragedie) *Rauenna* is taken by assault and cruelly sackt, and spoiled. *Imola*, *Furl*, *Cesena*, *Rimini* and all the torts of *Romagnia* followed the victors fortune, and the Legate of the Councell of *Pisa*, receiues them all in the name of the said Councell. The body of *Gascon* was carried to *Milan*, with an honorable conuoy, a litter followed by the aboue named prisoners, & interred with a wonderfull mouement pompe, namely of the soldiars, whose hearts he had so wonne, as they protested that nothing was impossible vnto them, vnder the leading of such a Commander. And the King his Vncle receiuing these heauie tidings: *I would to God* (sayd he) *I were driven out of Italy so as my Nephew de Feix and the other Noblemen liued. I wish such victories to mine enemies. If we vanquish once more after this sort, wee shall bee vanquished.* Without doubt he had reason, for from that time this army (not able to finde a Commander of that credit) on the one side rich with spoile, on the other weake both of force and courage, by this so bloudie a victory, seemed rather vanquished then victorious. This battaile had filled the Court of *Rome* with terror and tumult, and the Cardinals running to the Pope, prest him with instant prayers to accept a peace, with such conditions as the King offered by the Cardinals of *Nantes* and *Strigonia*, where D with the King was yet content, notwithstanding the happy successe of his affaires: That *Bologne*, *Lugo* and all other Townes which *Alphonso* held in *Romagnia*, should be restored, and the Councell of *Fifa* disannulled. *Iulius* seeing these conditions very honorable for him, & that vnder colour of these parles he should stay the Kings army, vntill he heard resolution of those, on whome hee grounded the rest of his hopes, subscribed these articles nine daies after the battaile, promising on his faith to the Cardinals, to accept them. But our *Lewis* must try once more, how dangerous it is to moue a warlike nation. The *Suisses* wonderfully discontented with the Kings refusall, to increase their pensions, by whose valour (sayd they) hee had conquered so great Estats without his realm, and for that he had enteyned *Lansquenets*, as if he had meanes to make war without their forces: they haue no sooner receiued a florin of the *Rhin* for euery man from the Pope (whereas before the King was enforced to giue much gold, and great presents to their Colonells, to haue them fight) but descending into *Lombardie* with fifteen or eight thousand men, they force *Palisse* Lieutenant general of the Kings army, to retire to defend the citie of *Milan*: *Robert Vrsin*, *Pompey Colonne*, *Anthony Sabelle*, *Peter Margane* and *Rance Mandin* had, since the battaile accepted the Kings pay: and now the defect of the *Suisses*, and the dislodging of *Palisse*, makes some to lead such men as they had leuiued with the Kings money, vnto the Pope: others retain the money to themselves, onely *Margane* (more modest then the rest) restores it againe. All this freed the Pope from feare, and confirmed him in his obstinacy. He begins the Councell of *F Lateran* in the third of May, pronounceth a monitory vnto the King: That he deliver, vpon the peines set downe by the holy Canons, the Cardinal of *Medicis*, taken prisoner in the war, being a *Milan*: and after some sessions he surceaseth, to attend the warre.

lehn

A *Iohn Paul Bailion*, general of the *Venetian* army, attended the *Suisses* in the territories of *Perona* with foure hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and six thousand foote: being ioyned, they surprise a letter which *Palisse* did write to the generall of *Normandy*, who remained at *Milan*: That it would be very hard to resist the enemies, if they turned towards the Duchie of *Milan*: A sufficient instruction to direct the in their course, which makes them march towards *Milan*. *Palisse* had not with him about a thousand Lances, six or seauen thousand foote, all his other troups being diuided into places for defence: and this generall of *Normandie*, as bad a warrior as a treasorer (I would not forget to name him, if I had learned his name) hauing after the battaile of *Rauenna*, vnder colour of sparing for the King, contrarie to the disposition of present affaires, B indelicately discharged the *Italians* foote and some *French*. And besides the small number of men, the diffention and disobedience of Captaines, and the soldiars contempt of their commander, ioyned with the discomodities of a tired army: a generall little regarded, ill accompanied, in a Country farre from succors, environed with mightie and many enemies, must needs produce some grear and foddren disorder.

Disorders in the French army.

The best meanes our Captaines could finde, was to abandon the field, and disperse their troups into the most important places. In *Bresse* two thousand foote, a hundred and fifty Lances, and a hundred men at armes of the *Florentins*, in *Crema* fifty Lances and a thousand foote, in *Bergame*, a thousand foote, and a hundred men at armes of the *Florentins*. The remainder of the army consisting of six hundred Lances, two thousand *French* foote, and foure thousand *Lansquenets* retired to *Pontique*, a strong place of situation, and fit to succour *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Bresse*, *Bergame*, and to withstand the enemy.

But it is a great inconuenience to relie most vpon forcaine forces; so subiect to change. The Emperour giues the first stroke, hee calles home his *Lansquenets*, and their departure making *Palisse* loose all hope of possibility to defend the Duchie of *Milan*, hee retires to *Pisqueton*. So the *Cremonois* abandoned, yeelds (except the Castell) at the first approach of the confederats, and pay fortie thousand ducats to the *Suisses*. Certaine banished men returning into *Bergame*, cause a reuolt, and *Palisse* D being too weake to stoppe the enemies passage over the riuer of *Adde*, puts himselfe into *Pavia*. But hee sought to preuent the ruine of a great building with a rush. Then *Iohn Iaques of Triuulce*, the generall of *Normandie*, *Anthony Marie Paluiois*, eldest of *Esconte*, and many other gentlemen and seruants to the King, saueth themselves in *Piedmont*, leaue *Milan* in prey, which bound it selfe at the first summons to pay a great some of money. *Pavia* battered and abandoned by the *French*, is saued by the same meanes from spoile. All Townes except *Bresse* and *Crema*, make halt to do the like.

The estate of Milan lost by the French.

All the Country cries against the name of the Empire. All is taken and gouerned in the name of the holy League (for so they called it) The Cardinall of *Sion* gouernes at his pleasure, and causeth all the taxes of the conquered Townes to be giuen to the *Suisses*, so as vpon the brute of this money, an infinite number of others ruine and follow with the first. *Rimini*, *Cesenne* and *Rauenna* returne to the Popes obedience, *Plaisance* and *Parma* yeeld willingly vnto him, as members of the gouernment of *Rauenna*. The *Suisses* seise vpon *Lucarne*, the *Grisons* (who also in this crosse left the *French* alliance) vpon *Voltoine* and *Chiauenne*. *Genes* rebels, expells the *French*, and *Iohn Frangoise*, a Captaine in the *Venetians* army, returning, causeth himselfe to be created Duke, as his father had beene.

At the same instant the Pope recouers all *Romagnia*, the *Bentiuoles* abandon *Bologne*, and the Duke of *Vrbis* seiseth thercon in *Iulius* name. So euery one pulls his peece from the whole, and all these estats conquered with so great toyle, so much money, and such losse of blood: are lost at the first attempt, after this great victory of *Rauenna*, with little labour and lesse bloudshed. Truly, the best wits are confounded in the content of these things: and wee must confesse, that the issue of humane affaires

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depends

1512. depends of a higher Councell then that of *Man.* Notwithstanding, according vnto A
man, to whome shall we impute the cause of these mischances, but to the death of the
Duke of *Nemours*? for if he had liued, it is likely, that gouerning well his victory, hee
had (with his helpe that giues and takes) reaped the fruits worthie thereof. But great
neesse comes neyther from the east, nor from the west, nor from the desert, for it is God which
gouerns, he pulis downe one, and raiseth an other.

The Pope still gaped with his olde desire, to haue *Ferrare* in his power. But by the
intercession of the *Marquis of Mantona*, the Ambassador of the King of *Arragon* (for
that *Alphonso* was borne of a daughter of olde *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*) and the *Colan-*
nes, *Alphonso* hauing demanded and obtrayned pardon of the Pope, vpon promise here-
after to do the deeds and duties of a faithfull feudatarie and vassall of the Church, *Iu-* B
lius turnes his reuenge vpon the companies, wherewith the *Florentins* had aided the
King, whome hee caused to bee spoiled by the *Venetian* soldiars, with the consent of
the Cardinall of *Sion*, who notwithstanding had giuen them a passport to passe safely in-
to *Tuscanie*. And by the praides of the sayd *Iulius*, who (according to the ancient de-
sire of all Popes) fought to haue authority in this common weale, the *Medicis*, with the
helpe of the Confederats, returned to *Florence*, & settled themselves by force in the dig-
nity which their father was wont to enioy. *Italie* being for this time freed fro the feare
of the *French* forces, the King holding nothing but *Bresse*, *Crema*, *Legnague*: the *Chaste-*
let and the *Lanterne* at *Genes*, the Castells of *Milan*, of *Cremona* and some other forts, all
these Confederats gaped after the Duchie of *Milan*: and the *Swisses*, on whome the C
Pope then partly depended, opposing themselves, not to suffer this estate to fall into
the hands of any other Prince, but of such a one as could not maintaine himselfe with-
out their aide and succour: *Maximilian* grandchild to *Lodowike Sforce* was named Duke
of *Milan*: who made his entrie in the end of December, receiuing the keyes from the
hands of the Cardinall of *Sion*, as confirming the sayd *Maximilian*: That he held the pos-
session of *Milan* in the *Swisses* name. An honorable act and worthy of their generositi:
not to yeeld the honour which belonged vnto the other confederats, the which
notwithstanding they should much esteeme, and (it may be) might haue obtained it for
money. *Nauarre* returnes soone after to the obedience of *Sforce*.

Sforce resto-
red to Milan.

Then the *Genoais* recouered the Chastelet of *Genes*, for ten thousand Ducats giuen D
to the Capitaine: and the *Venetians* besieging *Bresse*, *Aubigni* who defended it, resolues
to deliuer it to the *Spaniards*, to breed a ialousie betwixt them: euen as a fewe daies
before *Palisse* had giuen *Legnague*, to the Emperour, to nourish a discord bred betwixt
the Emperour and the *Venetians*, who besieged it. *Ottauian Sforce* Bishop of *Lode* and
gouernor of *Milan*, sent foure thousand *Swisses* to conquer *Crema*, for *Maximilian*
Sforce: but *Benedict Cribario*, corrupted by gifts, deliuered it to the *Venetians*, with the
consent of the Lord of *Duras*, who kept the Castell. This was of purpose to breede
aduiou betweene the *Swisses* and the *Venetians*. A counsell generally concluded by the
French, which remayned of this ship-wrecke, the which in the end wrought some effects:
but the losse fell vpon the *French*, for with this first disdain of the *Venetians* against the E
Emperour by reason of *Legnague*, behold a newe leuaine of discontent is laied by the
Bishop of *Gurse*, *Maximilians* Ambassador at *Rome*. Hee made great instance, that the
Venetians should deliuer *Vincence* to the Emperour: wherevnto, neither soliciting, in-
tearings, nor the Popes threats could induce the *Venetians*. The Pope (desiring to gra-
tifie *Maximilian*: that in his fauour he should approue the Councell of *Lateran* against
that of *Pisa*) protested to the Ambassadors of *Vence*: That he should be forced to pur-
sue their common weale both with spirituall and temporall armes. So as nothing mo-
ued with this protestation, the Pope, the Emperour & the *Arragonis* renue the league
of *Cambraye*, declaring the *Venetians* to be excluded. So the Emperour (by the Bishop
of *Gurse*, in the next session of this Councell of *Lateran*) disauowed all them that had vi-
sed his name in the Councell of *Pisa*, and allowed that of *Lateran*.

A new Lea-
gue where
the Venetians
were excluded.

In the meane time, the six thousand *English* (promised by *Henry* King of *England*)
were arrived at *Fountainby*, a Towne seated vpon the Ocean, & frontier of the realme of
Spain.

A Spain towards *France*, to assaile ioyntly (according to the conuentions of the two
Kings of *Arragon* and *England*, father in Lawe and sonne) the Duchie of *Guienne*: vpon
this pretext the *Arragonis* had intreated *Iohn* son to *Alain* of *Albret* and King of *Na-*
uarre, but by reason of *Katherin* of *Foix* his wife, heire of the sayd realme, to remayne
a newtie betwixt the King of *France* and him: and that, for the assurance thereof, hee
should deliuer certaine places into his hands, promising to redeliuer them when the
warre should be ended.

But the *Nauarrois* knowing well the demanders intent, obtains a promise of suc-
cours from King *Lewis*: who, to diuert the *Arragonis* forces, treated with the Duke of
Ale Lieutenant generall for *Ferdinand* in this army. But when the one partie is vigi-
lant and politike, and the other slouthfull, there soone appeeres great effects.
The Industry & vigilancie of *Ferdinand*, the slackenesse and too great facility of *Lewis*,
who abused with the policie and deuises of his Nephew) did equally hurt the *Nauar-*
rois, who suffered himselfe likewise to bee deceiued with the fraudulent hopes where-
with the *Arragonis* entertayned him, who (seeing the succours of *France* farre off, the
realme vnfurnished of forces, and the places not yet fortified) enters into *Nauarre*,
takes *Pampelune*, and the other Townes of the realme, abandoned by *Iohn* (being vna-
ble to defend it) and fled into *Bearne*.

Nauarre usur-
ped by the
Arragonis.

And hauing no lawfull title to possesse it, publisheth, that hee is lawfully seized
thereon, by the authority of the Apostolike see, whereby the sayd realme was giuen to
the first that should conquer it, by reason of the alliance which *Iohn* had with the King
of *France*, a sworne enemy to the Church, and by the Popes bull, both beeing subiect
to the censure, as heretikes & schismatikes. Without doubt the Pope holds not this pre-
rogative of *Iesus Christ*, to giue kingdomes, and to expose them in prey: for he exhorted
to yeeld, and not to take from *Cesar*: and the Apostles did not busie themselves, to di-
uide earthly possessions. Moreouer, is it lawfull for the Pope to vsurpe an other mans
right, giue away that which is not his owne, and consequently vse the spirituall sword
against those he cannot iudge, hauing declared himselfe a party?

After the Conquest of *Nauarre*, the *Englishs* perswaded *Ferdinand* to the Sege of *Bay-*
onne, who without this place made no reckoning of the rest of *Guienne*. But he held
D that which he long wished for, as a commodious Country and very necessary for the
safetie of *Spain*, and could not affect the warre on this side the *Pyrence* mountaines.
So as the *Englishs*, seeing that *Ferdinand* did vse them onely to satisfie his priuat coue-
teousness, tooke shipping, and sayled into *England*.

To recouer this vsurped realme, the King sent *Francis* Duke of *Longueuille*, gouer-
nour of *Guienne*, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, sonne to *Gilbert* late Viceroy of *Naples*, *Odet* of
Fois Viceroy of *Lautrec*, *Iohn* of *Chabannes*, Lord of *Palisse*, Marshall of *France*, *Peter* of
Terral, the Lords of *Maugiron*, *Lude*, *Barbezicux*, *Turenne*, *Escars*, *Ventadour*, *Pompadour*
and other valiant Capitaines and *Gascons*, which hee assembled from all parts. But
the army being diuided by the dissention of the Duke of *Longueuille*, who as Gouer-
nour of *Guienne*, pretended the commande to belong vnto him: and the Duke of
E *Bourbon* vnwilling to yeeld vnto him, by reason of his quality, proued fruitlesse for the
King of *Nauarre*. Thus the realme of *Nauarre* was inuaded by the *Spaniards*, who re-
mained master thereof.

The departure of the *Englishs*, and the enterprize of *Nauarre* being made frustrate,
nothing affects the affaires of *Milan*, with greater vehemencie, whilst that the Castell,
and that of *Cremona* held good: but the opposition of so many enemies bred many
plots. There were many hopes to drawe some one of these from this common alli-
ance, the Bishop of *Gurse* had courteously giuen care to a friend of the Cardinall of *S-*
ion, whome the Queene of *France* had sent vnto him, and held one of his people at
the Kings Court to make a motion, that the King should bind him selfe to aide the
Emperour against the *Venetians*: that *Charles* grand-child to *Maximilian*, should mar-
ry the Kings youngest daughter, to whome he should giue the Duchie of *Milan*,
and that the King should yeeld vnto them the rights he pretended to the realme of

8513. of Naples, and that the said Duchy being recovered, *Cremona* and *Giaradadda*, should be held by the Emperour. Moreouer the *Venetians* were wonderfully grieved at the Popes new treaty with the Emperour: which put the King in hope to draw the *Venetians* vnto him. The *Aragonis* came betwene by a politike stratageme: to assure his new Conquest of *Nauarre*, he had sent two Fryers into *France* (it is the *Spaniards* custom to manage affaires by the meanes of religious persons, to make their negotiations the more graue, and to colour their policies with more subtilty) to treat with the Queene, touching a general peace, or a priuate, betwixt the two Kings. The amity of the *Suisses* did import much. But remembring, that by their forces, *Charles* the 8. had first troubled the peace of *Italy*, *Lewis* his successor, by meanes thereof, had conquered the Estate of *Milan*, recovered *Genes*, and ouerthrow the *Venetians*: that at this present the Pope and other Potentates of *Italie* payed them annuall pensions, to be received into their confederacie: They grew obstinate in refusing the Kings alliance, which he sought by the Lords of *Tremouille* and *Triunlee*. In the end, the King being reiecte by the *Suisses* (seekes the *Venetians*, who conclude to make a league with the King, according to the capitulations made formerly betwixt them, by the which *Cremona* & *Giaradadda* should remaine to the *Robertet*, Secretary of the State, *Triunlee* and almost all the chiefe of the Councell approued this league. But the persuasions of the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin* opposite to *Triunlee*, and the Queenes authority, (who desired much the greatnes of her daughter by the foresaid marriage; so as she might remaine with her, vntill the consummation thereof,) made the King and his Councell incline to the Emperours party. But discouering, that these were but practises of the Emperour, to make the King proceed more coldly in his courtes, he soone gaue it ouer.

Whilest that armes ceased on all sides, the Popes passions encreased. He renewed his desseines against *Ferrare*, *Sienna*, *Luques*, *Florence* and *Genes*, and as if it had beene in his power to beat all the world at one instant: he thrust the King of *England* into warre, in whose fauour he had dispatcht a Bull in the Councell of *Lateran*, whereby the title of most Christian was giuen vnto him, and the Realme of *France* againe abandoned to him that should conquer it. But as he deuised of all these things, and without doubt of many other more high secrets (according to the capacity of his terrible spirit, howe great foener) death ended the course of his present toyles, the 21. day of February at night.

Pope Julius dies.
A new election.
A truce betwixt France and Aragon.

A Prince doublelesse of courage, of admirable constancie, and most worthy of glory, if he had directed his intentions to aduance the Church by peace, as he sought to grow great in temporall things, by policies in war, *John* Cardinall of *Medius* succeeded him, and was called *Leo*. 10. The happy memory of his father, his lawfull election free from bribes and Simonie, his faire conditions, his liberality and mildnesse of spirit, gaue great hope of the quiet of Christendome. Yet soone after his instalment, he shewed plainly that he was rather successor of his predecessors hatred and couetous passions, then of *S. Peter*.

According to the treaty of the aboue named Friers, the Kings of *France* & *Aragon* concluded a truce, whereby our *Lewis* hauing more liberty to thinke of the waies of *Milan*, refused to send an army, knowing well that the people of that estate, oppressed with excessive taxes, leaued to pay the *Suisses*, and with the lodging and payment made to the *Spaniards*, desired earnestly to returne to his obedience. And to make this enterprise the more easie, the accord propounded before with the *Venetians* was againe renewed: so as the *Venetians* considering, that a concord with *Maximilian* keeping *Verona* from them) was not sufficient to protect them from troubles and dangers, and that hardly they should get such an occasion to recover their estate, they binde themselves by *Andrew Gritti*: To ayde the King with eight hundred men at armes, fiftene hundred light horse, and ten thousand foot: to recover *Ast*, *Genes*, and the Duchie of *Milan*. And the King: to assist them, vntill they had recovered all they had possessed in *Lombardie*, and in the Marquisate of *Treuis* before the treaty of *Cambray*.

The

A The King knew well, it were but labour lost to seeke the Pope, who desired to haue 1513. to Frenchman in Italy. Yet the deuotion he had to the *Romaine* sea, made him sue vnto *Leo*: not to hinder him in the recouerie of the aboue named places, offering not onely not to passe any further, but also at all times to make such peace with him as he pleased. But *Leo* treading the steps of his Predecessor, perswades the King of *England* to ioyne with the *Aragonis* in the oppression of *France*, according to the Bull giuen by *Inlio*: he protested to continue in the league made with the Emperour, with the Catholicke King and with the *Suisses*. The King thus frustrate of a peace with the Pope, sends the Lord of *Triunlee*, with fiftene hundred Lances, eight hundred light horse, and fiftene thousand foote, halfe French and halfe *Lansquenets*. The whole Countrie was already in a mutinie, the Earle of *Mussocagne*, sonne to *John* James of *Triunlee*, was entred into *Ast* and *Alexandria*: the French had taken *Cremona*, *Soncin*, *Lode*, and other places nere: and the *Milanois* had executed themselves to their Duke, who was at *Nouarre*: for that hauing no man to defend them, they made their composition with the French: yet giuing him hope to returne to his subiection, when as the *Suisses* and his confederates should ioyne in field. *Bartholmew* of *Aluiane*, Generall of the *Venetian* armie, had taken *Valege*, *Pesquiere*, and *Bresse*, when as the Kings armie at sea approaching to *Genes*, and finding *Othobon* and *Sinibaud*, the sonnes of *Lewis* of *Fiesque*, leading foure thousand foote: and on the other side *Antonel* and *Ierome* *Adornes*, with a great number of the country men: they tooke *Genes* from the *Fregoses*, where the victors entring, (transported with the farric of reuenge,) the two *Fiesques* bretheren, caused *Zacharie* brother to the Duke of *Genes* to be slaine, and then to be tyed cruelly to a horse tayle, and dragged through the Citie, being present a little before, at the death of *Ierome* their brother, who comming out of the Palace, had beene murdered by *Lodowike* and *Fregosus*, brothers to the Duke.

All this succeeded well: but forty thousand Ducats, lately sent by the Pope to the *Suisses*, had drawne an infinite number into the estate of *Milan*, thrusting themselves into *Nouarre*, at the first brate that the French meant to besiege it. It was the same *Nouarre*, wherein *Lodowick* *Sforce*, father to this present Duke, was taken prisoner. In the Kings campe were the same Captaines, *Tremouille* and *Triunlee*: some of the same Ensignes and Colonels which had sold the father, accompanied the sonne in this warre. And these persurations caused *Tremouille* to make this ouer-bold promise to the King: That he hoped to deliuer him the sonne prisoner in the same place, where before he had giuen him the father. The remembrance of happinesse past, comforts the hope: but lets vs take heed, least vnder this colour we grow insolent and carelesse. Now the arrogancie of our French, findes a firmer resolution in the *Suisses*, whereof followes a strange catastrophe, and an ouerthrow of the desseine. The armie batters *Nouarre* furiously, and layes a great part of the wall euen with the ground: but whereas the descent was wonderfull hard and dangerous, so as *Tremouille* aduertised, that new *Suisses* were entred into it, and that *Altosifz* a very famous Colonell, brought a greater number, which comming by the valley of *Aouft*, approached to *Turee*, despairing to take the Towne, he retired his Campe, to go fight with the succours that came, making his account to breake the enemies, rather by their owne disorders for want of pay, then by the force of his armes.

But by the perswasion of *Atorin*, one of their Captaines, ten thousand *Suisses* issue forth in the night, the 6. of Iune, without horses and artilerie, against a mightie armie, and better provided: they set vpon our French, not asleepe, but in a lodging vnfortified. The men at armes assemble at the first alarum of their Sentinels, range themselves in battaile, and the foote vnder their colours. The artilerie laide many *Suisses* on the ground, when as the sunne beginning to appeare, the body of their armie resoluing rather to be cut in peeces then retire, futen thousand of them fall violently vpon the *Lansquenets* who garded the artilerie: and 3000. of them plant themselves with their Pikes charged, against the horse. The *Suisses* and *Lansquenets*, thrust on with a mutuall hatred, and a desire of victory, bewee one another with a bloudy furie, one while the

one thrinkes, by chaled and recoiles, and then the other: filling the field with dead bodies wounded men, and with bloud, in view of the men at armes, lodged so as they could not succour the foot, by reason of brookes and ditches, that were betwixt them. So the *Suisses* after two houres combate remained victors, winne the Artillerie, turne the mouth of it against our men, and put both foote and horse to flight, of whom there is nothing remarkable obserued, but that *Robert of la Marke*, Lord of *Sedan*, vnderstanding that *Flouranges* and *Jamets* his sonnes, Colonels of the Regiments of *Lansquenets*, lay among the dead carcases, moued with furie, and a tatherly affection, heruns into the midst of the *Suisses* troupes, and in despight of them, laies the eldest vpon his horse, and the yongest vpon one of his men at armes, bringing them aliue out on the conflict, being referred to shew future prootes of their valour. There died about threene hundred *Suisses*, with the Author of this glorious Council: Of ours, the most part of the *Lansquenets* fighting, and of the *French* flying, vnto the number (as the *Italian* Authors say) of ten thousand. All the horse in a manner saued themselves: the *Suisses* not able to pursue them for want of horse: all their baggage was lost, and two and twenty peeces of great Artillery, with all the horse appointed for the same. Doubtlesse it was one of the most glorious batailles that euer the *Suisses* wonne: whereby we obserue, that to bee surprised and preuented, takes away all iudgement of command from the best commanders, daunts the soldiers courage, & breeds confusion in order.

The memorable valour of Robert of la Marke.

This victory being gotten, all places which had declared themselves for the *French*, craue pardon, and purchase their peace for money. *Milan* for two hundred thousand Ducats, & the rest according to their power, to be distributed to the *Suisses*, to whom was due the glory and profit of this victory gotten by their bloud and valour. *Otho* *Fregoso* (aided by three thousand *Spaniards*, commanded by the Marquis of *Pescare*) enters *Genes*, and causeth himselfe (to the preiudice of *John* his brother) to be created Duke of *Genes*. *Aluiane* (fearing least this happy successe of the *Suisses* and *Spaniards* should draw them vpon him) retires himselfe, takes *Legnague* from the *Germanes*, besiegeth *Ferrari*, but in vaine, and then lodgeth his armie within *Padoua*. The two chiefe Authors of the Councell of *Pisa*, *Bernardin*, *Carnagial* and *Frederic* of *S. Severin*, amazed w. h. this route, went and craued pardon of the Pope, and were restored to the ranke of Cardinals. In the end of the yeare, the Castels of *Milan* and *Cremona*, returned to the Duke of *Milan* obedience, so as the King held nothing in *Italy*, but the Lanterne of *Genes*, the which wee shall see taken and razed by the *Genouois*. Without doubt, he that seekes profit farre from his owne home, is oft times forced to returne poore and naked.

Troubles in France by the English.

The King thus dispossessed of his estates in *Italy*, turnes his thoughts now, & armes to crosse the attempts of *England*. *Henry* King of *England* hauing (at the Popes perswasion) resolved to invade the realme of *France*, agrees with the Emperour to giue him six score thousand Ducats, to enter *Bourgonne* at the same instant, with three thousand horse, and eight thousand foote, *Germanes* and *Suisses*, promising the *Suisses* a certaine summe of money, to ioyne their forces with *Maximilian*, being content they should receive a part of *Bourgonne*, vntill they were fully satisfied. According to this agreement, the *English* enters the marches of *Picardie*, & camps before *Therouenne*, with five thousand horse of combat, and aboute fortie thousand foote. But the *English* forces did not molest *France* at land only: the Admiral of *England* ran along the coasts of *Normandie* and *Brittanie*. And the King to resist their incursions, caused foure Gallies to passe the straight of *Gibraltar*, vnder the charge of Captaine *Pregent*. At the first encounter the Admirall chased *Pregent* into *Brest*. Here *Pregent* turnes his force, fights with the Admirall, and hurts him, whereof he died within few daies after. After that, foure score *English* ships, and twenty *Normands* and *Brittons* ships, fought with equall forces, ours hauing the winde. But in the end *Primauguet* a *Britton*, Captaine of the *Nunne*, which *Queen Anne* had caused to be built, beset by ten or twelue *English* ships, and resolute to sell his death dearly, graped with the Regent, the chiefe ship of the enemies fleet, and fiering it, burnt both the one and the other, with all that was in them.

Therouenne

Therouenne was defended by two hundred and fiftie Lances, and two thousand foot, whilst the King prepared two thousand five hundred Launces, ten thousand *Lansquenets* led by the Duke of *Gueldres*, sixe thousand others, which the Duke of *Norfolk* brought (being fled long before out of *England*) and tenne thousand *French*, to succour the beleeged, who in the meane time molested the enimie, day and night, with their artillerie, with the which the great Chamberlaine of *England* was slaine, and *Talbot* Captaine of *Calis* lost a legge. The troupes assembled, the King sent them to *Aire*, vnder the command of *Louis* of *Longueuille*, Marquis of *Rotelin*, Captaine of the hundred, gentlemen of his household. Victuals grew scant in *Therouenne*, when as the Lord of *Picardie*, gouernour of *Picardie*, and the *French* Captaines, chose out the most resolute of all their troupes, and gaue them charge to carrie victuals to the Towne. And for that their enterprise had happily succeeded, retyring too confidently, and reproching the enimie of cowardise, hauing no intelligence of their intent, the *English* hauing sent their horse, and fiftene thousand foote, to cut off our mens passage, who did ride on their mages disarmed; they charge them vniuares (being readie to wade through a riuer, that passeth at *Huchin*), they kill about three hundred, and take many prisoners: amongst others, the Marquis of *Rotelin*, *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont* of *Anjou*, and *Eussy* of *Amboise*: all the rest casting away their Launces, and trusting to their heeles, and horses, saued themselves by flight. And therfore they call it the bataille of spurres, which caused the yeelding of *Therouenne*, the which was dismantled: to take away all cause of discord, betwixt the Archduke *Charles*, (who by ancient right pretended it,) and the *English*, who challenged it, as conquered from the enimie by the sword.

The counte of Spaur.

From *Therouenne* *Henry* went to campe before *Tournay*, following in this resolution, not so much the actions of a good Commander in the warre (seeing the taking of this place, lying within the low Countries brought him small profit) as the perswasions of *Maximilian*, hoping that this Towne pulled from the *French*, might in time returne to the obedience of his grandchild *Charles*, to whome, they pretended it appertained. *Tournay* vniuersified of men of warre, and dispayring of succours, for that the King not being master of the field, nor of sufficient force to incounter the *English*, could not succour it; saued her selfe from spoyle, paying a hundred thousand Crownes. To crosse the *English*, at home, the King had stirred vp *James* King of *Scotland* (an ancient allie to this Crowne,) but the chance of armes was nothing fortunate for him, neither at land, nor at sea, for ioyning with the *English* armie, where *Queene Catherine* was present, he was vanquished vpon *Til*, and slaine, with aboute twelue thousand *Scots*. After these victories, the end of October approaching, *Henry* left a great garrison in *Tournay*: dismissed his strangers, and toke his way towards *England*, carrying no other recompence for so great, and sumptuous a preparation for warre, but the Cittie of *Tournay*. But some desleins vpon *Scotland* (fallen into a pupils hands,) hastned him home. An other storme threatened *France*. The *Suisses* armed according to the former conventions: the King sends *Tremouille* vnto them, to disperse them, vnder whome many of the Colonels, had received the Kings pay. But neither by presents, nor promises, preuailed he any thing: onely he had a secret intelligence giuen him from some Captains, to provide for the defence of his gouernment of *Bourgonne*, whether the Pope, the Emperour, & *Sforce* did thrust them. And behold foure score, or fiftene thousand *Suisses*, with the troupes of the *French* Countie, a thousand horse, and the artillerie which the Emperour gaue them, vnder the conduct of *Ulric* Duke of *Wirttemberg* camped before *Dijon*: *Tremouille* was returned, with a thousand Launces, and six thousand foot, who by his practises had greatly altered the Colonels, when as the multitude doubting the faith of their Captaines, takes the artillerie, and batters the wall. *Tremouille* not able to resist the force of this nation, which increased daily, flies to the last remedy, and without expecting any authoritie from his Maiestie, agrees with them: That the King should renounce the rights he had to the Duchy of *Milan*, & should pay them 400000 crownes within a time prefixed, which they pretended was due for their seruices in the former wars: and for assurance therof, he gaue for hostages, his nephew of *Mekieres* Bailife of *Dijon*, and

Tournay taken

The Scots defeated.

The English retire.

The call to enter into Bourgonne.

1513.

and foure bourgeois of the said towne, who saving themselves awhile after in *Germany*, escaped the threats of this people, to cut off their heads, if the King did not ratifie it. Doubtlesse, these were wise men, to save their heads from the *Suisses* choler. A very prejudiciall accord for the King, if he had beene constrained to ratifie it. But was not better to lull the *Suisses* a sleepe, then to loose *Dijon*?

Our *Lewis* is now freed off two incombrances, the *English*, and the *Suisses*. But the exemption of present dangers freed him not from a relaps, for the *English* departing, threatened to returne in the spring, and prepared already, being loth to stay any more so long at the warre. The Emperour had the like intent to annoy him. The Catholike King desired (as was discovered by a letter, written to his Ambassadour resident with *Maximilian*) the meanes to draw this Duchie of *Milan* to *Ferdinand* their comon granchild, younger brother to *Charles* the Archduke, shewing that by that meanes, all the other estates of *Italie* should bee forced to take their law from them, that it should be easie for the Emperour, assisted with the armes of *Arragon* and *Naples*, to make himselfe Pope (the which he had alwaies desired since the death of his wife.) & being installed in *S. Peters* chaire, he should renounce the Imperial Crowne, in favour of the said Archduke. Moreover, the bad affection of the irreconcilable *Suisses* was apparent. The flight of the hostages had newly incensed them, who threatened *Bourgogne* or *Daulphine*.

The Pope desired greatly the whole extirpation of the Counsell of *Pisa*, especially for matters decreed, either by the authoritie of the sayd Councell, or against the Popes authoritie, the which (not revoked) must needs breed great confusions. Yet could he not obtaine this abolition before the King did ratifie it. Three Cardinals were therefore appointed to redresse these disorders. But the greatest difficultie was about the abolition of *Censures*, which the King (said they) had incurred, thinking it a thing unworthie of the Apostolike see to graunt, if the King did not demand it: the which his Maiestie would not yeeld unto, whereby both his person and his realme had beene taxed of schisme. In the end, the King overruled by the earnest sute both of the Queene and his subjects, wearied with so many crosses, resolves to yeeld to the Popes will, hoping he: eafter, by this meanes, to find him favorable. And therefore at the eight session of the Councell of *Lateran*, which was in the end of the yeare, the Kings agents, in his name, and by his command, renounced the petty Councell of *Pisa*, adhering to the Councell of *Lateran*, and so obtained full renunciation of all things committed against the *Romaine* Church.

Amidst so many forraigne vexations, which infinitely troubled the Kings mind, there chanced a home-bred affliction, the death of the Queene his wife: A Princess endued with most vertues incident to an honorable Ladie, and for this cause greatly lamented of the whole realme. This death was the accomplishment of the marriage betwixt *Francis* Duke of *Valois*, and Earle of *Angouleme*, and *Claude* the Kings eldest daughter: the which had bin deferred till then: for that the Queene loved not *Lorise* of *Suavia* mother to the said *Francis*, affected more to haue *Charles* of *Austria*, afterwards Emperour, for her sonne in law. The Realme being reduced to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, the Pope (to whom the Kings greatnesse was commonly fearefull) begins now to feare least his power should bee too much suppressed, and that the enemies of *France* should hereafter ioin their forces to the prejudice of the *Romain* Court. To balance things in such sort, as he might subsist in the midst, and that the meanes which ayded one of his intentions, should not hurt another: considering that the irreconcilable hatred of the *Suisses*, might force the King to resigne his rights of the Duchie of *Milan* to the Emperour and Catholike King, in regard of the marriage which they pretended (a very prejudiciall thing to the common libertie of *Italie*): and holding it also dangerous to haue the King to recouer it, hee perswaded the *Suisses*, that their extreme hatred might force the King to take a course no lesse hurtfull to the libertie of their common weale (considering the little loue which *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* did beare them) then to the Church and all *Italie*. Moreover, to make the Kings

The Emperour affects to be Pope.

The death of Queene. 1513

1514

A King descent into *Italie* more difficult at all euents, he labours an accord betwixt the Emperour and the Senate of *Venice*: who being resolute, either to haue a firme peace concluded, or open warre, would by no meanes giue care to any truce, for that had beene to settle the Emperours affaires, and busines, in those Townes which hee inioined.

The Popes perswasions were fruitlesse with the *Suisses*: the Emperour and *Venetians* made him Iudge of their controuersies, but without decision for either partie: hee once commands them to surcease from armes, vntill the pronounciation of his sentence. The Catholike King could not more firmly assure the realme of *Nauarre*, then by a peace. Our *Lewis* & he prolog the truce for a yeare, adding to the former articles, one that was secret. That during the truce, the King might not molest the estate of *Milan*.

That which the Pope could not get of the *Suisses*, hee obteyned of the King of *England*: *Henry* discontent that his father in law had againe deceiued him, by the prolongation of a truce, without his consent, grew daily more vnwilling to make warre in *France*. The Pope desiring by some kindnesse, to win the Kings loue, and fearing daily, that *Lewis* oppressed with enemies, would allie himselfe, both by a peace, and consanguinitie with *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*: he sent the Cardinall of *Yorke*, to perswade his King: That remembring what correspondencie of faith he had found in the Emperour, the Catholike King, and the *Suisses*, and contenting himselfe with his happy passage, and returne, hee should cease any more to afflict *France* with his forces.

The Cardinall finding *Henry* disposed to peace, whome the Duke of *Longueville* (a prisoner, taken in the warre) had already moued, and *Lewis* desiring it, with all his heart, (hauing sent the Generall of *Normandie*) but more vnder colour to treat of the deliuerie of the Duke of *Longueville*, and his companions in prison, they made an agreement betwixt the two Kings, in the beginning of August, for their liues, and a peace after their death, vpon condition, That the King of *England* should enioy *Tournay*, and the King of *France* should pay him sixe hundred thousand Crownes. That they should bee bound to defend the estates one of another, with tenne thousand foote, if the warre were by land: and sixe thousand, if it were by sea: That the King of *France* should furnish the King of *England* with twelue hundred Launces at need, and the King of *England* with tenne thousand foote: but at his charge that should haue neede.

A peace with the English.

This peace was confirmed by the marriage of *Lewis* with *Mary* sister to *Henry*. But the Pope was not perswaded, so great a hatred might so sodainly bee converted into amitie, and alliance. For as hee had made the first motion, so did hee expect to bee made acquainted with the conclusion: wherein hee made accompt to reserve this clause, That the King should not inuade the Duchie of *Milan* for a time. The Emperour and Catholike King were exceeding iealous: yet the last assured him selfe to receive two contents. The one, that the Archduke his granchild was out of hope, to giue his sister in marriage to *Lewis*: The other, that *Lewis* being in possibilitie to haue heires males, the succession of *Francis* Earle of *Angouleme* should remaine doubtfull, whome hee hated exceedingly, seeing him greatly inclined to restore the Realme of *Nauarre*, to the ancient estate. The *Suisses* reioyced, not for any affection they beare vnto the King, but foreseeing that *Lewis* hauing truce with the *Arragonois*, and peace with the *Venetian*, and *English*, would employ his forces to recouer *Milan*, and this should bee a new whetstone to sharpen their hatred, and make their vertue knowne to the whole world. No man doubted of the Kings resolution herein, and in deede hee prepared for it, hauing retained the *Lansquenets*, which the Duke of *Gueldres* had brought against the *English*.

Lewis King of France marries Mary of England.

And the Pope, although it were a verie troublesome thing vnto him, to haue the King recouer this estate, yet knowing that his perswasions could not diuert the enterprise, he acquieseth him (but faintly) not to prolong it, giuing him to vnderstand that

1514. that things were ill prepared to resist. The Emperour had no forces, and as little money; the *Arragonis* armie was growne weake, and not paid: the people of *Milan* poore and brought almost to despair: no man could furnish money to make the *Suisses* marche: and *Fregose* was not out of hope to agree with his Maiestie for the Seignourie of *Genes*.

The Popes
pollicie.

But let vs obserue his pollicie. All these prouocations came not from a sincere heart. The Pope sees every one tired with trauels past, and ill prouided. And now the *French* had taken breath, and fortified themselves with new alliances: he begins to feare the King, and would assure himselfe of his forces, in case he came into *Italy*. Moreover he knew well the King could not this yeare molest the estate of *Milan*, by reason of a clause mentioned in the truce with the *Arragonis*: and if it should so fall out, this good inclination and will, should serue him for an excuse with the King, when as he should require either his consent or helpe. During this truce, the *Lanterne* at *Genes* being reduced to all extremitie, for want of victuals, and not able to be succoured, yields to the *Genouois*, who made it euen with the Causey. Thus the King was dispossessed of all his conquests in *Italy*. We must not wonder if the people, make heapes of Stones of the Castles within their Townes, when they fall into their powers: for they are but shackles of their libertie.

In the meane time, the new confederacie which the Pope contracted with the Emperour, betwixt whom and the *Venetians*, *Leon* laboured an agreement, not giuing the King any notice thereof. Lending him fortie thousand Ducats, and receiving from him *Modene* in pawne, gaue our *Lewis* new causes of ialousie and distrust. To bereft him then of the Popes intent, he sends to intreat him, to declare himselfe in his fauour, adding moreover, that if he might not be in good termes of friendship with him, he would accept such conditions of *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* as he had refused. On the other side, *Maximilian* and the *Arragonis* wanted no perswasions full of efficacy, to vnite the Pope vnto them, for the defence of *Italy*: shewing, that if vnited together, they had beene able to chase the *French* out of the Duchie of *Milan*, they were not now more vnable to defend it against him. They did not omit to shew, that if the King remained in his d. feins, he would not faile to be reuenged at the same instant of all the injuries he had received, namely of the money, where with *Leon* had lately thrust the *D Swiss* into *Fourgogne*. And the authoritie of the *Suisses*, (who continuing in their fidelity, offered for six thousand Florines of the *Rhin*, to take and defend the passages of Mount *Senis*, Mount *Geneure*, and *Finat*: and for fortie thousand Florines a month, to invade *Fourgogne* with twenty thousand men) did strangely moue the Popes minde, who restrained by feare of that he most desired, made some scruplet to bewray his conceit, giuing them all good hopes vnder general termes.

In the end, being prest by the King, behold his answer: That he had perswaded him to passe into *Italy*, in such a way as without danger or effusion of blood, he might haue reaped an assured victorie. That now other Princes haue so ordered their affaires, as there is no more hope to vanquish but with much hazard and blood. And, for that the Turke had lately increased his power much by a notable victorie against the *Sophi* of *Persia*, *Leon* therefore forgoes not to adde: That it is was neither conformable to his nature, nor agreeable to his office, to fauour Christian Princes armes against themselves. That he could not but exhort him to such, attending some more easie and better oportunitie, which being offered, he should alwayes finde in him the same disposition, to his glory and greatnesse, that he had some few months before made shew of.

This answer was sufficient to quail the Kings hope of *Leons* fauour: yea to let him vnderstand, that he would oppose both his Councell and forces against this enterprise, which the King had resolved for the Duchie of *Milan*, according to the charge he had giuen to the Duke of *Bourbon*. But death, which commonly cuts off the counsels of a man with his life, stayed this resolution, to reuiue it soone after in the minde, of his next successor. For as *Lewis* pleased himselfe exceedingly in the excellent beautie of his new Spouse, being but eightene yeares old, behold a feuer, accompanied with a

The death of
Lewis.

flux,

A flux of blood, frees him from the troubles and cares of this world, to enioy an eternall 1514. and happy rest in heauen, noting the first day of Ianuarie, with the exceeding greefe which his memorie graued in the hearts of all his subjects.

His vertues.
He was a godly Prince, iust, chaste, milde, temperate, loyall, louing his Princes, his Nobilitie and his people, and likewise beloued of them; a friend to sinceritie, plainnesse, and truth, an enemy to enuie, lying and flatterie. Let vs obserue, for a testimonie thereof, that soyaill apothegme, being vrged by the flatterers of the Court, to take reuenge of *Lewis* of *Tremouille*, who had overcome and taken him at the battaile of *S. Aubin*, the King of France (saith he) doth not take upon him: the quarrels of a Duke of Orleans. If hee hath faithfully serued the King his Maister, against me who was but Duke of Orleans, he will do the like for me, who am now King of France. But about all, he was good to his subjects, whom he did alwayes studie to ease: for how many leuies hath he made both of horse and foote, without the oppression of his people, by any new imposition? How often haue his subjects, willingly granted him an increase of subsidies, to supply his forreine and domesticall affaires, and yet would he not allowe of these impositions, preferring rather to cut off the expenses of his owne person, and his house, to saue his people from oppression and spoile.

Francis was neuer leane (so populous, so fruitfull, so riche, so well tilled, nor so well built, as in this raigne). A happy raigne in the obseruation of Iustice, martiall discipline, liberie of traffike, increase of goods, cheapnesse of victuals: and which is more, every man to eate his bread quietly at his owne board, free from our ages and Souldiers violence. To conclude, neuer King loued his people so much, neuer subjects loued their King more: neuer subjects gave with greater ioy to their Soueraigne, then the *French* did to him, that glorious surname of Father of his people.

FRANCIS the first of that name, 58. King of France.



Non

Happy

1515.



Happie is that Realme (saith the wise man,) which falls not into a child's hands. This was the first comfort which reuiued the hearts of the *French*, oppressed with mourning, and heavinesse, for the death of their good King *Lewis*, the twelfth. The second was, that they cast their eyes vpon a worthy successor, a Prince well borne, iudicious, and of a generous spirit: liberall, courteous in the prime of his age, and fit for gouernment, affable to the people, Princes good countenance,) and (that which all subiects admire in their Soueraigne) of an excellent beautie. Thus capable was he of the royall dignitie.

Francis being then two and twentie yeares old, before Duke of *Valois*, and Earle of *Angoulesme*, took vpon him the gouernment of this Monarchie, as sonne to *Charles* Earle of *Angoulesme*, sonne to *John* Earle of *Angoulesme*, who was the youngest sonne of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, (murdered by the *Bourguignon* at *Paris*, in the time of *Charles* the sixth) who was also the youngest sonne of King *Charles* the fifth. Hee was anointed at *Rheims*, the five and twentieth of Ianuary, being attended on by the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alanson*, the Earles of *Montpensier*, *Vendosme*, and *Saint Paul*, & the Prince of *Roche-sur-Yon*, al of the house of *Bourbon*. Then hauing made his entry into *Paris*, & a sollemne Tournie kept, in *Saint Anthones* street: he confirmed all the ancient officers of the Crowne, and to supplie those which were vacant, hee created *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* Constable of *France*, (being void by the death of *John* the second Duke of *Bourbon*), *Antonie* Prat, Chancellor (for then *Steuen* Panchier Bishoppe of *Paris* was keeper of the seale) *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Earle of *Vendosme*, Gouernour of the Ile of *France*, making the said Countie a Duchie, and a Peere of *France*: the Lord of *Lautrec*, Gouernour of *Guienne*, *Palisse* Marshall of *France*, *Boiss*, his gouernour in his youth, Lord Steward and Superintendent of his house, with whom he ioyned *Fleuremond*, *Robertet*, Secretarie of State. With this title of King of *France*, he took vpon him that of the Duke of *Milan*, not onely as descending of the house of *Orleans*, the true heire of that Duchie: but also as comprehended in the inuestiture made by the Emperour, according to the treatie of *Cambrai*. And for that hee succeeded equally, both to the Crowne, and the desire his Predecessor had to recouer that goodly estate of *Milan*, he therfore (to worke it with more facilitie) renued the peace, made betwixt the deceased King, and the King of *England*, sending home *Mary*, the widowe of *Lewis*, with a dowrie of threescore thousand Crownes a yeare: who afterwards married with the Duke of *Suffolke*. Hee also confirmed the alliance this Crowne had with the *Senat* of *Venice*. The Archduke *Charles*, sent a very honorable Ambassage to the King, whereof the Earle of *Nassau* was the cheefe, to doe him homage, for the Counties of *Flanders*, *Arthois*, and other Lands, which held of this Crowne, and (the which gaue great hope, of a future peace, betwixt these two Princes, both being yong, but marked for great matters) to treat a marriage betwixt the said *Charles*, and *Renée* the Queenes sister, who was after wife to the Duke of *Ferrari*. And for that the sayd Earle was greatly fauoured by the Prince *Charles*, the King desirous to gratifie him, caused him to marrie with the daughter of the Prince of *Orange*, bred vp in his Court.

Charles was yet vnder age, but so carefully instructed by that wise Lord of *Chivres*, of the house of *Croye*, whom the deceased King *Lewis* had made choise of, to gouerne him in his youth, (for that *Philippe* the father of *Charles* had by his testament intreated *Lewis* to accept the charge of his sonne) that euen in his yonger yeares hee made him capable to vnderstand the affaires, presenting vnto him all packets that came, causing him to make report thereof vnto his Councell, and to determine all things in his presence. He did foresee, that after the death of *Ferdinand* his grandfather by the mother, the *French* might crosse him in his passage from *Flanders*.

Flanders into *Spain*: holding it dangerous, to stand in the midst, betwixt the Kings of *France* and *England* vnited together, and not to fortifie himselfe, with this common alliance. Moreouer his subiects of the low Countries, would haue no waies with the Realme of *France*. The King likewise desired, to take from him all motives, to gouerne himselfe hereafter, by the counsell of his two grandfathers. They therefore agreed: That the marriage proceeding betwixt the Archduke, and *Renée*, the King should giue him six hundred thousand Crownes, and the Duchie of *Berry* for euer, to her, and to heires: vpon condition she should renounce all rights of inheritance, both from father and mother, namely to the Duchies of *Milan*, and *Brittanie*. That after the death of the Catholike King, the King should ayd the Archduke with men and shippes, to goe and receiue his Realmes of *Spain*.

The *Arragonois* demanded a continuance of the truce: but the King meaning to put out that clause. Not to molest the Duchie of *Milan* during the truce, their parole was fruitlesse. The Emperour (who ioyned his desseins to the counsels of *Ferdinand*) opposed against the amitie of the *French*. The *Suisses* were as forward as before. As for the Pope, *Francis* desired to be freed from all bond to him, that he might resolve for the best, according to the course of his affaires. To build vpon these foundations, he now employes his Capitaines, men at armes, and the prouisions which his Predecessor had first prepared, and makes his armie march with speed to *Lions*: whether his Maestie comes in Iuly, hauing left the Regencie of the Realme to *Louise* of *Sauoy* his mother. The Duke of *Bourbon* Constable, led the foreward, accompanied with his brother *Francis*, newly created Duke of *Castelleraud*: the Marshalls of *Palisse*, and *Tremouille*, *Charles* of *Tremouille* Prince of *Talmont*, sonne to *Louis* Vicont of *Ionars*, the Earle of *Sancerre*, the Baron of *Beard*, the Lords of *Bonniuet*, *Imbercourt*, and *Teligny*, *Senet*, all of *Rouergue*, *Peter* of *Naurre* (whome the King had drawn to his seruice, giuing him his libertie without ranfome) commaunded six thousand *Gascons*, and the Lords of *Lorges* (grandfather to the late *Montgomerys*) *Pirault* of *Margiron*, *Richbourg*, *Jortel*, little *Lainet*, *Onatilleu*, *Hercules* of *Dauphine*, and Capitaine *Commarque*: euery one commaunding five hundred foote, making foure thousand, and eight or nine thousand Lansquenets, led by *Charles* Duke of *Guelders*.

The King led the battaile: followed by the Duke of *Vendosme*, *Lorraine*, and *Albania*, the Earle of *Saint Paul*, *Claude* of *Lorraine* Earle of *Guise* brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Lords of *Lantrec* and *Lescut*, brothers to *Arual*, a yonger brother of the house of *Albret*, *Tremouille*, *René* bastard of *Sauoy*, (who was afterwards Lord Steward of *France*, and gonerour of *Prouence*, whose daughter *Anne* of *Montmorency*, the Constable married) and Capitaine *Bayard*, to whom the King did that honour the day of the battaile, as to receiue his knighthood at his hands, hoping that the happines of so gentle and braue a Knight, would accompanie his armes. The Recerward was committed to the Duke of *Alanson*, who had married with *Marguerite* of *France*, afterwards wife to *Henry* of *Albret*, King of *Naurre*, grandfather by the mothers side to our King happily reigning at this day.

At the first brute of this armie, the Emperour, the *Arragonois*, *Sforce*, and the *Suisses* contrai a League together, to force the King to renounce his rights to the Duchie of *Milan*: the *Suisses*, receiuing thirtie thousand Crownes a moneth of the other confederates, should keepe the passages of the mountaines, and made *Fourgogne*, or *Dauphiné*: and the Catholike King of *France*, by *Papiguan* or *Fontarabie*. The Pope (although the King made some accompt of his friendship, for that *Julian* of *Medici* his brother, had lately married with *Philberte*, sister to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*, and Aunt by the mothers side to his Maestie) in the end ioyned with them.

The Duke of *Genes*, swomme betwixt two streames, (and as they say) held the Wolfe by the eare. Both the *French* forces, and the confederates victorie were fearefull vnto him, namely the Popes, who vnder colour to keepe this Duchie from any Stranger, desired exceedingly to vnite it to the Church. In the midst of these contrarieties

An armie roll
all in the
chiefe of

A League against the
King.

Genes yeelped
to the King.

1515. trarities, hee yeelds Genes to the King, vpon condition: That he should lay aside the title of the Duke of Genes, and take that of *Gouverneur* of Genes, perpetually for the King, with power to giue the offices of Genes (this was to retaine some markes of Soueraignie,) That the King should giue him an hundred men at armes, the order of Saint Michel, and a yeerely pension during his life. That the King should not repaire the Fort of Todia, and should restore vnto the Cittie, all the priuileges which King Lewis had disannulled. That he should giue certaine Ecclesiasticall liuings, to Frederick Archbishop of Salerne, brother to Octavian, and to himselfe: if hee should bee expelled Genes, some places in Prouence.

The armie approached neere the Alpes, which diuide France and Italy: and the *Suisses*, according to their capitulation, had stayed vpon the passages of the mountaines & vallies, as well of *Montsenis*, which is of the iurisdiction of *Sauoy*, the shortest way, but the most vncasse, as of the mount of *Geneure*, which is of the iurisdiction of *Daulphiné*, the longer way, but the lesse painfull, being the ordinary passage of the French armies. The King had intelligence, that *Prosper Colonne* was at the foote of the Mountaines within *Piedmont*, with fiftene hundred horse, which the Pope had sent to succour *Milan*, not fearing any enemy, for that the *Suisses* (as he thought) had seized vpon all the approaches. But (some guides belonging to *Charles of Soliers*, Lord of *Morete*, hauing shewed them a passage neere to *Roque Espierre*,) the King sent *Palisse* (whom hereafter we will call the Marshall of *Chabannes*), *Imbercourt*, *Aubigni*, *Bayard*, *Buffs of Ambos*, and *Montmorency*, at that time highly fauoured by the King, leading foure Cornets of light horse, vnder the charge of the said *Morete* and his guides, who hauing waded through the *Po*, beneath *Villefranche*, whereas *Colonne* lodged: they came to the gates not discovered, but by some inhabitants, who runne speedily to preuent their entrie: but two hardie men at armes of *Imbercourt*s company, which led the Scouts, whose names were *Beauuais* the braue, a *Normand*, and *Hallencourt* a *Picard*, set spurs to their horses (so as *Hallencourt* was carried into the Ditch) and amazed the inhabitants: *Beauuais* thrusting forward his Lance, kept the gate open, vntill the troups arriving, surprised both *Villefranche*, and *Colonne* as he dined: they made boote of the baggage, and about twelue hundred *Neapolitane* horses, and carried away the Commander and his troupe prisoners to *Fessan*.

Prosper Colonne surprised.

King Francis his first passage ouer the Alpes.

In the meane time the forces passe, some with the Artillerie betwixt the Alpes towards the Sea, and the *Coitiennes*, descending towards the *Marquisate of Saluce*: the toile of men exceeding all the difficulties, which the steepe and craggie mountaines, and the rough downefalles, in the deepe valleys of the riuer of *Argenterie*, did present vnto them, where the artillerie, not able to passe in those straights, the horses being vnprofitable, in fve dayes it was forced vp with roapes by maine strength, in those places where as neuer Canon nor horfeman was seene to passe. Others, with infinite paines and difficulties, recovered the pace of *Dagonniere*: some, the high toppes of the rock of *Perrot* and *Chert*, (passages lying towards *Prouence*) where the Marshall of *Chabannes* had passed. Thus the *Suisses* deceiued of their hope, abandoned the Straight of *Suze*, where they defended the passages of *Mont Senis* and *Geneure*, and that of *Coni*, returning with shame toward *Milan*, spoyling and sacking *Chinas*, *Vercil*, and other places, where they entred: wh left that *Ainard of Prie*, hauing passed with the first, had with the helpe of *Octavian Fregose*, reduced *Alexandria*, *Tortone* (and all that lyes beyond the *Po*) to the Kings obedience: who hauing passed the *Po* at *Montcalier*, and presenting himselfe before *Nonarre*, receiued the Towne at his deuotion, and then *Pania*. The *Milanois* sent Ambassadors to the Kings lodging at *Busaloe*, to beseech him to rest satisfied with victuals, and a promise from the people to remaine affected to his Crowne, and so to march on against his enemies: assuring him, that *Milan* should most willingly giue him entrie, when hee should be maister of the field. It is an ordinarie stratageme of inconstant Townes, to set vp the Ensignes of the stronger partie. The King hauing a mightie armie in front, granted their demands for that time.

Then

1515. A Then the Duke of *Sauoy* did mediate an accord betwixt the *Suisses* and the King his Nephew, wherein he preuailed so much, as they concluded: That the King paying vnto them foure hundred thousand crownes promised by the treaty of *Dijon*, and all which they pretended to be due for their ancient seruices, they should yeeld vnto the king his Duchie of *Milan*, and the vallies which the *Gritons* enjoyed: and the king should giue vnto *Maximilian* fforce threescore thousand Ducats of yeerely pension.

But some hope to gaine, who loofe all: especially in these cases. A new supplie of *Suisses*, fierce and bold, by reason of their forepassed victories; being dissuaded by the Cardinal of *Sion* to breake this treaty, and bring matters to the same estate they were before. Thirty fve thousand take the way of *Monse*, to lodge in the suburbes of *Milan*, vnto the Popes army led by *Laurence of Medici*, and the Spanis by *Raimond of Cardane*, should ioine with them. *Maximilian* fforce and the Cardinal pressed them, but distrust one of another staid them. *Raymond* had surprised letters of credit, sent from the Pope to the King, and was well aduertised that *Laurence* had secretly sent (whether vpon his owne motion, or by the Popes command he knew not) a gentleman to the King, to excuse himselfe for the army which he led against him, being forced by the dunt hee did owe vnto his Vncle, promising that without offence to his Vncle, or b'emith to his owne honor, he would endeouour to content his maiesty, according to the desire hee had alwayes had, and now especially more then euer. Moreouer the *Arragonis* desired was to remaine quiet, so as this army did not threaten his new conquest of *Naples*.

Inconstant treachery of the *Suisses*.

C And *Laurence* on the other side, seeing the delayes of *Raimond*, conceived, that hee had some secret charge from the King his master, to forbear to fight, and giue others, leaue to decide the quarrell, & both ioynly feared to ingage themselves betweene the Kings army, & the *Venetians* led by *Bartolmew of Aluiane*, the which was very available for the King. Without doubt all their priuate intent, was to act this tragedie with the blond and losse of the poore *Suisses*. Thus these two armies of *Arragon* and the Popes, did onely labour to keepe the *Venetian* from ioining with the French: and the French these two fro the *Suisses*. A miserable estate of *Italie*, the which at one instant was oppressed with fve sundrie armies: French, Venetian, *Suisses*, Spaniards and *Italians*. Vpon hope of this treatie of peace, the King had countermanded *Aluiane*, who was at *Lande*, and *Lautrec* to carrie vnto the *Suisses* all the mony they could get out of the Kings coffers, or borrow of the Princes and Nobility: but through the perswasions of this mutinous Cardinal, they resolue, both to take the money from *Lautrec* and sodenly to giue the King battaile, when he least doubted any enemy. This counsell had preuailed with some drouishe commander. But *Lautrec* aduertised by his spies of the treacherous resolution of these *Suisses* left the way, and retired into *Galere*. And the *Suisses* sayling of their purpose, passed on, to wreake their choller vpon the King.

The King was come from *Marignan*, to lodge at *Saint Donat*, the 13. of September: when as behold they come with a resolution, and charge the artillerie of the vanguard which the *Lansquenets* garded: they ouerthrew the first they incountred, recover some peeces of Cannon, and amaze a battaillion of *Lansquenets*: who (supposing that the treaty of peace with the *Suisses* had continued firme) feared least they should deliuer them into the hands of their ancient enemies. But seeing the horse, and the King himselfe in person come to second them, they recover their courage: enter the combate, stay this violence of the *Suisses*, and with a soare fight, maintaine the shooke with variable and doubtfull euents, vntill the dust and approaching night made them retire. At this first charge were slaine Francis of *Bourbon* Duke of *Chastelleraud*, the Earle of *Sancerre*, *Imbercourt* and many other braue gallant gentlemen.

The battaile of *Marignan*.

F The King seeing the greatnesse of the danger, planted his artillerie in conuenient places, ordred his battaillions, gathered his horse together, sent for *Aluiane*, and lay all might armed with all peeces but his helmet, vpon the carriage of a Cannon. The fume was scarce risen, when as the *Suisses* (growne proude with the conceite of some aduantage)

Nnn 3

1515. aduantage) charge the *Lansquenets*, & force them to re-coyle about a hundred paces & but for horsemen (who repelled the violent force of the *Suisses*) the issue had been very dangerous. The Cannon thunders through their squadrons; the *French* and *English* shot make a horrible slaughter; the horie charge them in flanke, *Aluiane* comes vpon their backe in the fury of the fight: They had all continued many houres very hot in skirmish, whenas the *Suisses* (hauing lost most of their Captaines, being charged in front, in flanke and behinde) grow amazed: despaire of victory, turne their squadrons, and make a goodly retreat, some to *Milan*, others home to their houses. A great number shut themselves into the Constables lodging: where (refusing to yeeld to the Kings mercy) they were all burnt, and many of our men, that were entred pell mell with them, amongst others *John of Mony* Lord of *Mailley*, who carried the white Cornet. In this second battaile were slaine the Prince of *Talmont*, *Buffy* of *Amboise*, the Lord of *Roye* and many other valiant Knights: *Gilbert* of *Leui* Lord of *Fontenay* was hurt, *Claude* Earle of *Guise* ouerthrowne and troden vnder the horie feet: but he was releued by Captaine *Jamez* a *Scottishman*, a Gentleman of the Kings chamber. The King was often in danger of his person, receiuing many a push of the Pike vpon his armour.

Without doubt this was the most furious battell that euer the *Suisses* gaue, the which by the testimony of *Triunlee*, seemed rather to haue beene fought by Giants then by men. For that the eightene wherein he had beene, were like the encounters of small children in regards of this. That which happened to *Gaston* of *Foix* at the battell of *Rauenna*, made the King to giue them that fled, free passage: leauing foureteene or fiftene thousand slaine vpon the place. The King lost of *French* and *Lansquenets*, about three thousand. The Cardinal of *Sion* (the chiefe author of this battell, led at the first charge, to *Milan*, and from thence (seeing the *Suisses* in a mutiny, as well for their losse as for three moneths pay, that were due vnto them) into *Germany*, to *Maximilian*. We may iustly say, that the *Suisses* had need of this correction: for the remembrance of their forepassed prosperities had made them insolent beyond the bounds of modesty: but they reaped a benefit by their shame, growing more tractable, & friendly to them that corrected them. Moreover this should be a good aduancement to the King, to consider rightly of the warres of *Italy*, in the which (for want of iudgement) *D* both he and his Realme were afterwards in a manner ruined.

The number
of the dead.

Milan yet
des.

After this happy victory, *Milan* and all other places of the Duchy, followed the Conquerors fortune. *Peter* of *Nauarre*, had by a myne blowne vp a Castle at the Castle gate. *Maximilian* *Sforce* and the *Suisses* besieged therein by the Duke of *Lorraine* yeeld it, vpon condition: That the *Suisses* should depart with baggage, and baggage, and *Maximilian* should deliuer the Castle with that of *Cremona*, vnto the King, and all other places held by him, and should go into France, where the King during his life should giue him threescore thousand Crowns a yeare pension. According to this capitulation, *Maximilian* brother to *Tremouille*, *Francis* Earle of *Pontreue* with many other Gentlemen conducted him into France. The King entred into *Milan* armed, accompanied with the aboue named Princes, and the Nobility of his army, whether the Potentates of *Italy* sent vnto him, some to reconcile themselves, others to reioyce at this victory.

The Pope did not forget his ordinary practises, to stay the course of the Kings victory: and finding the King very obedient to the Sea of *Rome*, they concluded an annual league for the defence of the Estates of *Italy*, of the Pope, the Church, of *Julian* and *Laurence* de *Medicis*, and the Estate of *Florence*. By this accord the King gaue the Duchy of *Nemours* to *Julian*, who had married a sister to the Kings mother which Duchy (after the death of *Julian*) the King did giue to *Philip* of *Sauoy*, who tocke to wife one of the daughters of *René*, Duke of *Alanson*: to whome the Duke of *Nemours*, now liuing is Grand-child. And the Pope deliuered *Parma* and *Plaisance* to the King. These Articles were confirmed by an enterviewe, betwixt the Pope, and the King at *Bologne*, in the beginning of December: where they treated of manye things touching the Realme of *Naples*, which the King resolved to inuade: for the recovery where

whereof the Pope promised him his fauour, after the death of *Ferdinand*, which every man thought to be neere) or at the least when as the truce were ended. He promised also to giue him power to leaue the tenth part of the reuenues of the Clergie, within his Realme: and the collation of benefices, the which before belonged vnto the College and Chapters of Churches; and for the Kings sake, he made *Adrian* of *Conse* brother to the Lord Steward, Cardinal. And the King, to gratifie the Pope, granted an abolition of the Pragmaticall Sanction, making new conuencions in steed thereof vnto the *French* Church and the Vniuersities opposed.

The *Venetians* sent foure Ambassadors to the King, the chiefe and most honorable persons of their Senate: *Anthony* *Crimani*, *Domine* *Trenisan*, *George* *Cornari*, and *Andrew* *Gritti* to congratulate his victory, and to beseech him to make them partakers of the fruits thereof: that by his ayde they might recouer their townes, according to their agreement. At their request, the King gaue commission to the Bastard of *Sauoy*, and to *Theodore* *Triunlee*, to ioyne with *Aluiane*, with six hundred lances, and six thousand foot led by *Peter* of *Nauarre*. Then leauing the Duke of *Bourbon* his Lieutenant generall in the Duchy of *Milan*, he returned into France, about Candlemas, whether the deffences of *Henry* King of *England* did call him.

Henry discontent, that the King had taken the yong King of *Scotland* into his protection, and to that end had sent *John* *Steward* Duke of *Albany*, both to gouerne his person and his Realme: (which *John* had punished euyther with death or banishment, all such as he found to fauour the *English*: and euen the mother of the yong King, sister to the late *Henry*) for reuenge whereof he thrust the *Suisses* to new attempts against the King. In returning to their first sincerity, they ioyne in league with this Crowne, binding themselves to giue vnto the King for euer, in *Italy* or out of *Italy*, and against all men (except the Pope & the Emperour) such numbers of men, as he should require vnder his pay. The King did also confirme their ancient pensions, promising to pay, within a certain time the same due by the treatie of *Dijon*, and three hundred thousand crownes more, yeelding vnto him the townes and vallies which they held belonging to the Duchy of *Milan*, but the five Cantons which did enioy them, hauing retained to ratifie this accord, the King began to pay vnto the other eight, that part and portion of money which was due vnto them: who accepted thereof, but with an expresse condition: That they should not be bound to march vnder his pay, against the other five Cantons. A meane to draw the others to the alliance of France.

Maximilian alwaies his mind bent to seeke meanes to annoy his neighbour. The Kings prosperity, makes the Emperour, with the kings of *England* and *Arragon*, to desire to crosse him. The Emperour (alwaies desirous of innovations) could not but with his owne forces hold the townes he had taken from the *Venetians*, and the *English* remembring the fruitlesse promises which *Ferdinand* his father in law had made him (the which he respected not where he might gaine) stood vauering betwixt the dislike he had of his father in law, and the hatred he bare to our *Francis*: but this treaty is to last but a while by the death of *Ferdinand*, who died in the moneth of January. A prince exceeding in counsell & many vertues: so as if the promises had bin accompanied with their effects, he might well haue bin numbred amongst the most perfect.

A new league
against the
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This death seemed to make the Kings enterprize vpon *Naples* more easie, purposing to send the Duke of *Bourbon* for the execution thereof. Many reasons moued him thereto. There was some reuolt in the Realme, after the decease of *Ferdinand*. The Archduke *Charles* was young, and could not come in time to succour it: the Popes fauouring it aide him much (yet the King trusted to him who deceived him in the year of alibon world) but above all, the private interest of this Crowne, to whome the meanes of *Charles* here to so many realmes by the death of the Catholike king and the Emperour, should bee wonderfully inspect. But the deffences of *Naples* are crossed by the Emperours landing with ten thousand *Germanes* and *Spaniards*, threescore thousand *Suisses*, and five thousand horie, to succour *Basil*, jointly beleeged by the *French* and *Venetians*, which made them retire to

The Empe-
rours voyage
into Lombardy

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The Emperours
voyage
into Lombardy

1516. *Milan* to the Duke of *Bourbon*. So *Maximilian* passing the rivers of *Mincio*, *Oglio* and *Adde*, without any let, had all the countie betwixt *Oglio*, *Pa*, and *Adde*, at his command, except *Cremona* and *Crema*, the one kept by the *French*, the other by the *Venetians*. Then having taken *Laude* by composition, he sends to summon the *Milanais* with threats: That if within three dayes, they did not expell the *French* armie, hee would intreate them more rigorously, then *Fredrick Barbarosse*, one of his predecessors had done: who not content to haue burnt *Milan* vnto Athes, did sowe Salt there, in memorie of his wrath, and of their rebellion. The inhabitants began to rise, and our men grew amazed, when as *Albert Peter*, leading thirteene thousand *Suisses* and *Grisons*, arriuing, confirms them: he made them to change their resolution, to burne their suburbs, and to resolute vpon defence.

Maximilian
reures.

The Cardinall of *Sion*, and many others banished from *Milan*, followed the Emperour, feeding him with hope, that at the first brute of his approach, the Citizens would set vp his Ensignes. *Mare Anthonie Colonne* likewise followed his armie, with two hundred men at armes, at the Popes charge (a manifest signe of his Councils and dissemblings.) But *Maximilian* seeing no shew from the Towne (the chiefe of the *Gibelin* faction, being expelled by the Constable of *Bourbon*, as adherent to the Emperour) remembering the treacherie of the *Suisses*, to *Lodowick Sforce*: and fearing least through the ancient hatred of that nation to the house of *Austria*, the *Suisses* in the *French* armie, and those in his (which refused plainly to fight one against another) vniuing their forces, should deliuer him to the enemy, for that *James Stafflet* Colonell of his *Suisses*, had with much arrogancie demanded their pay. he secretly departs from his armie in the night, with two hundred horse, so as he was twentie miles off before they were priue to his departure. His armie (wanting both a commander and money) tooke the same course. The Earle of *S. Paul*, with the Lords *Montmorencie* and *Lescu*, pursuing them, defeated a great number, whereof three thousand, part *Germaines* and part *Spaniards*, yeelded to the *French* and *Venetians*, being in Campe: and our *Suisses* (notwithstanding they had bene paid for three moneths) went home to their houses, except some three hundred which remained with *Peter*.

During these garboiles, the Pope smothering his conceits, laboured to be as pleasing as he could to either party: yet was he grieved, the Emperour had brought so great forces: for he could not remaine a victor, but he must afterwards seeke to oppresse all *Italy*, or put *Leo* from the Papall seat, to hold it himselfe, according to the common report. On the other side, (as we iudge of causes by the effects) the King had many reasons to suspect the Pope. He had consented to the Emperours descent. *Colonne* the Popes pensioner, did accompany *Maximilian*. He refused to send five hundred men at armes for the defence of *Milan*, and to pay three thousand *Suisses*, as he was bound by the treatie of *Bologne*. So as the King, to let *Leo* know, that the brightnesse of his Miter did not so dazell his eyes, but he discovered his praifises, he made him Ebrewise of the same bread: declaring, that seeing the league they had made, was fruitlesse in time of warre, he would contract a new one, which should not tye him but in time of peace. The Emperours armie being dissolved, the Duke of *Bourbon* returns into *France*, and of his owne motion resignes his gouernment into the Kings hands, by whose command the Lord of *Lautrec*, taking the charge of the armie, to free the King from that bond, ioyning with the *Venetians*, returned to *Bresse*, which pressed with two batteries, one by the *French*, the other by the *Venetians*, yeelded to the King, their liues & goods saved, and *Lautrec* deliuered it to the *Venetians*. *Verona* had a harder issue, for being battred by the *French* towards *Mantoua*, and by the *Venetians* towards *Vincence*, giuing two assaults: afflicted with want of victuals and munition, and troubled by the huring of *Mare Anthonie Colonne*, gouernour of the City, yet being assured of eight thousand men, led by *Cont Roquendolfe*, that came to their succour, they held out vntill Christmas, at what time famine forced the *Spaniards* to yeeld the Towne, the which was in like sort deliuered to the *Venetians*. The Pope, to make profit of the Kings victory and forces, solicits *Lautrec* to aide him, to dispossesse *Francis Maria of Rouere* of the Duchy

A of *Vrbis*. The motives of this warre which *Leo* pretended against him: were for that *Francis* had denied the Pope those men, for the which hee had receiued pay of the Church, and had treated secretly with the enemy: That hee had slaine the Cardinall of *Pavia*, and committed many other murthers:

That in the hottest of the warre against Pope *Iulius* his Vncle, hee had sent *Balthasar* of *Chastillon* to the King, to receiue his pay, and at the same instant he denied passage to some companies that went to ioyne with the army of the Church: and pursued (in the estate, which he held as a feudatarie of the Church) the soldiars which saved themselves at the defeat of *Rauenna*. *Lautrec* desiring to please *Leo*, sent *Les* his brother, the Lord of *Cbiste*, the Knight of *Amburn*, the Lords of *Auffun* and *S. Blimond*, and many other Captaines with good numbers of horse and *French* foote. Who in fewe daies reduced the sayd Duchie to the Popes obedience, who did inuest in the *Laurence of Medicis* his Nephew in the sayd Duchie. Moreouer the Kings friendship was very necessary for the Catholike King. *Charles* the Archduke tooke vpon him that title, after the death of *Ferdinand* his grand-father by the mothers side) to make his passage more easie from *Flanders* into *Spaine*, and to assure himselfe of the obedience of those realmes.

Fitting therefore his resolutions according to the time and necessitie, by the aduice of the Lord of *Chieures* his gouernour, hee sent *Philip of Cleues*, Lord of *Rauenna* to the King, to make choise of a place where their deputies might meete, to decide all controuersies betwixt them. *Noyon* was named. and for the King there came *Arthur of Gouffiers*, Lord of *Roiffy*, Lord high Steward of *France* for the King of *Spaine*, *Anthonie* of *Croye* Lord of *Chieures*, both gouernors of their masters nonage, and both assisted with notable personages. Who concluded: That within sixe moneths the Catholike King should yeeld the realme of *Nauarre* to Henry of *Albret*, sonne to *John of Albret* and *Catherine of Foix*, deceased the same yeare: or els should recompence the sayd Henry within the sayd terme, to his content: els it should be lawfull for the King to aide him to recover it. That the King should giue his daughter *Louise* (who was but a yeare olde, in marriage to the Catholike King, and for her dowrie, the rights he pretended to the realme of *Naples*, according to the diuision made by their Predecessors: vpon condition, that untill she came to D yeares of marriage, *Charles* should pay vnto the King a hundred and fiftie thousand Ducats yeare, towards the maintenance of his daughter. That she dying, if the king had any other daughter, hee should giue her to the Catholike king, vpon the same conditions. If hee had none, then *Charles* should marrye with *Renec*, Daughter to the deceased king. To propound and conclude marriages so disproportionable of age, is it not properly to mocke one another? Seeing that onely two yeares time bring forth occasions which make Princes to alter their courses, whose wills are often inconstant. This treaty was respectiue sworne by both Kings, who appointed an enteruew at *Cambray*, attending the which they sent their orders of knighthood one to another. And fence the Emperour ratified these conuentions, but wee shall see small fruits thereof.

France reaped an other benefit of this peace. The *Suisses* (seeing a surceasse of armes betwixt the Emperour and the King) compounded, as the former had doone: That the King should paie vnto their Cantons, within three moneths, three hundred and fiftie thousand auncats, and after that a perpetuall and annuall pension: That the *Suisses* should furnish him, whensoever hee demanded, a cerasue number of men, at his charge. But diuersely, for the eight Cantons bound themselves to furnish against all men indifferently, and the five, no otherwise, but for the defence of his owne estates. As for the Castells of *Lugan* and *Lugarne*, strong passages and of great importance for the surety of the Duchie of *Milan*, they desired rather to raze them, then to take three hundred thousand Ducats, for the restitution thereof.

Let vs now lay our all armes aside for a certaine space, and giue our warriours time to take their breath, and returne againe shortly to warre by the ambitious factions of two most great and mighty Princes. This yeare in February

Francis
Maria chased
from *Vrbis*
and.
Laurence of
Medicis in-
uested in the
Duchie.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt the
King and the
Archduke
Charles.

Bresse yeel-
ded.

Verona yeel-
ded.

1517. was borne *Francis*, *Daulphin* and succellor to this Crowne, if his end had not benee violently forced. *Laurence of Medicis*, did present him at the Font, for the Pope's Vncle. A Christening celebrated, with iousts, skirmishes, incounters, besieging and taking of places, and other such stately shewes, as the memory of man hath not obserued greater. And the King, to make a more stricter league with the Pope, he caused the said *Laurence* to marry with *Magdaleine*, daughter to *John Earle of Auvergne* and *Auragues*, and of *Joane* sister to *Francis of Bourbon*, Earle of *Vendosme*, who died at *Perth*, when as King *Charles* the eight returned from *Naples*. Of this marriage came *Katherine of Medicis*, whom we shall see Queene of *France*, and Mother to the three last Kings of the name of *Valois*.

At the same time, the King sent *Gaston of Breze*, Prince of *Fouquarmont*, brother to the great Senehall of *Normandie*, with two thousand *French* foote, to succour *Christian King of Denmarke*, against the rebels of *Sueden*, who (after they had worne a battaile for the King) being abandoned in the end by the *Danes*, in a combate vpon the Ice, (where those Northerne Nations are more expert then ours,) were overthrowne, and the most part slaine: such as could escape the sword, returned without pay, without armes, and without clothes.

1518. The yeare following, the last of *March*, *Henry* the Kings second sonne was borne, who by the death of the *Daulphin* his brother, shall succeed his father. *Henry* King of *England* was his God-father, and gaue him his name. During this surcease of armes among Christian Princes, the Pope motioned (but saith the Originall) rather in shew then with any good intent, a generall warre of all Christendome, against *Selim* Prince of the *Turkes*, *Baiazet* (as we haue sayd) in his latter age, studied to install *Acomath* his eldest sonne, in the throne of the *Turkish* Empire: *Selim* the younger brother, through fauour of the Janisaries and Souldiers of his fathers gard, forced him to yeeld the gouernement vnto him. *Selim* was no sooner in possession, but (as they say, hee poisoned his father, and murdered his bretheren, *Acomath* and *Corcut*, and in the end, all that descended from the line of the *Ottomans*. Then passing from one warre to another, he vanquished the *Adulians*, overthrowne the *Sophi* of *Persia* in battaile, tooke from him *Tauris*, the chiefe seate of his Empire, and the greatest part of *Persia*, rooted out the *Sultans* of *Egypt*, and the *Mamelius*: tooke *Caire*, and seized vpon all *Egypt* and *Sina*. So as hauing in few yeares almost doubled his Empire, and taken away the humilitie of so mightie Princes, who were zealous of his Monarchie: Christian Princes did not without cause, feare the happy course of his victories. *Hongarie* was weak of men, and in the hands of a Pupill King, governed by Prelates and Barons of the realme, diuided amongst themselves. *Italie* diuimbered by former warres, feared least the partialities of these Princes should cause *Selim* to turne his eyes towards it.

The Pope and all the Court of *Rome* (making shew to prevent this imminent danger) thought it expedient to make a great provision of money, by a voluntarie contribution of Princes, and a generall taxe ouer all Christendome: That the Emperour accompanied with the horse of *Polonia* and *Hongarie*, and an armie of *Reisles* and *Infrequents*, fit for so great an enterprise, should assaile *Constantinople*: and the King of *France*, with the forces of his Realme, the *Venetians*, *Suisses*, and Potentates of *Italie*, should invade *Greece*, being full of Christians, and ready to rebell vpon the first approach of certaine forces. The Kings of *Spaine*, *Portugall* and *England*, should passe the straight of *Gallipoli* with two hundred saile: and hauing taken the Castell at the entrie thereof, they should approach neere to *Constantinople*: That the Pope should follow the same course, with a hundred great Gallies. These were goodly plottes in conceit. This counteite shewe to send an armie into *Turkie*, was but a deuice to fill the Popes coffers, which was made emptie by the former warres, especially by that of *Frbin*.

To treat of these propositions, *Leo* published in the Consistorie a generall Truce for five yeares amongst all Christian Princes, and vpon rigorous censures to them that

A that should breake it. Appointing for Legats, the Cardinall of *Saint Sixte*, to the Emperour: the Cardinall of *Saint Marie in Portico*, to the King: the Cardinall *Giles*, to the King of *Spaine*: and the Cardinall *Laurence Campege*, to the King of *England*: hee proclaymed his Bulls of pardon, to all such as should contribute a certaine summe for so worthie an expedition.

All Princes accept of this truce, and shewe themselves verie willing to so honorable action. But the meanes, howe in so short a time to make a firme *Union* among so many Potentats, who had bene long at deadly warre? Euery one studies of his priuate interest, and finding the danger to concerne one more then another, they care for themselves, and manage these affaires carelesly, more with shewe, then devotion.

This negligence of the publicke state, and greedinesse of priuate men, was the more confirmed by the death of *Selim*, who leauing his Empire to his sonne *Solimant*, young of age, but of a milder spirit, and not so enclined to warre, then all things seemed to incline to peace and loue, betwixt so many great warriors. The Kings of *France* and *England*, renued their friendship, by a defensive League betwixt them, vpon promise of a marriage betwixt the *Daulphin*, King *Francis* eldest sonne, and the onely daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, both very young: which contract, many accidents might hinder, before they came to sufficiencie. And *Henry* yeelded *Tournay* for foure hundred thousand Crownes, the one halfe for the charge in bulding the *Crutell*, and for the artillery, powder and munition which the King of *England* should leaue in the place: the other halfe, for the expenses in conquering thereof, and for other pensions that were due vnto him.

Thus often times the looser paies the short. On the other side, the Kings eldest daughter being dead: whome they had appointed to bee wife to the King of *Spaine*: a peace betwixt these two Kings was reconfirmed, according to the first Capitulation, with promise of the yonger. An alliance which eyther Prince did confirm, with great outward shewes of friendship, King *Francis* wearing the order of the golden fleese on *Saint Andrewes* day: and the King of *Spaine* that of *Saint Michell*, on the said Saints day. The *Venetians* also, by the Kings meanes, had prolonged their Truce for five yeares with the Emperour.

But the soueraine Iudge of the world (hauing decreed to punish the disorders of Christendome with sundry afflictions) tooke *Maximilian* out of this world: in whose life we may obserue a strange alteration of affaires, for if prosperity did often present vnto him goodly occasions, aduersity did as often crosse him in the execution. A good Prince, mercifull, courteous, very liberall, a great spender (the which did many times hinder his good successe) painfull, secret, well seene in the arte of warre: but his happy beginnings did commonly proue fruitlesse, through his owne delays and inconstancie.

This death bred an equall desire in the mindes of two great Princes, *Francis* King of *France*, and *Charles* King of *Spaine*. *Francis* sent the Lord of *Boissy*, Lord *Stuard* of *France*, to purchase the fauour of the *Germane Electors*, for the Empire. Some promised all fauour for the King his master: yet the cause was not so fauorable for the *French*, hauing no correspondencie with the *Germaines*, neyther in tongue, manners nor life. Moreouer the Commons of *Germanie*, were sutors that the Imperiall dignitie might not go out of the nation. The Pope fauored the King, but in shewe onely, hoping that by these demonstrations of loue, hee would hereafter giue more credit to his Councells: whereby discouering that in his inward thoughts, the election both of *Francis*, and *Charles* were alike suspect vnto him, hee labored to perswade the King (that seeing there was small hope for him to carrie it by voices,) he should seeke by his authority to aduance some other *Germane* Prince, to this Crowne, rather then *Charles*.

But whilest that *Francis* feeds himselfe, with vaine hopes giuen him by the Elector of *Brandebourg*, and the Archbishop of *Triers*, who (to drawe money from the King) gaue

1519. gaue him great assurances: *Charles* in steed of gold, brings armes to the field. An-
my approacheth neere to *Francford*, for the King of *Spaine*, vnder colour there should
be no force in the election: the which increased their courage that fauoured his cause,
made them yeeld that wauered, and troubled the *French* faction. So *Charles* of *Au-*
The election of *Charles*. *stria* King of *Spaine*, the first of that name, was chosen Emperour of *Germanie* the 28.
of June.

The Election of a new Emperour consists in the voyces of fixe *Germanie* Princes.
Three are of the Clergie, the Archbishops of *Maience*, *Cologne*, and *Treues*: Three se-
culars, the Count *Palatin*, the Duke of *Saxony* & the Marquis of *Brandebourg*. The King
of *Bohemia* is Vmper, when as the voyces are equall. The Emperour is chosen at
Francford, and crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*.

Who could doubt, but these two yong princes, hauing so many occasions of Ielo-
sie and quarrel, would soone breake forth into fierce and cruell warres, the which had
taken deepe roote in both their hearts. The King desired infinitely to recouer the
Realme of *Naples*, and did greatly affect the restitution of *Henry of Albret*, to his king-
dome of *Nauarre*, whereof he sees himselfe now frustrate by the sodaine aduancement
of *Charles* to so high a dignitie: and all that which the *French* held in *Italy* was in great
danger. The Emperour on the other side was discontented, that the King contemning
the accord first made at *Paris*, and knowing the necessity of his passage into *Castile*,
for the which his fauour did much import, had in a manner forced him to agree to
new Articles. Moreouer the king had taken the Duke of *Guelldres* into his protection,
(an enemy to the *Flemings*, who were subiects to *Charles*.) a sufficient cause to drawe
both *Francis* and *Charles* into armes. But aboue all, the recouerye of the Duchie of
Bourgonne, caused strange alterations in the minde of this new Emperour. The Du-
chy of *Milan* was a sufficient motive of quarrell: the King since the death of *Lewis* the
12. had neither demanded nor obtained inuestiture, and therefore they pretended the
possession to be of no validity, and his interest to be void: yet all these were not suffi-
cient motives to stirre vp those horrible confusions, which so afflicted the Estates of
these two Princes for the space of thirty yeares. Ambitious hatred is alwaies grounded
vpon light beginnings,

1520. In the meane time the Preachers of this voyage against the Turke, dispersed through
out all Christendome, grew vehement, promising (according to the Popes Bulls) pardon
for all sinnes, and the kingdome of heauen, to such as paid a certaine summe of
money. Without doubt *Leo* vsed the authority of the Apostolike seat too boldly, dis-
persing throughout the world, without distinction of time or place, most large par-
dons: not onely for the liuing, but also to redeeme the soules of the dead from purga-
tory for money. And for that, every one did plainly see, that these pardons were
granted to get money: which the Commissioners (appointed for such exaction)
demanded after an impudent and shamelesse sort; being also well knowne that the
greatest part of them had purchased their authority from the Popes officers. *Leo* incur-
red great dislike: many were discontented with this insolent proceeding, especially in
Germany, where the ministers of this collection, appointed (according to the common
opinion) for the deliery of poore Christians fighting vnder the burthen of the Turkish
yoake, sold for a small price, yea played away in their Ale-houses, their authority to re-
deeme dead mens soules from purgatory.

And that which did more increase the peoples spleene, it was generally reported:
that *Laurence of Medicis*, had carried a breche, fro his vncle to King *Francis*, whereby he
allowed him to imploy the money gathered throughout his Realme for this warre,
to what vses hee pleased: vpon condition, to yeeld it, when it should be demanded for
the voyage beyond the seas, and to imploy fifty thousand crownes, to the benefit of
the said *Laurence* his Nephew. A worthy cause to make the *French* repine, seeing
the money they gaue to a good intent, was conuerted to contrarie vses. But that which
made the *Germanis* wonderfully impatient: *Leo* had giuen to his sister *Maudlin*, the
profit of the exaction of Indulgences in many parts of *Germany*: who appointed the

Bishop

A Bishop *Arembault* a Commissioner in that part: *Worthy* (saith the history) of such a
charge, the which he executed with great couetousnes and extortion. Being the more odious
for that this holy money went, to satifishe the greedinesse of a woman. So as not only
this exaction, and the Agents thereof, but also his name and authority that granted it,
became odious in many prouinces.

Martin Luther, a religious man of the order of *S. Austin*, learned and vehement, be-
gan to preach against these indulgences in his publike sermons; he taxeth the Popes
authority, complains of *Albert* of *Brandebourg*, Archbishop of *Mayence*: and of the
doctrine which these gatherers did teach, inducing the people to beleue confidently
that by the purchase of these pardons they must needs be saued: as if the vertue of
these money-pardons could wipe away any sinne, and the money put into the coffers
of the Church or of the Commissioners, could drawe mens soules out off purgatory,
and send them into Paradice. And therevpon he exhorts every man to beleue sobri-
berly, and to gouerne himselfe wisely in this busines, and rather to imploy their money
otherwise then in this friuolous marchandise.

The people giue care vnto him, finde his doctrine plausible: and *Frederic* Duke of
Saxony his Prince doth embrace it, *Luther* supported by the fauour of his Prince and
the people, proceedes: he publisheth propositions wherein he doth dispute at large:
Of purgatory, of true repentance, of the office and duty of Charity, of indulgences and Par-
dons, to seeke out (saith he) the truth, calling all such to dispute as would propound any
argument to the contrary. He intreated all such as could not assit, to answer by writ-
ting: protesting that he would not maintaine any thing, but submit himselfe to the
censure of the holy Church: yet reiecting all things that should not be conformable
to the holy Scripture and the decrees of the fathers. In the end he encounters the
Popes authority, the Images of the Church, the celibate of religious per-
sons, restraining the Popes authority within the limits of the Bishoppricke of
Rome, and publishing the doctrine, which hath caused the Generall schisme vn-
to this day.

The Pope to quench this fire, cites *Luther* to *Rome*, forbids him to preach, declares
him contumax, if hee do not obey, and submit himselfe to the Ecclesiasticall censure.
Notwithstanding the Originall faith, he did not reforme many things that were of
bad example, which *Luther* did blame with reason, being very odious to all men, v-
sing his pontificall office with small reuerence. But this was to cast oyle into the fire.
These Ecclesiasticall armes did but increase *Luthers* reputation with the people. Nei-
ther the religious men, which *Leo* sent to preach against him, nor the letters which
he did write to the Princes, and Prelats, nor all the other meanes he imployed to sup-
presse him, could any thing withdraw the peoples inclination, nor the fauour of *Fre-*
derick from him.

This action seeming still of greater importance to the Court of *Rome*, made
them to feare some great disgrace to the Popes greatnesse, to the profit of the
Court of *Rome*: and the vnion of Christian Religion. Many assemblies were made
at *Rome*, many consultations in the Popes chamber betwixt the Cardinalls and Di-
uines appointed to preuent these inconueniences. Some did shew, that for as much
as they did not correct in themselves to many vices and damnable things which
did scandalize all Christendome, the persecution of *Luther*, would but augment the
hatred of nations against him: giuing Councell like vnto that of *Gamaliel* in the fifth
of the Acts of the Apostles, that it had bene better to haue wincked at such a folly
which happily would haue vanished of it selfe.

Notwithstanding the heate and violence of others preuailed, so as not one-
lie the persecutions were doubled against him, and his followers (who by his
name, were called *Lutherans*;) but an excommunication was decreed against *Fre-*
derick Duke of *Saxony*: the which did so incense him, as of a fauourer hee became
a vehement protector of the cause: the which since hath bene dispersed ouer
all

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1520. all Christendome, so as neither prisons, nor banishment, fire nor water, nor other tortures, nor any other punishments, could preuaile against it. Without doubt, we haue learned by experience, that religion is not planted, nor rooted out by violent meanes. The altars of pietie are enemies to armes, drums and trumpets. Mens consciences must bee gently intreated, not violently forced.

Let vs attend this so desired re-union from heauen. The mediation, of the most Christian King is necessary: let vs hope, that the continuance of a holy peace will giue him the meanes, as hee hath a desire to chote men capable thereof, who not regarding their priuate interest, will seeke the aduancement of Gods glorie. But let vs returne to our history. Whilest that *Charles* the fit, was crowned at *Aix*, the people of *Spaine* foreseeing, that by the meanes of his aduancement to the Empire, he should remaine for the most part out of *Spaine*, being also incensed against the Lord of *Chievres*, and some *Flemings* which had gouerned *Charles* in his youth, through whole couctousnesse, offices, graces, priuileges, and expeditions, (which had beene vsually giuen to *Spaniards*) were now deere sold vnto them: they rebelled, refusing to obey the Kings officers. They erected a forme of popular gouernment, with the aduice almost of all *Spaine*, whilest the Nobilitie sought by force to suppress this popular libertie. The King, by the Popes Counsell (who makes his profit of Christian Princes quarrels, that he might haue peace, whilest they are at war) seeing that the Emperour, being often vrged, did in no sort performe the articles of the treatie of *Noyon*: lent an armie into *Nauarre*, vnder the command of *Espare*, brother to *Lantrec*, who in lesse then fiftene dayes, reduced *Nauarre*, to the obedience of *Henry* of *Albret* their lawfull King.

This was enough for *Espare*. It had beene better to returne a victor triumphing, with glory and honour, then to follow the aduice of too violent a Counsellor, *Saint Colombe* Lieutenant of *Lantrecs* company, (promising to himselfe, it may be, the conquest of *Spaine*, as easily as that of *Nauarre*: or fed with a hope to make some good bootie:) carried *Espare* euen to the frontiers of *Catalogne*: who hauing taken *Fontarabie*, did runne as farre as the *Grongne*. The *Spaniards* being incensed, (the Nobilitie against the people) had endured the losse of the kingdome of *Nauarre*, but seeing them to invade their owne marches, they put in practice the byword of the dogs, who fighting together, laied aside their quarrell, to fall vpon the wolfe, their common enemy. So these, being at great discord amongst them selues gaue ouer their intestine quarrels, to pursue their generall professed enemies.

The Nobles and Commons ioyne their forces, they encounter *Espare*, who to saue the souldiars pay, had dismissed some part of his armie, giuing leaue to all that would, in yeelding halfe a pay: they charge him, defeat him, and take him prisoner, being hurt in the eye with a Launce, whereof hee was blinded. The Lord of *Tournon* was likewise taken with many other good men. So the *Spaniards* finding *Nauarre* vnfortified, recovered *Pampelune*, with as great easie as the *French* had conquered it. The first breeder of the horrible confusions which shall follow. But let vs see an other motiue of warre, betwixt these two Monarchs, which rising from a small fire, shall flame ouer all this Realme, and many other estates.

The Prince of *Simay*, of the house of *Croy*, had before time obtained a sentence against the Lord of *Aimeries*, giuen by the Peers of the Duchie of *Brillon*, (which iudge souerainly) for the Towne of *Hierges* in *Ardenne*: yet through the fauour and credit which *Aimeries* had with *Charles* of *Austria*, and the greatest in his Court, hee was releued, although hee had not appealed from the said sentence in time, grounding the causes of his reliefe vpon the lets and hinderances hee had had, during the former warres, at the which hee had alwayes assisted in person. So as a Commission being granted before the great Chancellor of

A of *Brabant*, and a day assigned to the heires of *Simay*, to come to heare the reasons of *Aimeries* releefe: and if neede were, to see the former sentence (giuen to their behoofe) renoued. They found this commission so vniust, and vreasonable (seeing that both their father, and they had beene in long and quiet possession of the said Towne) and that this decree was not subiect to appeal: as they repaired to *Robert de la Marke*, Duke of *Brillon*, as to their Lord, and Protector, that with their right hee might defend the liberties, and priuileges of his Duchie. *Robert* discontented, that his companie of men at armes had bin cassied for the extorsions and robberies they had committed in *Italie*, and else where, had left the King, and was retired to the Emperour. But seeing that iustice was denied him, as well for the priuate interest of *Burgis* (whose vnkle and Tutor hee was, hauing married their Aunt, sister to the Prince of *Simay*) hee made his peace with the King, by the mediation of his wife, and his sonne (*Fleuranges* being daughter to the Earle of *Brenne*) with the Kings mother.

Robert hauing assured his affaires with the King, sent to defie the Emperour at *Wormes*, where he had called a Diet of the Princes, and free Townes of *Germany*, against the new-bred troubles, by reason of *Luther*. A bold attempt of a pettie Prince, against an Emperour, mightie in meanes, men, and courage. A great riuer runs quietly betwixt the bankes that bound it, but at the first breach, it overflows the whole Countrey: so there is nothing more easie, then to incense Princes, but being once moued, they are hardly appeased. This defie giuen, *Fleuranges* the eldest son of *Robert*, notwithstanding the Kings expresse prohibition, made leue, as well in *France*, as in other places, of three thousand foot, and foure or five hundred horse, with the which hee besieged *Vireton*, a small Towne in *Luxembourg* belonging to the Emperour. But soone after he retired his armie, by the Kings commandement, and dismissed it.

But their spleens were wonderfully incensed vpon new occasions. The King, for that the Emperour sayled in the payment of the pension, for the Realme of *Naples*, and in the restitution of *Nauarre*: and withall, his preferment to the Empire had greatly discontented him. The Emperour was greued, for the enterprise of *Nauarre*, and the attempt of the Duke of *Bouillon*, being also well informed, that the King sought the meanes to recouer the Realme of *Naples*. *Francis* had sent a gentleman to the Pope, to know when it should please him to performe his part for the execution of that which they had concluded together (the which his Maiestie knewe according to the disposition of *Leo*, to bee more counterfeited then currant.) And *Leo* giuing to the gentleman a note of the horse, foot and artillerie, that was necessarie for this enterprise: assigned the King two and twentie dayes to arme, whilest the *Venetians* might enter into this League.

The Pope had no meaning, that *Naples* should bee subiect to the *French*. If the King had not in the meane time neglected his affaires, *Leo* had beene forced to runne another course. And the Pope glad to haue some colourable shew of disdaine, accused the King, either to be carelesse, or ill affected, hauing not drawn the *Venetians* into the said League for the defence of *Italie*. He complained, that his maiestie had not payed, but the first moneth for the leue of *Suisses*, which they had beene forced to make against the *Spaniard*, who a little before, had invaded the territories of the Church, whereof the King should pay a moitie, and makes a shew as if the King had treated some thing with the Emperour, without his priuie, and to his prejudice.

Thus *Leo*, seeming iustly displeased, recetued into *Regium*, (contrary to his agreement with the King) all the banished men of *Milan*. hee inuested *Charles* of *Austria*, in the Realme of *Naples*, made a defensue League with him, including the house of *Medeus* and the *Florentines*: and deuising how to conquer *Milan*, they agreed: That *Parma* and *Pianfance* should remaine to the Church, to hold them with the same rights it did

A bold and insolent fact.

Leo ordinary dissembling.

The Pope capitulates with the Emperour

1521. *did before: That Francis Storce, brother to Maximilian, should be put in possession of the Duchie of Milan, as having right, from his father, and his brothers renunciation: and that the Emperour should aid the Pope against his subiects, and feudataries, namely to conquer Ferrara.* This mutuall resolution of allyance was a meanes, by Gods prouidence, to shew his wonderfull iudgements, and a scourge to punish both *French, Italians, and Spaniards* for many yeares: whereby followed for many euersions of Townes, oppressions of people, deuolations of Prouinces, and the death of so many men of valour.

La Mark's
estate ruined.

The Emperour in the meane time, leuies a great armie of horse and foote, vnder the command of *Henry Earle of Nassau*, who tooke *Lorgnes* from *Robert de La Mark*, raised the Towne, and hanged the Captaine, with twelue of the chiefe of his troupe. The Captaine of *Musancourt*, (deliuered by some of his souldiers, with the place, to the said Earle) escaped the gallows, at the intreatie of the chiefe of his armie, but twentie of his Souldiers were hanged, and the place likewise razed and spoiled to the ground. About this time, there was much controuersie touching the Duchie of *Milan*, the Emperour pretending it to belong absolutely to him, not onely by conquest, but much rather by inheritance: concerning which, the most learned in the lawes of the Empire produced many and very probable reasons, and arguments.

These two prizes caused *Fleuranges* and *Sanse* his brother (the sonnes of *Robert*) to put themselves into *Tametz*, with a resolution to die or to keepe it. The Earle, after fouredayes siege, hauing seene the garrisons firme resolution, raised his campe, to take the way to *Fleuranges*. The *Germaines* which kept it, yeelded vp both the Towne and their Captaine the Lord of *Tametz*, the sonne of *Robert*, into the Earles hands, who hauing ruined it, did the like vnto *Sanse*. *Bouillon* was afterwards yeelded vnto him by intelligence. After this, *Robert* obtained a truce of the Emperour for six weekes. But the Emperour *Charles* dreamed of a more important warre. If his spleene had bene onely against the house of *La Mark*, why should he grant them a truce, being almost ruined? and being a conquerour, and strong enough to subdue the said *Robert*, why did he still increase his armie?

The Kings
armie against
the Emperour

The King hauing intelligence, that warre was proclaimed against him, prepared his forces to withstand the Emperour: and to this end he gaue a commissiō to *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Earle of *Saint Paul*, to leuie six thousand foote: to the Constable of *Bourbon* eight hundred horse, and six thousand foote: and to the Duke of *Fendisme* the like charge. And to reuenge the disgrace receiued by *Esparre*, he sent six thousand *Lafsequenels*, of whom *Claude* of *Lorraine* Earle of *Guise* was generall, vnder *William* of *Gouffiers*, Lord of *Bonniuet*, Admirall of *France*, to whom he gaue fixe companies of horse, and commissiō to leuie what number of *Gascōns* and *Basques* he should thinke necessarie. The Lord of *Lescut* was in like sort teleued with *French* and *Swissers*, for the warre of *Italy*.

Open warre.

The armies on eyther side were in field: there remains nothing but for the one to make a breach: the imperiallis begin. There had bene a long and a great quarrell between *Lewis* Cardinall of *Bourbon*, and the Lord of *Liques*, a Gentleman of *Hainault*, for the Abbie of *Saint Amand*, which the Cardinall enjoyed. *Liques* takes this occasion to assault the Abbie, which being of no strength, was deliuered vnto him by *Champeroux*, Lieutenant for the King in *Tournaisis*, in the which *de Loges* Gouvernour of *Tournay* was surprised. We might pretend, that these were but private quarrels: but *Liques* advanced with his forces to *Mortaigne*, a place subiect to the King, the which he said he had some times enjoyed.

Siege of
Tournay.

In the end, *Pranzy*, Captaine of the sayd place (hauing no hope of succours,) yeelded it, not to *Liques*, but to the Lord of *Portien*, vpon condition to depart with their liues and baggage. But contrary to the lawe of armes and honestie, they were pursued, stript, and hardly escaped with their liues. On the other side, *Fiennes*, of the house of *Luxembourg*, Gouvernour of *Flanders*, besieged *Tournay* with a thousand horse, eight thou-

A thousand foote, and six Canons, continuing there fixe moneths, whilest that the *Bourguignons* did take, spoyle, and raze *Ardes*, the Lord of *Teligni* in exchange, did charge, defeat, and cut in peeces, six hundred *Bourguignons*, that were entred the realme to spoile it. In the beginning of these garboyles, *Henry* King of *England* did offer himselfe an Arbitrator betwixt these two Princes, *Charles* and *Francis*, and *Calis* was named for the treatie of a good peace. But what meanes was there to yeeld to the Emperours vnrasonable demaunds, to restore him to the Duchie of *Bourgongne*, with an abolition of the homage which hee ought vnto this Crowne, for the low Countries? being vnrasonable, as he pretended, that an Emperour should doe homage to a King of *France*: as if wee did not commonly see Princes hold their lands by homage of simple gentlemen. So this parle tooke no effect.

Hitherto the Imperialls dealt vnder had, protesting not to make warre against the King: but now they discouer them elues, and come with enseignes displayed, to beseege *Mouzon*: they batter it in two places, the one by the medow, towards the Port of *Rhems*: the other from the mountaine going to *Tuoy*. The footmen newly leuied, and not yet trayned, grew amazed, and force *Montmort* the Captaine of that place, to demand a composition: for the obteyning whereof, hee went with *La Signy* his companion to the Earle, and obtained, *That every man at armes should depart, with a curtill vnarmed, and the foote men, and archers without armes, and a white wands in their hands*: what policie was this, to see two Lieutenants to a King, go forth off a place to capitulate with the ene mie: without doubt they disreued the shame which many haue suffered for the like rashnesse, to be detained prisoners, put to ranome, and forced to yeeld the Towne at discretion.

The taking of all these Townes without opposition, drew the Earle to *Mezeres* (commaunded by the Cheualier *Bayard*), but hee found a more valerous resolution then at *Mouzon*. The experience, and valour of the Captaines, and the deliue which *Anne* Lord of *Montmorency* had to doe the King some notable seruice in his youth, had drawne him into the Towne, with many well minded gentlemen of the Court: amongst the rest, the Lords of *Lorges*, *d'Annebault*, *Lucé*, *Villedair*, *Iohn de la Tour* Lord of *Bremont*, *Iohn Durcil*, Lord of *Berbee*, *Nicholas* of *Thours* Lord of *Suilly*, *Mathurin*, and *Charles des Cleres*, (whose valours, and fidelitie, deuene a place in our Historie.)

Anthony Duke of *Lorraine*, whose Lieutenant *Bayard* was, and the Lord of *Orval*, gouernour of *Champagne*, commaunded either of them, a hundred men at armes. *Boucart*, and the Baron of *Montmoreau*, had either of them, a thousand foote. This might seeme too much, for a small place, but it was strong, and of importance. The Canon did no sooner begin to batter, but most of the foote grew amazed, and in despite of their Captaines fled, some by the gate, others ouer the wals: *Bayard* by the balenesse of them that fled, tooke occasion to assure the resolutions of such as remained, *For* (said hee) *preferuing the Towne with the helpe of few men, we shall haue the more merit, and reputation: our troupes are of the more force, being discharged of this vnprofitable burthen.*

The Earle comming neere to *Meziers*, sent to summon the Commaunders to yeeld the Towne vnto the Emperour. He reports to the Earle of *Nassau* (sayd *Bayard* the Valiant resolution of *Bayard*.) *That before hee shall heare mee speake of yeelding up the Towne, which the King hath giuen mee in charge, I hope to make a bridge of my enemies carcases, ouer the which I may march.* *Henry* makes two batteries, and shakes the wals, for the space of a moneth. But finding by sundrie sallies, (in the which the beseeged did most commonly carrie the honour and profite,) the resolution of the Commaunders, men at armes, and souldiers: hauing also intelligence of the defeat of a hundred choise horse of the Emperours Campe, and two hundred foote, led by the Earle *Reinsfourket*, to spoile *Attigni*, vpon *Aisne*: all which *Francis* of *Silli*, Baylife of *Caen*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Alençon*, had put to the sword, except fixe or six, which were carried prisoners to the said Earle, to *Rhems*, the Towne hauing bene also releued, the

1521. first of October with a thousand foote led by *Lorges*, four hundred horse by *Angeli*, and some munition, hee abated the first furie of his artillerie, and despayring to take the Towne by force or famine, hee raised his Campe, and made his retreat by *Mont-Cornet* in *Ardennes*, *Maubert fontaine*, and *Aubenton*, to *Veruin* and *Guse*, spoiling, burning and killing, men, women and children without distinction: a mournfull beginning of the cruelties which haue bene committed in the succeeding warres. By a for a worthie reward of his vertue, was honored by the King with a companie of a hundred men at armes, and the order of Saint *Michell*. In the meane time the King assembles his forces at *Fernaques*, to cut off the enemies way about *Guse*, and to fight with him: during whose retreat, the *Cont* Saint *Paul* recouered *Mouton*, for the King.

The Earle of N. Pau leues Mouton.

Mouton recovered.

The enterprise of N. Pau.

Such was the estate of *Picardie*, and *Champaigne*, whilst the Admirall of *Bonnivet* arrived at Saint *Iohn de Luz*, for the enterprise of *Nauarre*. His purpose was to surpris *Fontarabie*. To hold the enemy in suspence, hee first tooke the Castell of *Poignan* vpon the mountaine of *Roncevaux*: then making shewe to take the way of *Pampelune*, hee turned head through the mountaines towards the Towne of *Maye*: and whilst he lodged his artillerie, he caused the Earle of *Guse* (who commanded the *Lansquenets*) to take the way by the riuer of *Behaubie*, running at the foote of the mountaines which come from *Nauarre*, and so passeth into the sea before *Fontarabie*: and in the morning he followed with his army.

Having some *Spaniards* in front, which camped on the other side of the water, hee passed the riuer at a ford, the sayd Earle marching before them with a pike in his hande. *Don Diego de Vere* chiefe of the enemies armie, being equall in numbers, and hauing an aduantage ouer those that came wett from the passage of a riuer, amazed at the resolution of our men, lest the field, and fled with his men through the mountaines.

The Castell of *Behaubie*, kept all victualls from our Campe, and held it in great distresse. But the first *Volée* of the Cannon, hauing split one of their best peeces, and slaine the gouernour with some others that did assist him, the soldiars being amazed, forcetheir Capitaine to yeeld at discretion: whereof the Admirall sent the best prisoners to *Bayonne*, the rest hee turned away beinge disarmed. The way being thus layd open to *Fontarabie*, (a place which they held impregnable, and one of the keyes of *Spaine*) fortified on three parts, with the sea, riuer and mountaine, in fewe daies hee made a breach, but not assailable. Notwithstanding the *Gasccons*, *Basques* and *Nauarrois*, demanded the assault, the which was defended with as great resolution as it was assayed: but the besieged hauing discovered some peeces, which the Admirall had planted on the mountayne, to beate them the next day in flanke at the second attempt: and knowing the resolution of the assaylants, by the prooffe they had formerly made, caused them to yeeld, vpon condition to depart, with all their bagge and bggage. *James* of *Aillon* Lord of *Lude*, was made Capitaine.

Fontarabie taken.

Let vs returne to *Fernaques*, where we haue left the King preparing to fight with the enemy. To this end hee giues the foreward to the Duke of *Alençon* (who had married *Marguerite* of *Valois* the Kings sister) accompanied with the Marshall of *Chastillon*, (this was the first motiue of the Constable of *Bourbons* discontent, the which place was due vnto him as Constable of *France*.) He tooke the battaile himselfe, taking the sayd Duke of *Bourbon* vnto him, and committed the reeward to the Duke of *Vendosme*.

The ruine of Bapaume.

Bapaume did much annoy the frontier towards *Peronne*, *Corbie* and *Dourlans*. The Earle of Saint *Paul*, the Marshall of *Chabannes* and the Lord of *Fleuanges* tooke it, beat downe the defences, and burnt it to ashes. The Duke of *Vendosme* had Commission to do the like vnto *Landree*: who arriuing late, foure or fife enfeignes of the bands of *Picardie* march, without commandement and without ladders,

ladders, and file tumultuously to the port, wherethey plant their Ensignes vpon the drawe bridge, but they were repulsed by seauen or eight hundred *Lansquenets* and some of their Ensigne bearers slaine. This fury of the *Picardes* did so amaze the *Germanes*, as without attending batterie, breach, or assault, they retyred into the next fort, where they could not pursue them, by reason of the riuer running thorough the Towne. Thus *Landree* vnfurnished of men, was the next day taken, razed and burnt.

The Emperour was retyred with his army towards *Valenciennes*: the King makes a bridge ouer the Riuer of *Escau* beneath *Bouchain*, eyther to fight with him, or to make him abandon the country with dishonour. *Charles* hauing intelligence of this bridge, sent twelue thousand *Lansquenets* and foure thousand horse to stop the passage, but the Earle of *S. Paul* with those six thousand men which he commanded, was already in battell on the other side of the water, in a marsh towards *Valenciennes*, and the King followed him speedily with all his army, which were about sixteene hundred men at armes, and six and twenty thousand foot, with the light horse. The which the enemy perceiving, he left seauen or eight hundred horse, to recover the retreat of his footemen, taking the way to *Valenciennes*. *Tremouille* and the Marshall of *Chabannes* offer to charge them in the reere, the *Suisses* cried out for battell, to giue a testimony vnto the King, that they desired to seale the confirmation of their new alliance with some notable seruice: and if their aduice had bene followed, the Emperour had that daye by all likelihood lost his honour, and the flower of his army. So the enemy retyred without any losse, except the bastard of *Aimeries* and some prisoners. GOD doth often minister occasions, the which being once neglected, are neuer recouered with so great aduantage. But howloeuir, the Emperour retyred by night into *Flanders* with a hundred horse, leauing all the rest of his armye behinde him.

The Emperours dishonorable retreat.

The next day, *Bouchain* yeelded at the first summons of the Duke of *Bourbon*. This shamefull retreat of the Imperials drawes our armie to *Hedin*, being vnfurnished of souldiers, when as the Inhabitants feared no enemy, beinge busied at the marriage of the daughter of the Receiuer generall of *Arthois*. The Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Vendosme* and the Earle of *S. Paul*, with the troups commonly called the blacke bands, notwithstanding the continuall raine, were at the Towne gates, before the Cittizens had anye intelligence of their departure from the armie.

The Towne beinge resolutely attempted, was taken by assault, and was spoiled by the footmen, the which abounded in wealth: for that in old time the Dukes of *Bourgonne* had made their chiefe residence there. But in the midst of the spoile, one quarter of the towne was fired, contrarye to the Constables expresse commandement, the which depriued the souldiers of part of their bootie.

The Lady of *Reux* and the garrison of the Castle departed with their baggage: but all the inhabitantes that were retyred and come into it, were put to ranfome. The Lord of *Biez* had the gouernement of the Castle, and *Lorges* of the Towne, with a thousand foote. This happened on all-Saintes day.

Winter was come, and the enemy appeared no more: the King disperfed his army, and giuing the most of the Gentlemen that had followed the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Vendosme*, the command of twenty fife horse a peece, putting his companies into garrison, and disposing of the rest of the armie, hee retyred to *Compiene*, about Christmas, not able for the distemperature of the weather to releue *Tourmay*, necessarily forcing the Lord of *Champroux* to depart with an honourable composition, armed, their Ensignes displayed, Drummes founding, and their baggage saued.

Nowe may wee see, what effects the Popes league with the Emperour shall bring

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bring forth. Being both equally desirous to expel the French out of Italy, they thought it best, before they came to open force, to shadow their practises with a Foxes skune, and by meanes of the banished men, to assaile the Duchies of Milan and Genes, at one instant, with the Citties of Parma, Plaisance, Cremona, and Crema. But he that attempts too much, performs little: so many sundry enterprises do most commonly terrifie more then hurt. According to this plot, the Emperours galleys, remaining at Genes, the Popes come sodenly into the Port of Genes, with two thousand Spaniards, led by *Adorne*, hoping that the Partisans of that familie, would not faile to mutine: but the good order which *Fregefe* had set, made their dessein frutelesse. On the other side, *Lautrec*, before his coming into France, to marry the Daughter of the Lord of Orail, had expelled many out of Milan, that were ill affected to the King, whereof they said the most part had beene banished for sleight occasions, or to seize vpon their goods.

Without doubt, seueritie looseth those hearts, which clemencie and moderation in a temperate commander would make vse of at need. *Francis Sforce*, *Ierome Moron*, *Manfroy Paluiofin*, and *Soto of Brindesi*, were the chiefe, who hauing assembled a great number of their Partisans, for the execution of their desseins, retired to *Regium*, belonging to the Church, although neither the Pope, nor the King (according to their treatie) ought to haue supported them in their territories. *Lescut* Marshall of Foix, Lieutenant to his Brother, aduertised of these stirres, by *Frederick of Bessle*, parted from Milan on Midsummer eue, accompanied with foure hundred Lances, and followed by *Bessle*, leading a thousand foote, to require Count *Guy of Ragon*, gouernour of the Towne for the Pope, that according to the treatie, he should deliuer these banished men into his hands. Whilst that *Lescut* and *Ragon*, conferred together vpon their faith, at a posterne entring into the Rauelin, at the gate which goes to Parma, the one complaining, that contrary to the Articles of the League, they did support (in townes belonging to the Church) the banished men assembled, to trouble the Kings estate: and the other, that hee had sodenly entred with armes into the territories of the Church: behold a gate being opened for the letting in of a Cart laden with meale, the Lord of *Ponneul* aduanceh with some men at armes, to seize vpon the port: but they were repulsed, and the gate shutte. Some banished men being vpon the walles, discharged their Harquebuses, and hurt *Alexander Triuulce*, whereof he dyed two daies after. Nothing saved *Lescut*, but the feare which the Harquebusier had that aimed at him, to kill the Gouernour. The indiscretion of one man, is pernicious to such as accompany him.

During this garboile, the Earle, to assure *Lescuts* person, led him vpon his faith into the Rauelin. The men at armes taking this for an imprisonment, fled to carrynewes to the troupes, which stayed two miles from *Regium*: who standing doubtfull, whether they shoud marche against the Towne to recouer their leader, or returne to Parma, thinking it a practise to surprize the Towne in their absence: the Marshall arriued, being released by the Earle, forbearing to stay him, hauing giuen him his faith, and received commission, not to proceed against the King by open warre. This enterprise as badly effected as rashly attempted, was of consequence. It was a good colour for the Pope to accuse the King, and to iustifie his confederacie with the Emperour. To prevent this, *Lescut* sent *La Motte Grouin* to Leo, to disauowe the attempt at *Rhegium*, and to let him vnderstand, that what he had done, was neither to attempt against him, nor against the estate of the Church. For answer: The Marshall of Foix (sayd the Pope in great choller) hath lodged (in armes like an enemy) vpon my territories, I will make him know the wrong he hath done vnto the King. Presently after this threat, he did excommunicate the Marshall out of the Church.

The dessein vpon *Como*, succeeded no better then that of *Genes*: for *Manfroy of Paluiofin*, and *Soto of Brindizi*, hauing in the night approached to the walles, with eight hundred Italian foote, and *Lansquenets*, hoping that *Anthony Rusque* a Citizen of *Como*, would make a breach for them in the wall behinde his house, as hee had promi-

An enter-
prise vpon
Como, fail.

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A promised to *Benedict Lorme*, another of that cittie, that was banished: Captaine *Garrou* a *Bisque* by nation, a man well practised in armes, did mingle the townesmen with the souldiers, at the gard of the wall: to prevent the execution of their intelligence, if happily they had any. So as the conspirators not daring to discover themselves, *Paluiofin* decciued of his foolish enterprise, hauing planted his gards about the town, where he thought most fit, went to sleepe. *Garrou*, issues forth to giue them a skirmish. he kills the greatest part: some seeke their safety vpon the lake, others vpon the mountaine. Three barkes were sunke in the Lake, and seuen taken by *Garrou*. Many were taken prisoners: amongst others *Manfroy* and *Soto*, who after they had confessed the reuolts and practises in the estate of Milan, were publicly quartered at Milan: and *Bartlemew Ferrier* their complice, a man of authority in the Towne was beheaded, vpon the returne of the Lord of *Lautrec*: whom the King (being aduertised of these disorders) sent presently to Milan. The *Lansquenets* had leaue to depart into their Country.

Seeing the Popes secret practises could not succeed, he now discouers himselfe: he complains in the consistorie of Cardinalis, of the attempt of *Rhegium*, and concludes, that the King is ill affected to the Apostolike see, and (concealing the capitulations he had secretly made with the Emperour) he protest, that he is forced to alie himselfe vnto him, who (said Leo) had neuer committed any thing vnworthy of a Christian Prince, and very zealous to religion. So, the Wolfe in the fable accused the sheepe C for troubling the water. There vpon he presently makes shew to contract with *Dom John Emanuel* Ambassador to *Charles*, the league which he had formerly concluded, and resolues, by the aduic of *Prosper Colonne*, to invade the Estate of Milan, with sixe hundred men at armes, and the companies of horie which the Emperour had in the Realme of Naples, sixe thousand Italian foote, two thousand Spaniards (which *Adorne* had in the riuer of Genes) two thousand Neapolitanes, (which the Marquis of *Pescara* should bring) foure thousand *Lansquenets*, and two thousand *Grisons* (which should be leauied at their common charge) and two thousand *Suisses*, which had remained voluntarily, of a greater number vnder the Popes paie.

Whilst this was working, behold a fatall signe to our Frenchmen, of their instant calamities: for on *S. Peters* day, the Sunne being set, and the skie cleere, a lightning D fell vpon the great Tower of the Castle of Milan, and ouerthrew sixe fadomes of the Curtaine on either side, consumed two hundred and fifty thousand weight of powder, twelue hundred fire pots, the prouision of salt for five yeares: and vnder the ruines were slaine, *Richbourg* Captaine of the Castle, and about three hundred Gentlemen & souldiers that were walking there. Leo did not forget to triumph at this accident, and to impute it to the wrath of God laid vpon the French.

An ominous
signe to the
French.

This heauy accident was a spur to hasten his resolutions, for the ruine of our men. And knowing that the estate of *Mantoua* did import him much for the warres of *Lombardy*, he intertained *Frederic* Marquis of *Mantoua* with two hundred men at armes, & E two hundred light horse, giuing him the title of Generall for the Church: for the accepting whereof the Marquis renouncing the order of *Saint Michel*, sent backe the collar to the King, wherewith his maiestie had honoured him.

The Marquis of *Mantoua* and *Prosper Colonne*, hauing armed for the Pope, and the Marquis of *Pescara* for the Emperour, they besieged Parma, seated vpon a riuer of the same name, and easie to be passed: but after great raine, and the day after the beheading of *S. John*, hauing battered the port of *S. Croix* towards Milan (which at that time was but the suburbe:) and made a breach of fifty paces, giuen three sharpe assaults and were repulsed, about foure thousand Italians, of six thousand that were within the Towne, went out at a breach, and yeelded to the enemy.

F The Marshall of Foix, who had vnderaken the defence thereof, the Lord of *Pont dorny* Gouernour of the Towne and the other Captaines, hauing kept the bafe Towne about fiftene dayes, retired into the Towne beyond the Riuer, leauing

Seege of
Parma.

1521. leaving an *Italian* Captaine at the breach, to favour the retreat of their men at armes, who, to worke his owne with safety, deceived the enemy by a gentle stratageme. Hee caused every one of the harguebuziers, to lay an end of a match light vpon the rampar, where they did vsually make their gard, so as it was an houre after the breake of day, before the enemies had knowledge that the breach was abandoned: which hauing discovered, they passe their artillery, spoile the suburbs, make their approches to the Towne at Noone daie, and begin to batter the wal, which defends the other banke of the riuer.

But small accidents do often disapoint attempts of great consequence. The same night that the enemy entred into *Codipont* (which is the suburbe they had abandoned), newes comes, that *Alphonso* of *Esle*, Duke of *Ferrare*, with a hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse, two thousand foote, (whereof *Lautrec* had sent him a thousand *Italians* and *Corsegues*, and twelue peeces of artillery) had surpris'd *Final* and *Saint Felix*, and threatned *Modene*. *Prosper Colonne* would not diminish his army, when as he feared the enemies approach. But to assure *Modene*, they must drawe out of the *Papes* armie, two hundred light horse and eight hundred foote, led by *Cont Guy* of *Rancon*, to ioyne with six hundred others that were left within the place.

On the other side, *Lautrec* approached with his army, which consisted of seauen or eight hundred Lances, thirteene or foureteene thousand *Suisses*, foure thousand *French*, which *S. Valier* had newly brought: five hundred men at armes *Venetians*, and foure thousand foote vnder *Theodore Triunlee* generall of the *Venetians*, and *Andrew Crui* Commissary, accompanied with the Duke of *Erbin* & *Mare Antonie Colonne*. These two considerations, with the obstinate resolution of the beleeged, forced the enemy to raise the seege, and to take the way of *Po*, to enter the estate of *Milan*. *Lautrec* follows them: but hauing lost two or three dayes in taking the Castell of *Roquebiquet*, he gaue them leysure to passe the riuer. It is good to obserue the errors of a Commander, that others may iudge and make their profit thereby. The *Popes* armie lay open to the spoile: the *Lanquenets* mutined for want of pay, refusing to followe, and refused to ioyne with the *French*. The retreat was made in confusion: the armie was full of feare, for this sodaine dislodging: they had in front a great difficultie, being to passe the riuer of *Po*. When a great armie passeth any riuer, it is easie to disturbe them, if the enemy be diligent & valiant. Were they not then likely to be put to rout, if *Lautrec* had surpris'd them hotly. Thus they passed the *Po*, the first of October, spending a whole day & a great part of the night at the passage, but the sparing of spies makes commanders oft times to let slip goodly occasions, being ignorant of the disorders & difficulties that trouble the enemy.

This is not all, other accidents happen, which being neglected, the *French* shall receive a shamefull disgrace. The enemies army was so weake, as the *Spaniards* and *Lanquenets* were now reduced to about seauen thousand. the *Italians* (for the most part new soldiers,) serued rather to make a number, then for any strength, and lodged at *Rebec*, attending a supplie of *Suisses*, so prest for victuals, as the prouision of meale, which was brought vnto them in small quantitie, was distributed to the companies by measure. The soldiers, for want of Ouenes, baked their portions vpon the embers: their *Suisses* came not many. *Italians* fled away secretly, and all men confessed, that if the *French* army which lodged at *Donnellane*, two miles neere to the enemies campe, had charged them at their rising from *Robert*, halfe vanquished with so many difficulties, there had remain'd little or no hope of safetie. For these necessities had forced them to retire: where the retreat being long and the enemy neere, the danger had bene euident, considering that from the Castell of *Pont-Suy*, belonging to the *Venetians*, they might disorder their battaillions with the Cannon. But the fruitlesse and long stay of our commanders at *Rebec*, after the enemies departure, gaue them leysure to passe the riuer of *Oglié*, and to lodge in the village of *Ossiane*, with an intent not to rise, before the arriual of their *Suisses*.

The feast of all Saints drew neere, the nights grew long, the continuall rayne and

Errors of the
French army.

A and cold annoyed our *Suisses*, who demanded that pay which the lawe of armes giues vnto soldiers that haue wonne a battaile, saying, that it was not their fault they had not obtained a victory. But in this case, not the will, but the effect merits such a pay: so as of all their company there remain'd about foure thousand. Thus being full of disdain and discontent, suborned likewise by the practises of the Cardinals of *Medicis* and *Sion*, (who as Legats to *Leo* marched in the midst of the armie with their crosses of siluer, environ'd (sayd the Originall) with humbers of armed men, artillery, blasphemers, murderers and theues, they did greatly weaken the Kings army, to terrifie the enemy, ioyning with *Prosper Colonne*, and rejecting the chiefe cause thereof, vpon the want of paiement. Without doubt, it is a great error, in a Kings Officers, especially in an army, to conuert the money appointed for the paiement of an armie, to other vses.

It was at the passage of the riuer of *Adde*, that the last act of this tragedie must be play'd: for the defence whereof, *Lautrec* sent the Lord of *Pont-dormy*, with his Company that of *Ostauian Fregefe* (led by Count *Hugues* of *Pepols* a *Bolonois*) a thousand or twelue hundred foote, and two faulcons. But it pleas'd God, at this time to satisfie the *Popes* couetousnesse with the spoile of our men, that might execute the iust judgement of his *Vengeance* soone after vpon his person. The enemy beates backe our gardes, and puttes them to flight, killies some and amongst others, *Gratian* of *Lucé* and *Chardon*, neighbours to the forrest of *Orleans*: who commanded either of them a regiment of five hundred men. They passe *Adde* at *Vaut*, and force *Lautrec* to retire to *Cassin*, and so towards *Milan* with his whole army.

The passage of *Adde* recouered *Prosper Colonne*s reputation, who for the retreat before *Parma*, and his ordinarie tediousnesse, was ill reputed of, as well at *Rome*, as in his army. Contrariwise, *Lautrec* wanting neyther valour nor braue resolution, but *Violence* and happinesse, purchas'd contempt of his men and hatred of the *Milanois*, whome he did the more exasperate, in causing *Christopher Paluiojin* to bee publicly beheaded, a man of great Nobility, great authoritie, great age, and a long time deteyned a prysoner.

Colonne aduertised of the retreat of the *French* to *Milan*, lodged at *Marignan*, and D his *Suisses* in the Abbie of *Cleruant*, doubtfull whether hee should passe on to *Milan*, being fortify'd with so many men: or turne to *Pauc*, being destitute of soldiers. Being thus irresolute, there appeeres vnto the *Marquis* of *Montoua*, an aged man, *Lautrec* odious to his army. *meane in shewe and apparell*, who being brought before *Colonne* and the other Captaines, assures them, that he is sent from the parishioners of *Saint Cir* of *Milan*, to let them vnderstand, that at the first approach of their armie, all the people of *Milan* are resolu'd to take armes, against the *French*, by the found of the belles of euery parish: wishing them to set forward with speede, without giuing the *French* leysure to bethinke themselves. And so he vanished away, not knowne to any man.

E The Commanders gaue credit to this intelligence. The 23. of November the *Marquis* of *Pescara* with his *Spanish* bands, presents himselfe at the port of *Rome*, at sunne setting, and presently chargeth the *Venetians*, appointed to gard the suburbs with a bastion, which they had newly begunne: hee putts them to flight, making no resistance, and the *Suisses* likewise that were lodged by them: killies some and hurts others, before our men had any knowledge of their arriual. *Theodore Triunlee*, who (being sicke and disarm'd) came to this alarum vpon a little moyle, was taken. The *Gibelins* seizing on the part, brought in the *Marquis* of *Pescara* and *Montoua*, the Cardinall of *Medicis*, *Colonne*, and a part of the army: *Milan* taken and sackt. the victors not able to conceiue, by what happinesse and meanes they had so easily obtained so notable a victorie, the which was confirmed by the sacke of the Citie, which continued fiftene dayes.

We cannot but blame our Commanders herein of negligence, and too great confidence, in not discovering the enemies remooue that day: and beleue, that they would

A notable
aduenchur.

1521 would not assault the Rampars without their artillerie, the which could not hurt, the wayes being broken with continuall raine.

Lautrec, troubled with the feare and the darknesse of the night, not able to discover in so short a time, the estate of the enemy confusedly lodged, some in the Cittie, others in the Suburbs: he left *Masgareu* (a Gentleman of *Gascogne*) within the Castell, with fiftie men at armes, and six hundred *French* foote, and retired his armie to *Come*, where leaving *John of Chabannes* Lord of *Vandenesse*, brother to the Marshall of *Chabannes*, with fiftie men at armes, and five hundred foote, he repassed the river of *Adde* at *Lezins*, and tooke the way of *Bergama*, to put his men at armes into Garrison in the *Venetians* Countrey, and other places which held yet for the *French*.

It is an usuall thing, to yeeld vnto the Conqueror. *Laude*, *Pavia*, *Plaisance*, *Alexandria*, *Cremona*, hold for the Empire and the Duke of *Milan*. *Janot of Herbouville*, Lord of *Buham*, held yet the Castell of *Cremona*. *Lautrec* sent his brother *Lescut* thither, (who since the retreat of *Parma*, had ioyned with the armie) with part of his forces to recover it. Who being repulsed, *Lautrec* brought all his troupes, which were but fiftie hundred men at armes, foure thousand *Suisses*, a few other footemen, foure hundred men at armes *Venetians*, and six thousand foote. As all things were readie for the assault, the enemy being amazed, demanded a composition, the which they obtained with their liues and baggage. A small comfort for men halfe discouraged.

Frederic of *Bossole* came with his forces, by *Lautrecs* commandement. He had no sooner passed the *Po*, but *Vittelli* seized thereon, with a most pleasing consent of all the people. All these victories were glorious to the enemy: but the teache-rie of one blemished their former reputation. *Come* besieged & battered ten or twelve dayes, despairing of succour and defence, had yeelded vpon condition, that as well the *French* companies, as those of the Towne, should haue their liues and goods saved, de- part with their Launces vpon their thighs, and be safely conducted into the *Venetians* country: and yet when the *French* would depart, the *Spaniards* entred, and spoiled both the Souldiars and the Citizens. *Vandenesse* accusing the Marquis of *Pesara* to haue broken his faith, challenged him to the combate. If you will mainteine (answered he) that this sacke is happened by my commandement or permission: I say you haue lye. But before the quarrell could be ended, *Vandenesse* was slaine at *Romagnen*, at the retreat of the Admirall of *Bonniuet*, whom the end of the warres of *Nauarre* had drave beyond the *Alpes*.

At the same instant, those of the League sent the Bishop of *Verule* to the *Suisses*, to withdraw their affections from this Crowne. But displeased that their men had marched against the King, and complaining of the Cardinal of *Sion*, the Pope and all his officers, who had perswaded them to breake the conditions of their alliance, they put this Bishop in hold at *Bellinzone*, and called home the troupes they had in *Italy*. On times the victor is partaker of the discommodities of warre: they made preparation to assaile *Cremona* and *Genes*. But their desseins are broken by the death of pope *Leo*, who hauing newes of the taking of *Milan*, but especially of *Parma* and *Plaisance* (for the recouerie whereof to the Church, he had chiefly moued this warre,) he was so wonderfully transported with ioy, as he falls into a quotidian, with a Catarre, amidst all his iollitie, the which carried him within three dayes after to the graue, being the first of December.

This death did greatly impair the Emperours affaires in *Italy*, and bred new gouernments, new Councils, and a new estate of affaires in the Duchie of *Milan*. The Cardinals of *Medicis* and *Sion*, went to assist at the election of a new Pope. The imperials retained fiftene hundred *Suisses*, and dismissed the rest. The *Lansquenets* likewise departed. The *Florentine* companies returned into *Tuscanie*. *Guy of Rangon* lead part of those of the Church to *Modena*, the other remained with the Marquis of *Montoua*, in the Duchie of *Milan*. And the Duke of *Ferrara* (making his profit of this occasion) recovered with the liking of the inhabitants, *Bondene*, *Final*, the mountaine of *Modene* and *Garfagnane*: he tooke *Lugo*, *Bagnacaval*, and other Townes of *Romagnia*. Like.

Abandoned by *Lautrec*.

Cremona re- couered.

Come spoiled contrary to the capitulation.

Death of Pope *Leo*.

Alterations after this death.

Likewise *Francis Maria*, being expelled his Duchie of *Vrbino*, by *Leo*, and called home by the people, recovered it in few dayes. Our Commanders slept not, but the chance was turned. The Admirall of *Bonnaue*, with three hundred Launces, *Frederic* of *Lozole*, and *Marc Antonie Colonne*, leading five thousand *French*, and *Italians*, went to besiege *Parma*: the which after many distresses incident to the Townes besieged, was preferred by the wise resolution, and singular direction of *Francis Guicardius* gouernour thereof.

In the meane time, the Cardinals at *Rome* did sturue for *Saint Peters* chaire. The Cardinal of *Medicis*, for the reputation of his greatnesse, for his reuenues, and glory gotten in the Conquest of *Milan*, had already gotten the voices of fiftene Cardinals. But the rest could not endure two Popes together of one familie, which might haue beene a President to vsurpe a right of succession in the Popedom. The most ancient Cardinals opposed themselves against his nomination, euery man pretending, that dignitie for himselfe, which an other sought so greedily. During their controuersies, Cardinal *Adrian* Bishop of *Dertuse*, borne at *Treut*, and former scholemaster to the Emperour *Charles*, was put in the election: not with any intent to install him in the place of the deceased, but onely to spend that morning, and by delays coole the heat of the most violent suitors. But the Cardinal of *Saint Sixte*, hauing by a long o-ration amplified his vertues, and knowledge, some yeelded vnto him, (it may bee the Emperour would haue beene displeased, if they had reiected his election) others fol- lowed them: so as all the Cardinals agreeing, by a common consent hee was created Pope, when as he least dreamed of it, being absent, a stranger, vnkowne, hauing re- uerence *Italie*, and without thought, or hope, euer to see it. Being loth to change his name, he was called *Adrian* the sixth.

But what shall this poore Fleming get, to runne so far to sit in a chaire, so much en- uied? He came from *Spaine*, (where the Emperour had made him gouernour in his absence) to seeke his death at *Rome*. He shall bee little esteemed, during his Pope- dome, and they will bee glad, to send him speedily after his Predecessor. The win- ter passed, and our souldiars scattered their harnesse, to arme againe, the one sort to preferre their Conquests, and the other to recouer their losses. To this end the King sent *René*, bastard of *Sauoie*, Earle of *Villars*, Lord Steward of *France*, the Marshall of *Saint Chabannes*, *Galeas* of *Saint Seuerin*, maister of his horse, and the Lord of *Montmorency*, newly created Marshall of *France*, to make a leuie of sixteen thou- sand *Suisses*, for to succour *Lautrec*. And to crosse him, the Emperour, by meanes of the King of *Englands* money (estranged from the loue of *France*) sent *Ierome Adorne* to make a leuie of six thousand *Lansquenets*, to put into *Milan*, with *Francis Sforce*. *Adorne* coming to *Trent*, vnderstood that the *Milanois* had already enter- tained foure thousand foote, with the which hee retired to *Milan*, whilst the other six thousand did arme.

In the meane time there wanted no practises at *Milan*, by *Ierome Moron*, and his partisans, to kindle the peoples hatred against the *French*. It is not alone in our late troubles, that wee haue tried, with what efficacie seditious sermons touch the peoples hearts. *Andrew Barbato*, an *Augustine* by profession, preaching with a great concourse of people, did wonderfully incourage them, to defend their religion, goods, families, liues, and Countrey. A vehement Preacher, and gracious to the people, leads them as hee pleaseth: and it is the ordinarie mask of the wise men of this world, to settle their affaires.

It is no lesse honour to preferre, then to get. Tenne thousand *Suisses* were al- ready come: and *Prosper Colonne* (to keepe the *French* from entring into *Milan*, by the Castle, and to furnish it with victuall, and munition,) hee caused to bee made, after the manner of the ancient *Romaines*, without the sayd Castle, betwixt the gates that go to *Vereuil* and *Come*, two trenches, distant twentie paces one from another, about a mile long: and at the end of either of the sayd trenches, a Cavalier, or Mount, verie high, and well furnished (to indammage the ennemie,) with

Parma be- sieged in vaine.

A new Pope called *Adrian* the sixth.

The warre continued.

1522. with Cannon, if hee approached on that side, so as the succours could not enter, nor the beseege go forth.

Lautrec hauing by chance surpris'd, and defeated the troupe of *Lewis* of *Conzague*, repayed his Companies, and the *Venetians* assembled theirs, about *Cremonas* who being ioyned with the *Suisses*, passed the riuier of *Adda*, the first of March, and *John de Medici* with them, who perswaded by the Kings great and certaine entertainment, was newly drawn to his seruice. They march like men resolu'd to assault the rampar, but the trenches stay them: the third day *Marc Anthony Colonne* and *Camillo* bastard sonne to *John Isques* of *Triuulce*, walking together in a house, and desiring to make a mount to shoot from with their artillerie, betwixt the enemies two trenches, a voice of Cannon shot from the Towne, did beate downe the sayd house, and buried them in the ruines thereof.

Thus *Lautrec* despayning to take *Milan* by assault, conuerteth all his thoughts to vanquish it in time by famine: he waists the Countrie, stops the victual, breaks the milles, and cuts off their water. But not to fall into their hands whome they feare, they dread not death. The peoples hatred against the *French*, and the desire of their new Duke whome they expected, makes them to endure all distresses patiently. *Francis Sforce* comes to *Trent* with six thousand *Lanquenets*, who by the taking of the Cattle of *Cravare*, hauing opened the passage of *Po*, arrived without any let at *Pavia*. The way was difficult from *Pavia* to *Milan*: for at the first brute of their approach, *Lautrec* went to lodge at *Caslin*, and the *Venetians* at *Binsque*, vpon the way to *Pavia*. There fell out an accident, which helps *Sforce*. The Marshall of *Foix* came out of *France* with money, and some troupes of footmen. *Lautrec* sent *Frederike* of *Bassole*, to receiue him into the estate of *Milan*, with foure hundred *Launces*, and seven thousand *Suisses*, and *Italianes*: being ioyned together, they went to *Nonare*, and through the fauour of the Castle, tooke it at the third assault, with the slaughter of most that defended it. A small gaine which shall cause a great losse.

For *Lautrec* wanting a great part of his forces, hee gaue *Sforce* meane to enter into *Milan*, with his *Lanquenets*, and three hundred horse, with an incredible ioy to the *Milanois*. The coming of a new Prince is very pleasing to an estate, whereby the people hope for ease. *Lautrec* seeing *Sforce* dislodged from *Pavia*, and receiued into *Milan*, resolues to beseege *Pavia*, where the Marquis of *Montona* commanded, with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. *Lautrec* batters the Towne, and makes a breach of thirtie fadome, hee giues two assaults, and is repulied. There was a postern in the Towne, ioyning to the riuier of *Tesin*, where they watred their horses, which by reason of the riuier was ill garded, whilist they did busie the Imperials at the breach. Saint *Colombe* had charge to passe the riuier, at a foard, with two thousand foot: and *Riberac* and *Rocheposay*, with foure hundred horse, of the companies of *Lautrec*, and the bastard of *Sauoy*, who marched along the wall, where there was no flankers, should by the swiftnesse of their horses, seize vpon the Postern, and hold it until their foote came. *Riberac* and *Rocheposay* execute their dessein, they enter the Towne, plant a *Guidon* vpon the postern: but Saint *Colombe* was content to bring his men to the riuers side, without wetting of his foote. So that the Citizens had leasure to come to succour it, and to repulse our men: who if they had bene followed, had taken the Towne. *Riberac* was slaine fighting, and *Rocheposay* had a leg broken with a musket shot. This attempt did wonderfully amaze the Inhabitants, considering their want of men, and munition: and the Marquis made it knowne, that without succours he should in the end bee forced to yeeld the Towne. *Prosper* knowing the danger, sent twelue hundred *Corses* and *Spaniards*, who marching by night, speaking *Gascon*, were taken for *Gascons*, by the *Venetians*, and passed their first guards, and meeting with some *French* scouts, speaking *Italian*, were taken for *Italians*. So as deceiuing the companies by this Stratageme, they passed without disorder, but very late, by the horsemen, who charging them behind, slew some small number. The death of *Riberac*, kinsman to *Lautrec*, made him to double the fire of the Cannon,

A Canon, and all prepared for an assault: when as *Colonne* fortified with *Sforce* troupes, goes to field, and comes to campe at *Chartrousse*, three miles from the *French*. What meane then was there to giue an assault, hauing a mightie armie behind them, and all things else succeeding crossely? The money which *Lesclut* had brought, was spent, and that which came from *France*, was stayed in *Ayone*, by the Vicount *Anchise*, who was sent to that end from *Milan* to *Buste*. The continuall raine had ouer-flowed the riuier of *Tesin*, and small brookes grew to be great riuers: so as the victuals which came from *Omelino*, to the campe, could no more passe: whereby they were forced to raise the siege, and draw towards *Monce*, to enioy the commodities of *Laudefan* and *Cremonois*.

B The enemy seeing the *French* armie take the way to *Monce*, fearing they would recover *Milan*, went to lodge at *Bicoque*, a Gentlemans house, but of so great a circuit as twentie thousand men might easily be put in battaile, vpon the way from *Laude* to *Milan*. Without doubt the valour and wisdom of *Prosper*, gaue the first wound to the *French* affaires, but the impatience of the *Suisses* did utterly ruine them. Their Colonels gaue *Lautrec* to vnderstand, that their companions were wearie of camping so long without any profit: that they demand of three things the one, eyther money, leave to depart, or a battaile. Our Commanders hoped by famine to driue *Colonne* out of his borrow. And what reason was there to assaile a mightie enemy in a Forte intrenched with Trenches, & flanked with great platformes, well furnished with artillerie: But neither perswasions, prayers, promises, nor authoritie could diuert them from their first resolution. Seeing then there was no other meane to reiect them, *Lautrec* resolued, rather to hazard his armie by a battaile, then to giue any occasion to be suspected of cowardise. An vnfortunate condition of a commander, who sees himselfe a slave to those whom he should command: and what a greefe is it to be forced to doe that which must needs bring shame and confusion? but where force rageth, right hath no place.

The day of *Quasimodo*, the armie marcheth towards *Bicoque*. The marshall of *Foix* led the foreward, *Lautrec*, the Marshall of *Chabannes*, the bastard of *Sauoy*, and *Galeas* of Saint *Seuerin* the battaile. *Francis Maria* Duke of *Urbis*, with the *Venetian* armie, by the reeward. Count *Peter* of *Nauarre* marched before, to make the way. The Lord of *Montmorency* should assaile them on the one side with eight thousand *Suisses*. *Lesclut*, with three hundred *Launces*, and a Squadron of *French* and *Italian* foote, should charge at the Bridge, entering into the enemies lodging, and *Pontdormy* should marche before the Marshall of *Foix*, with a troupe of horse, to watch, least the Imperials should come behinde and disorder the armie, and likewise to succour where neede should require.

Besides force, *Lautrec* vsed this pollicie, to raise the men at armes, to set red crosses vpon their Calflocks, the marke of the imperiall armie, in steed of a white, the liuerie of *France*. But the prouidence of *Colonne* made this deuise fruitlesse, as we shall see. E On the other side, *Colonne* had sent for *Sforce*, who hauing sodenly assembled foure hundred horse, and six thousand of the commons, was set to garde the bridge, and all the troupes were put in battaile vpon the Trench. *Montmorency* accompanied with a great number of the Nobilitie, was come close to the enemies rampar, intreating the *Suisses* to attend the Artillerie, and that the Marshall of *Foix* should be ready to assaile them on the other side: that *Colonne* being charged on all sides, might be constrained to diuide his forces. But a rash furie transporting the *Suisses*, to their owne ruine, all runne furiously to the enemies Fort. The Canon entertaines them before they approach, and kills about a thousand of them. A vollee of small shotte kills most of their Captaines, and chiefe Souldiers: and the Rampar being about a Pike in height, flaves them sodenly. The Earle of *Montfort*, eldest sonne to the Earle of *Laual*, *Atolans* of *Sauoy*, *Grawille*, brother to the Vidame of *Chartres*, *Roquelauze*, *la Guiche*, the Lords of *Tournon* and *Longa*, *Launay* a Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, and many others dyed there: Colonell *Albert Peter* (who about all others, thrust

Lautrec lost -
ced to fight
by the *Suisses*.

The battaile
of *Bicoque*.

1522. them into this furie,) suffred the paynes of his rathenesse. *Montmorency* was ouerthrowne, but sodenly releued by the gentlemen that were about him.

In the meane time, the Marshall of *Foix* forced the gards vpon the bridge, and charging the enemy within his fort, gaue hope of victory. But this violent heat of the *Swisses* was soone quenched. All retire, yet keeping a kinde of order. The Imperials freed from the *Swisses*, turne all their forces vpon the Marshall: and *Vandenesse*, who had not aboute foure hundred horse, and force them to repasse the bridge with the losse of some men. On the other side the *Spaniards* issuing forth, charge the *Swisses* in the rearward, and had put them to route; if *Pontdormy* had not by a furious charge kept them within their fort.

The *Venetians* kept themselves safe from danger: but if they had charged with the *Swisses* and men at armes, and the Marshall of *Foix* had bene well followed, the *French* in shew had wonne the victory. But when things are done, there neuer wants an if. The *Swisses* lost about three thousand men, and two and twentie Captaines. The enemy lost few: no men of quality, but *John of Cordone* Earle of *Cuslance*. So *Lautrec* returned with the rest of his army, the *Swisses* and the artillery, to *Monce*, from whence the Twelofday after, the *Swisses* returned to their houses, and the Bastard of *Savoie*, the Marshall of *Chabannes*, and *Galeas* of *Saint Senerin* retired with them. Now shall we see this nation so daunted, as of many yeares they shall not shew their accustomed vigour.

The remainder of the *French* hopes was chiefly grounded vpon the Towne of *Cremone*, for the passage of the river of *Adda*, and preferuation of the Country of *Cremone*. *Lautrec* sent *John de Medicis*, and *Frederic of Bossole* thither with their troupes, which were about foure hundred men at armes, three thousand foote, comprehending those which *Bonneuil*, Captaine of the place had. These companies used with their march in the night, arrived in the morning, and leaving the gards of the Towne to *Bonneuil*, they tooke their lodgings, to refresh themselves and their horse. The *Marquis of Pescara* had followed them, and his forward marching nere vnto the Towne, gaue occasion to the garrison to come forth to skirmish: in the which our men were so roughly repulsed, as the enemy entred with them pell meel, into *Lude*, and surprisid most of the soldiars in their beds at noone day. Thus, foure hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote were shamefully taken in a towne without batterie, without breach and without ladder. *John de Medicis* and *Bossole* saved themselves in *Cremone*.

The losse of *Lude* for the *French*, was the cause the enemy recovered *Pisqueton*, one of the strongest places vpon *Adda*. Here vpon *Pontdormy* offers to put himselfe into *Cremone*, with such as would followe him, and being strong or weak, fight with all that should come, desyring rather to die by the enemies sworde, then to fall into the mercie of villaines, or returne into *France* without armes, and without honour. *Lautrec* yeelds, and hee gathers together a troupe out of many companies. The Marshall of *Foix* would haue his part of this glorie, five or sixe dayes after the Imperials campe before it. At their arrivall, *John Medicis* mutines, he demands pay for fiftene or sixtene hundred men, which hee had gathered together presently after his retreat: he seizeth vpon one of the gates, towards the enemies campe, and threaten to deliver it for want of payement. They search their puries and pay him the summe demanded.

But hee was corrupted, and our men seeing his treacherous intent, hauing no hope of succors, did capitulate: That, if within threemonths the King did send a strong army, able to passe the river, they should depart with their baggage, armes and all their artillery, marked with the armes of *France*, and should bee conducted in safety into *Suize*: and the said Marshall should deliuer into *Prosper* hands all whatsoeuer was held in the Kings name, in the estate of *Milan*, except the Castells of *Milan*, *Cremone* and *Nouare*. This capitulation was found of hard digestion: for *Montmorency* was in possibilitie to renewe the League with the *Venetians*: but aduertised of this

A this composition, they changed both affections, and partie. The reason which made *Prosper* yeeld to so honorable a composition, was the desire he had to restore the *Ad-* The *Venetians* tooke the King.
dornes into *Genes*, before the leuie of foure hundred Lances, and foureteene thousand *Gassons* should be readie to enter into *Italie*. *Prosper Colonne* plants himselfe before *Genes*, which was then gouerned by *Ottavian Fregese*, a man of excellent vertue, who for his iustice, and other commendable parts, was as much beloued, as any Prince might bee, in a Citie diuided into factions, hauing not yett lost the remembrance of the ancient libertie *Fregese* being *Ierome* and *Anthony Adorne*, to take armes in fauour of the Imperials, and the people inclined to sedition, treated of an accord, when as *Peter of Nauarre* enters into the port with two gallies, and some two hundred to assure the Towne, attending the succours of *France*. But a Towre which the *Marquis of Pescara* had battered nere vnto the gate, made them returne vnto their parte. Being readie to conclude, the *Spaniards* discouering the small gards they made within, vnder colour of this hope, seized on the Towre, entering the Towne thereby, and by the wall which was ruined, killing all they met: and getting a great spoyle, *Fregese* being sicke, yeelded to the *Marquis of Pescara*, and within few dayes after died.

Peter of Nauarre was taken fighting in the market place. The Archbishop of *Salerno*, brother to *Ottavian*, and many Captaines saved themselves by sea. *Anthony Adorne*, was chosen Duke of *Genes*, and within few dayes received the Citadell, the *Chapellet*, and the Church of *Saint Francis*, by composition. Sixe thousand men newly sent by the King, vnder the command of the Lord of *Lorges*, for the succour of *Genes*, and the armie of *Claude of Orleans*, Duke of *Longuenille*, to repaire the affaires of *Lombardie*, returned without any effect, being already entred into the territoire of *Ast* and *Lescut*, prest by the terme limited by the composition, deliuered *Cremone* to *Colonne*, leaving *Bunon* Captaine of the Castle.

Thus the *French* were againe expelled out of *Italie*. *Lautrec* seeing the enterprise of *Lude* made fruitlesse, his armie ruined, and the *Swisses*, and *Venetians* rettyred, hee returns into *France*, bringing to the King, rather iustifications of his actions, then any signes of his victories, imputing the cause of these disorders to want of money, D without the which, hee could no longer keepe the men at armes together, who had serued eightene moneths, without any pay, the Kings mother hauing stayed foure hundred thousand Crownes, appointed for the payment of the armie, which summe (she sayd) she had spared out of her reuenues, and had long before put it into *Semblysais* hands, being ouerser of the Treasor of *France*. Here vpon the King appointed certaine Iudges, and Commissioners to determine of this controuersie, and to araigne the sayd *Semblysais*, for the which he lost his life.

Let vs now passe ouer the *Pirenee* mountaines, and then we will returne to the frontiers of *Picardie*: an other Theatre, where there was likewise acted a mournfull and bloudie Tragedie. The Admirall of *Bonniuel* was no sooner returned into *France* with his troupes, but the *Spaniards* went and incamped before *Fontarabie*, and had so prest it with seige, for the space of a yeare, as many were dead of hungar. The Marshall of *Chastillon* marched with an armie, to releue the Towne, and *Lude*, being then gouernour, comming to *Dax*, (six Leagues on this side *Bayonne*) hee died of a violent sicknesse. A Nobleman of great experience, and credit, *Montmorency* (who was then at *Venice*) succeeded him in the office of Marshall, and the Marshall of *Chabannes* in that of Lieutenant generall for the King in his armie, who hauing gathered together his troupes, lodged in *Endaye*, hauing a river berwixt the *Spanish* armie, and him, attending *Lartigue* Viceadmiral of *Brittanie*, with an armie at sea, for the victualling of the Towne. But he not appearing, either through sloth or misfortune, he resolues of another course. he passeth the river, dislodgeth the enemy with his Cannon, and by continuall skirmishes, makes them flee through the mountaines. So *Chabannes* hauing vitallid the Towne, returnes, leaving *Frauget* to gouerne there in the Kings name: he was Lieutenant to the Marshall of *Chabannes*, leading away *Lude* to refresh himselfe in

1522.

Warres in
Picardie.Lanquenets
defeated.Dourlans be-
leegeed.

in France. Without doubt, *Lude* deserves to be registred in this history. Having (as the Originall) *wonnesuch honour in the defence of this place, as he may well be compared to any that have mayntayned sieges in our dayes, or our forefathers*. Contrarywise, *France* shall purchase as much infamie, as his predecessour did honour. During these confusions beyond the Alpes and Pirenee mountaines, the warre continued throughout all the garrisons of *Picardie*, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with lesse. The day of the Annuntiation, twelue hundred Lanquenets going out of *Arras*, having spoiled *Bernaillie* and other villages about, led away their bootie, when as *Estree* commanding the comparie of the Duke of *Vendosme*, which was in garrison at *Dourlans*, advertised hereof, goes to horse-backe about midnight, with thrie men at armes onely, fiftie archers and three hundred of the Country men, without pay: he attends them at a passage of the river of *Othie*: upon their retreat, he chargeth them, defeats them, and kills a hundred and fiftie, making the rest to leaue their prey. And if this handfull of men could give them so great a checke, what had bene the issue, if their footemen had come to fight? In this encounter were slaine the Lord of *Ricame*, and the bastard of *Dampont*.

The enemy greued at this disgrace, sought to be reuenged by the surpris of *Dourlans*, where there were no foote-men. With this desseigne, the Earle of *Bures*, Lieutenant generall for the Emperour in the Lowe Countries, incampes before the Towne, with all his garrisons, batters it with six peeces of artillery, makes a breach neere to the Tower of *Corniere*, gives an assault, and plants many ladders. Here the Inhabitants shew themselves better *Frenchmen*, then in our late troubles: who backt by this small troupe of men at armes, repulse the enemy, and ouerthrowe a good number dead in the ditch.

To raise this seege, the Earle of *Saint Paul* (vnder the authority of the Duke of *Tendosse*, his brother) gathers together such forces as the garrisons could furnish, whereof the *Bourguignons* advertised, they shamefully returned to *Arras*, leaving their ladders within the trenches. *Dienal*, *Diunion*, *Brucil* and other places about *Betune*, (wonderfully annoying the frontier,) were ruined by the Duke of *Vendosme*. But oftentimes a small gaine is crost with a notable losse. *Telligny* came from *Monstreuil*, to ioine with the Dukes troupes at *Atouchy le Cayen*, when as passing by *Hedin*, he encountered three hundred *Bourguignons* on foote, diuining the bootie before them: hee chargeth these armed clownes, slue some and tooke others. A very preiudiciall victory, in regard of that valiant Knight, so well experienced in martiall assayes, who being thrust into the shoulder, died within fewe dayes after. In the meantime the Emperour passed into *Spain*, to punish the authoris of the sedition before mentioned, imparting his desseigne to the King of *England*. His voyage was not fruitlesse: they remayned well satisfied one of another, to the preiudice of this Crowne, of heauen against their common attempts.

A League betwixt the
Emperour &
the King of
England.

The first effect of their treatie, was to send their Ambassadors ioynly together to *Venice*, to require the Senat to ioine with the Emperour, for the defence of *Italie*. For the second; The King of *England* complayning that the King did not conuene the paiement of fiftie thousand Crownes yearly, which hee ought him (as wee haue sayed,) hee proclaimed warre against the King by his Herald, in case hee would not make a generall Truce with the Emperour, comprehending the Church, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentins*.

The King refused this truce, and as for the pension, *It is not reasonable* (saied hee) *to give money to him, that aides mine enemies with money*. Henry King of *England* had before lent a notable some of money to the Emperour: but not discovering himselfe openly: hee sent the Duke of *Suffolke*, husband to *Queene Marie*, widow to *Lewis*, the twelfth, to *Calais*: and the Emperour ioyned his forces with him, being led by the Earle of *Bures*.

The King opposed the Duke of *Vendosme*, commanding about a thousand men at armes

1522.

A armes, with their archers, and eightene thousand foote, assisted by that reuerend old man *Lewis* of *Tremouille*. The enemies army was not ready in fiftene dayes. The Duke therefore diuided his forces into *Bologne*, *Therouenne*, *Hedin*, *Monstreuil*, *Abbeville* and other places subiect to the enemies inuasion. Hee must not suffer their courage to quail through idleness: *Bapaume* serued them for an exercise. The Earle of *S. Paul* led the Earles of *Guise* and *Lorges* thither, equall in charge, with foure hundred men at armes, six thousand foote and foure Cannons. who having taken, burnt and razed the towne and Castle, they tooke their way to the passage of *Sluce*, and finding it guarded by the *Bourguignons*, they charge them, and chase them to the gates of *Douay*. Here *Francis* brother to the Duke of *Lorraine* and Earle of *Guise*, of the age of sixteene or seuentene yeares, carried his first armes: who seeing in this chase, seuen or eight *Bourguignons* on foote, seeking their safety within the woodes: being alone, not seene by his followers, hee lights and chargeth them: but *Martin du Bellay* arrives happily accompanied with ten or twelue horse, by whose means these runn-awaies were cut in peeces.

Hereupon the *English* arrive at *Calais*, and at their first entry, they become maisters of the Castle of *Comtes*, betwixt *Monstreuil* and *Hedin*. To prevent theie incursions, the Duke sent the foresaid Earles into the trench of *Bologne* (*Ardes* was then ruined and desert) who by the recovery of the said Castle, put all to the sword they found within it, except the Captaine: and afterwards ouerthrew many other troupes, that were dispersed in the land of *Oye*, while the two armies, *English* and *Bourguignons* assembled betwixt *Ardes* and *S. Omer*, consulting vpon the first object of their forces.

Hedin seemed the easiest to be attempted, yet it must needes cost blowes. The Lord of *Biez* commanded there with thirty men at armes, and thirty Dead-paies: *Sereu* with a thousand foote, and *La Lande* with foue hundred. The battery continued fiftene dayes, and a breach was made of forty fadome, but no assault giuen: the enemy being diuerted by continuall alarumes. The Earles of *Guise* and *Pont-dormy*, vnderstanding one day amongst others, that foure hundred *English* were gone towards *Biez*, and the Commander of *Oison*: they part from *Monstreuil* with their companies, and some of the Duke of *Vendosmes*, they ouertake them, charge them, and kill or take them all. Some fewe dayes after, *Pont-dormy* incountring some other troupes, which had burnt *Fressin*, a house of his elder brothers, he put them all to the sword.

Thus kept within their lodgings, by continuall enterprises, and afflicted with a general flux, which went through their army, proceeding in part by the continuall raine, after six weekes seege, they raised their Campe with shame, to march towards *Dourlans*, which was not defensible. At that time there was no Castle: and from the mountaine where it is now built, they discovered the towne on all sides. The Earle of *S. Paul* prevented the enemy, and (least the enemy should make vse thereof) hee spoyled the victualls, and tooke off the gates: then hee rettyred to *Corby*, to withstand the attempts of the *English*. Then arrived the Marshall of *Montmorency*, bringing with him the two hundred Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, with authority from his Maestie to rule and command at *Corby*, if the enemy did beseege it.

But there was too great resolution in *Corby*, the wayes were too foule, the infirmities were many in the *English* and *Bourguignons* armies: and winter approaching (it was about all Saints) inuited the to set saile. Being able to do no worse, they burnt *Dourlans*, and the Villages about, and rettyred into *Arthois*, putting the *Bourguignons* into Garrison: and the *English* tooke their way for *England*. Let vs conclude this year with an ignominious and farall losse for the Christians. *Soliman* did not forget to make his profit of these horrible confusions: who by the painefull and constant siege, for the space of eight moneths, brought the Isle of *Rhodes* vnder his obedience: where (to the great contempt of our Religion) he made by the Turke,

1123. his entrie the day of the birth of our Lord and Saviour. In the beginning of the following year, the Castell of *Milan* (prest with diseases and want of all things) compounded, to depart with bag and baggage, if they were not releued by the fourth of Aprill. But death preuenting most part of the garrison, hindred them from enioying any benefit of the Capitulation.

At the same time *Liuet*, a soldiar of the garrison of *Guise*, treated with the Duke of *Alot*, to deliuer him the Towne, (but not according to the buyers intent) by the consent of *Nicholas* of *Bussu* Lord of *Longueuall*, Capitaine of the Castell. The party was well made and the plot cunningly layed, to take the marchants when they should come for their possession. The Lord of *Fleuranges*, with three hundred men at armes, and foure or fiftethousand foote, should lie betwixt *Auenmes* and *Guise*, to stoppe the enemies retreat. The Duke of *Vendosme*, with five hundred men at armes, foure thousand *Germaines*, and foure thousand *French*, should cut off their way betwixt the Abby of *Bonhourie* and *Guise*: so as the enemy seeking to retire, had the one before him, and the other behind. The chiefe of all their troups would be partakers of this enterprize: When as newes comes vnto them, that the King (who would countenance this exploit with his presence) was come in post to *Genlis*, neere vnto *Chauxis*. This made them turne head without any effect, giuing him the strappadoe that sold it, &c. was their guide: the which *Longueuall* required with the like to the hostages, which the Duke of *Arefiat* had giuen him for the performance of covenants.

His maiestie, to make vse of these troups which hee had assembled, commanded them to victuall *Terouenne*, the which *Fiennes* besieged with fiftene thousand *Flemings* and sixe hundred *English*: the King had a little before repayed it. *Bailloul* vpon the hill a strong place, betwixt *Arras* and *Dourlins*, and defended by three hundred *Spaniards*, was also inderance to this desieine. The Duke of *Vendosme* tooke charge of the armie, whereof the Duke of *Norfolke* led the *Germaines*: the Lords of *Sercu*, *Bourmonville*, *la Hergerie*, *Fontains* and *Halli* commanded the *French*. *Bryon* had foure hundred archers of the Kings gard, and *la Fayette* commanded the artillery: he made his approches at noone day, without any trenches, but with the losse of three gunners that were slaine, and the Lord of *Piennes* shot into the arme: hee battred it the same day, gaue them the it lies that were within it, and razed the Castell. The enemy lodged in *Andintion* and *Dellente*, halfe a League from *Terouenne*: and *le Lude* Marshall of the Campe (having lodged his army at *Fouquemberg*, to haue victualls more commodiously from *Montreuil*, and to keepe them from the enemy) did cut off the way to *Saint Omer*, and the garrison of *Terouenne*, that of *Aire*. *Fiennes* seeing them approach so neere, dislodged in the night, and went to campe at *Elfaut*. The Duke of *Vendosme* followed, with an intent to fight, whilest that *Bryon* marking directly to *Terouenne* were leueed it with such victualls as were brought from *Montreuil*. The Earle of *Dammartin* and the Lord of *Esguilly* began the skirmish, when a soden feare surpriseth the *Flemings*, puts them in route towards the riuer of *Coldes*, where many were drowned in the passage, not able to be stayed, although no man followed them: for that *Bryon* returning from *Terouenne*, brought commandement from the King to the Duke of *Vendosme*, not to hazard a batrayle, but to keepe his forces whole for the voiage of *Italie*, which his maiesty pretended to make in person.

But he must likewise prouide for the frontier, especially for *Terouenne*, being onely refreshr for some dayes. The victuall and carriages being ready, and the troups camping before *Andintion*, vpon the riuer of *Lis*, the forward led by the Marshall of *Montmorency*, was on the one side of the riuer, and the battaile on the other: the *Flemings* and *Bourguignons* (aduertised of these diuided lodgings,) come and charge them both by night at one instant, fall vpon the gards of the light horse-men of the battaile, and repulse them to the men at armes, whereof part being then on horse-backe, they sustaine the shooke: and if they had not busied themselues with the spoile, before a small victorie, it would haue caused a great disorder in the army.

The Marshall had fortified his gards. *Tiguerette* a man at armes of his company

A commaunded them: who at the first alarm given by his skouts, being advanced to discover, he was compassed in, and taken prisoner. Our historie owes the report of his name, to the faithfull affection he bare vnto his Country: for fearing least the Campe should be surpriseth, he respected not his life in regard of the aduertisement he might giue in crying to armes. So the enemy seeing him selfe discovered, made the victualling of *Terouenne* easie by his retreat.

This exploit increased the Kings desire to repasse the Alpes. With this intent, he sent the Marshall of *Montmorency*, to make a leauy of twelue thousand *Swisses*, appointing the *Rendez-vous* for his army, at *Lion*. In the beginning of August, he dispatched the Admirall of *Bonniniet*, with six thousand *French*, led by *Lorges*, to get the passage of *Suze*, & will he might follow with the rest of his forces.

The *Venetians* having tried in former times, that the neighbourhood of the King of *France* and the Emperours of *Germany*, had caused them to attempt against their common weale, desiring that the Duchy of *Milan* might remaine in the possession of *Francis Sforce*, whose power they nothing feared: and for that the Emperour, not able to proceed further, inclined to the restoring of *Sforce*, they imbraced his friendship, and concluded a peace and perpetuall league with him, with *Ferdinand* Duke of *Austria*, and with *Francis Sforce* Duke of *Milan*, whereby they bound themselves: To arme for the common defence of Italy, sixe hundred men at armes, sixe hundred light horse, and six thousand foote. And the Emperour, with the like numbers of men should defende all that the *Venetians* possesse in Italy. Moreover Pope *Adrian*, desiring (in shew) the generall peace of all Christendome, had soone after the comming to the Pontificall seat, made some shewe to interpose his authority for the reconciliation of our warriers.

But he had beene of long time at the Emperours deuotion: so as he did willingly giue care to such as perswaded him, not to suffer the King of *France* to repollesse the Duchy of *Milan*. And certaine letters of the Cardinal of *Volterres*, intercepted by the meanes of the Duke of *Sesse*, Ambassador for the Emperour at *Rome*, thrusts him on to make his declaration against the King. This Cardinal aduised the King, by the Bishop of *Xaintes* his Nephew, to assaile the Hand of *Sicile*, with an army by sea: to constrain the Emperour to turne his forces to the defence thereof, and to make the way more easie to recouer the estate of *Milan*.

And according to this Councell, a practise was discovered in *Sicile*, in the Kings fauour, which was the death of the Earle of *Cambrate*, the maister of the Ports, and of the high treasurer of the land, who was quartered. These reasons, and the landing of the *French*, which was butted throughout all *Italy*, did easly draw the Pope to ioyne with the Emperour, the King of *England*, the Archduke *Ferdinand*, brother to the Emperour, the Duke of *Milan*, the *Florentines*, *Genouois*, *Sienois* & *Luguois*: who agreed to leaue an army to oppose it against any one that should inuade any of the confederates in *Italy*. Neither the Emperours league with the *Venetians* (who had played the turne-coats) nor the vnion of so many Princes and Estates conspired together, could daunt the resolution of our *Francis*: and now the rumor of his comming bred new tumults in *Italy*. *Lionel* brother to *Albert Pie* surpriseth the Towne of *Carpi*, which the Emperour had taken from him, proclayming him a rebell to the Empire.

Francis Sforce, riding one day from *Monce* to *Milan*, and his troupe remaying behind, least they should annoy the Duke with the dust which their horses did raise, *Boniface Viconte*, a yong Gentleman, grieved that a kinsman of his had beene put to death within *Milan*, by the consent (said he) of the said Duke, watching his opportunity, hee pricks forward with a dagger in his hand to strike *Sforce* in the throat: but being mounted vpon a little Moyle, and *Boniface* vpon a tall & swift Turkish horse, *Sforce* had meanes to slip aside, so as he hurt him in the shoulder: and then the murtherer began to strike him with his sword: but his traine comming to his rescue, they forced him to leaue him, and so by the swiftnesse of his Horse, hee saued himselfe

The Duke of Milan hurt.

Bailloul besieged by the French.

The Flemings put to rout.

1523

1123. The Castell of Milan y.c. ded.

1523. in *Piedmont*. *Galeas* of *Birague*, followed by the banished men of *Milan* and some *French* soldiars, which were in *Piedmont*, seized vpon *Valence*: but hauing no time to fortifie it; *Anthony* of *Leue* beleeged it, battered it, and the second day of the siege rooke it by force, with the slaughter of foure hundred men and many prysoners taken, of which number was *Galeas* chiefe of the tumult.

The Duke of
Bourbon re-
uolts.

The *French* army passed the *Alpes* in small troupes, and the King prepared to followe them. But it is a matter of dangerous consequence for a King, to thrust a great Prince into despaire, who hath meanes of reuenge, if without respect of his degree or quality, they seeke wholly to oppresse him. Notwithstanding Princes should forbear to cause any inuouations, if they did but duly examine the causes and reasons whereby men colour their bearing armes against their Country. Of the Kings iourney is stayed by the like occurrent. We haue noted before, that the leading of the foreward (giuen by the King to the Duke of *Alanfon*, and to the Marshall of *Chastillon*) was the first motiue which estranged *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, Constable of *France*, from the Kings seruice, and this other did wholly withdrawe him. Of the marriage of *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon* and *Anne* sister to King *Charles* the 8. *Susanne* was borne, their only heire, the which being made sure to *Charles* of *Valois* Duke of *Alanfon*. *Charles* of *Bourbon* Earle of *Montpensier*, and afterwards Constable, waged in lawe, after the decease of the sayd *Peter*, that all the lands of his succession belonged vnto him, as the heire male, issued from a yonger brother of *Bourbon*. To ende this controuersie, a marriage was made betwixt the sayd Earle of *Montpensier* and *Susanne*, and he called him selfe Duke of *Bourbon*. *Susanne* dying soone after the first discontent of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Kings mother being Regent, (by the Counsell as they say of *Anthony Prat* then Chancellor) pretended, that such lands as came by the succession of *Peter* of *Bourbon*, and were held by gift, belonged to the King: and such as were held by inheritance, appertayned vnto her, as the next heire, and daughter to a sister of the sayd *Peter* married with the Duke of *Sauoye*.

The sute depended in the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, & *Charles* eyther distrusting the equity of his cause, or fearing least the Regents authority should preuaile against his right, & so by consequence dispossesse him: choosng rather to abandon his Country, then to lue in want, he practiseth with the Emperour, by the meanes of *Adrian* of *D Croi* Earle of *Reux*: and to make the articles of his transaction the more strong, hee obtaynes a promise from the Emperour, to marry *Eleanor* his sister, widow to *Emanuel* King of *Portugall*.

The King being past the *Alpes*, the Constable should inuade *Bourgonne* with twelue thousand *Germaines*, which should bee secretly leuied by the Emperour and King of *Englind*, who at the same instant should inuade *Picardie*, whilst the *Spaniards* recovered *Fontenabie*, as they did. Of their Conquests he onely reserued *Prouence*, pretending to call himselfe King of *Prouence*, as belonging vnto him (sayd he) by the houle of *Aniou*, yeelding all the rest to the *Englysh*. A practise sufficient to shake *France*, before the King (being absent with his forces) should returne in any time to succour it. But they reckoned without their host, and the gardian of this Crowne did preuent them: for *Argouges* and *Marignon*, gentlemen of *Normandie*, and house-hold seruants to the Duke, had aduertised the King, of his pretended retreat to the Emperour: but they were ignorant of the agreement made betwixt them.

To diuert him from this resolution, the King passing by *Molins*, did visit the Duke in his chamber: who made a shewe to be sick, and that cunningly. I vnderstand (sayd the King) of some practises which the Emperour makes to withdrawe the loue you vndoubtedly beare vnto the Crowne, as issued and neere allyed to the houle of *France*. I do not beleue, that you haue giuen eare to any such perswasions, mooued with any dislike of mee, or of my realme. Some feare of distrust to loose your offices, hath perchance made a breach in the loue you haue alwayes made shewe of. Let not this conceyt trouble you. I promise you, in case you should loose your sute against my selfe and my mother, to restore you to the possession of all your goods. Prepare therefore to followe mee, after your recovery in the

A voyage of *Italie*. The Duke (being very wise) dissembled his intent cunningly, consulting vnto the King, that in truth the Earle of *Reux* had fought him for the Emperour, but he would giue no eare vnto him: that his intention was to haue aduertised his Maestie at the first view, being loth to commit it to any mans report: that the Physicians gaue him hope to be soone able to go in a litter, and that he would not faile to come to *Lions*, to receiue his Maiesties commandements. But considering that he had to deale with too strong a partie, and that hardly he should enioy his goods, which were already sequestred by a decree of the Court, he retired to *Chantelles*, in the beginning of September, a house of his owne, where he had the most sumptuous mouebles that any Prince could haue. From thence he sent the Bishop of *Autun*, of the house of *Hurants*, to the King, with instructions signed with his hand, promising, To serue his Maestie well and loyally, in all places, whersoever it should please him, during his life, and without any breach, vpon restitution of the possessions of *Peter* of *Bourbon*.

The King finding this manner of proceeding hard and insolent, sent the Bastard of *Sauoy*, Lord Steward of *France*, and the Marshall of *Chabannes*, with foure hundred men at armes, the Captaines of his gardes, and the Prouost of his houle, to besiege the Duke in *Chantelles*. And vnderstanding that many *Lansquenets* did troupe together vpon the frontier of *Bourgonne*, he caused the Bishop of *Autun*, the Chancellor of *Bourbonnois*, the Lord of *Cars*, *Saint Vallier*, *Buffy* brother to *Palisse*, *Emard de Priis*, *La Fanguion*, and many others, to be taken prisoners: who for the loue of him were content to abandon their country, families and goods, notwithstanding they found grace with the King.

But the Duke (despairing of his estate) resolved to hazard all, and to begin a furious Tragedie, in the which we shall see our *Francis* act the part of an vnfortunate prisoner of the warres, and *Charles* reserued for a bloudie and tragicke end. He disguised himselfe, and taking the Lord of *Pomperant* for his onely companion, whose seruante he seemed to be. After many turnings, being often feared, as appears in the Originals, the wayes being layed, and the passages stoppt, or full of troupes, marching into *Italy*, he recouers the *French* Court, and so by *Ferrete*, crossing through *Germaine*, he came into *Italy*: and according to the choise which the Emperour gaue him, eyther to passe into *Spaine*, or to remaine in *Italie* with his armie, in the end hee continued at *Genes*, to see the end of these two great armies.

The Duke of
Bourbon lies
disguised.

The Marshall and Lord Steward, seized vpon *Chantelles*, with the mouebles of *Carlat*, and generally of all the lands of the houle of *Bourbon*, for the King. In the meane time, the Marshall of *Montmorency* had made such speed, as his twelue thousand *Suisses* were ioyned with the Admirall, attending the Kings comming at *Turin*. But his presence was necessarie in *France*: there were strange practises against him. He therefore sends part of his forces to the Admirall, and commands him to execute the enterprise of *Milan*, as they two had concluded. Hee had eightene hundred Launces, twelue thousand *French*, ten thousand *Suisses*, Six thousand *Lansquenets*, and three thousand *Italians*, a sufficient armie for a great attempt: but want of iudgement to imbrace occasions, and negligence of his businesse, made the Admirall loose the opportunitie to recouer *Milan* at the first, and to bee vnfortunate in this voyage.

Prosper Colonne, considering the *Venetians* league with the Emperour, and the treachery of the Duke of *Bourbon*, could not beleue that the King should continue constant in his resolution, to inuade the Duchie of *Milan* that yeare. This perswasion had made him catechise to make necessarie prouision for this warre. But now (notwithstanding his infirmities) he employes all his meanes and forces, to keepe the *French* from passing the river of *Tesin*, neglecting to repaire the Bastions and Ramparts of the Suburbes of *Milan*, being for the most part ruined and spoiled. But the *French* finding the waters lowe, some passed at a Foard, others in Boates, about some foure myles from the imperiall Campe, making a Bridge for the Artillery. *Colonne* knowing that an incounter of the *French* is very dangerous, in

1523. in their first heate retired into *Milan*, and finding the Cittizens and Souldiars wonderfully amazed, seeing no meanes to keepe the Cittie in the estate it was, he abandons it, to prouide for the defense of *Laude*. Without doubt, the captious propositions of an enemy must be duly examined: and moreover, an assaillant that hath prevented his enemy, should not loose any houre, neither by his too great lenitie, nor his base negligence.

The *Milanais* fraide.

Hereupon *Galeas Viconte*, giues the Admirall to vnderstand, that if he enters forcibly into *Milan*, there will be no meanes to saue it from spoile, and so by consequence, the King shall make no vse thereof against his enemies: but if he would suffer him to go and compound with some Cittizens, which did sollicit him, he would giue order, the imperialis should depart, and furnish the King with a good summe of money, which might greatly auale him in his affaires. The Admirall is carryed away with these perswasions. But whilst that *Galeas Boyer*, Generall of *Normandie*, and some others doe treat: they spend some time in vaine by the riuer of *Tesin*, during the which, *Prosper* deluded our men with parlees, renewed the hearts of his men (who had already packt vp their baggage for their recreate) and with exceeding diligence, puts the Rampars in defence. And then knowing his forces vnable to defend the hole Duchie, he restrained them to keepe *Milan*, *Cremona*, and *Paula*, whilst the furie of the French should grow golde by an idle aboad, and the Winter approaching nere, ruine them.

Milan besieged.

The Admirall, finding the error he had committed by his too great credulitie, employed all his forces against *Milan*, but too late. The Cittizens had gotten heart: and *Prosper* had now gathered together eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, four thousand *Spaniards*, six thousand five hundred *Lansequents*, and three thousand *Italians*, besides the inhabitants who were all armed. He doth notwithstanding besiege it, betwixt the wayes to *Laude* and *Paula*, and seeing other places abandoned, he takes *Monce* for the King, to cut off the victuals from *Milan*: he sends *Bussy d'Amboise*, with two thousand franke Archers, to seize vpon *Alexandria*, and the Cheualier *Bayard*, with four hundred men at armes, eight thousand foote, and ten peeces of Artillerie to *Laude*, where leauing a strong garrison, he went sodenly to attempt *Cremona*. The Castell held yet for the King, but the enemies had made two great trenches betwixt the Towne and the Castell. There *Rence de Cere*, a Baron of *Rome* ioyned with him, leading four thousand *Italians*. This supply encouraged *Bayard* to attempt the Towne in another place. They make their approches, and within three dayes make a reasonable breach. But all fall out crossely for the French. Being ready to goe to the assault, a continuall raine of four dayes, made the ascent so slippery, as they went as much backward as forward, and did so breake the wayes, as no victuals could come to the Campe from any part. Even so it chanced to *Lautrec* before *Paula*. Moreover, the *Venetians* armed on the one side, and the *Spaniards* on the other, cut off their victuals. So *Bayard* prest with famine, resieft the Castell with men and victuals, and returned to *Milan*. Without doubt *Buron* with the whole garrison that kept this Fort, deserued great commendations: where hauing continued two yeares in extreame necessitie, desiring all rather to dye, after the example of their Captaine, then to yeeld the place by treacherie, there remained onely eight Souldiars, whom *Bayard* found languishing, but resolute in their constancie.

The Castell of *Cremona* recovered.

We haue vnderstood, that by the intelligences of the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Emperor at the same instant should assaile *Bourgongne*, and *Champagne*, the English *Picardis*, and the *Spaniards* *Fontarabie*. According to this desseine, and to make the siege of *Fontarabie* easie, the *Spaniards* Campe before *Bayonne* the 17. of September. *Lautrec* Gouverneur of *Guienne*, although he were vnprouided of men, (the Kings forces being dispersed in *Italie*, *Champagne* and *Picardie*), furnished the Towne with victuals, munition, and such men as the time and necessitie could afford, and he himselfe went into it. Where the valour of this Nobleman, who continued three dayes and three nights continually vpon the walls, prouiding for all things necessary, especially for the

Bayonne besieged.

A the entrie of two riuers which passe at *Bayonne*, giuing such couraget to men, women, and children, as euery one falling to worke, the most coward made shewes of great willingness.

So as the fourth day of the seege, the enemy feeling, that hee did but loose there his time, left *Bayonne*, to beseege *Fontarabie*, which shewed no proofes of like valour. It was furnished with good store of men, and other things necessary. *Fontarabie* yeilded. Hee was an ancient gentleman, & all his life had had the reputatiō of a good souldiar. But now to saue his goods, not attending any force, hee yeelds the Towne, which was not to be forced. A cowardise which brought him to a scaffold at *Lions*, to bee there degraded of his Nobilitie, and himselfe, with his posteritie, declared base, for that hee had bene so faint hearted, and carelesse, to preuent the conspiracie, which hee sayd *Don Peter of Navarre*, (the sonne of *Peter*, Marshall of *Navarre*, whome the *Spaniards* had lately caused to die in prison) had with the *Spaniards*.

On the other side, the *Lanquenets*, which had bene lent for the Duke of *Bourbon*, were come vnto *Champagne*, vnder the commaund of *William Earle of Furstemburg*, and spoyled the Prouince, after they had taken *Cossy*, a place vpon the confines of the French Comte, and *Montclair* a Castle seated vpon a mountaine, neare to *Chamont* in *Basigni*. The Duke of *Guise*, whome the King had made his Lieutenant generall in *Bourgongne*, in the place of the Lord of *Tremouille*, lately aduanced to the government of *Picardie*: hauing, with his companie of a hundred men at armes, those of the Dukes of *Alanfon* and *Vendosme*, ioyned with the forces of *Oruall*, gouernour of *Champagne*, and some other troupes, making about six hundred men at armes, hee so restrayned the enemy, as hauing no meanes, for want of horse, to gard their foragers, they were in few dayes famished, and forced to seeke their retreat at *Neufchastell* in *Lorraine*.

The Duke of *Guise* aduertised of their course, sent some three hundred men at armes before, to charge them in front, at the passage of the riuer of *Mense*, whilst that he should set on them behind, being laden with a great bootie. The Duke came, and finding them halfe past, hee cut the remainder in peeces, and recovered the bootie. But a quarrell chanced betwixt *Couruille*, and *Chaslelet*, a *Lorraine* enseigne bearer to the said Duke, the which (*Couruille* being thrust through the mouth, with a sword) ouerthrew the better part of this gooly enterprise. The Duke of *Suffolke* was lately landed againe at *Calais*, with foureteene or fiteene thousand English, which ioyned with the forces of the Earle of *Bure*, made five or sixe thousand horse, and about five and twentie thousand foote. But if in their former voyage, they made a great stirre and reaped small benefit, so likewise, they will make but a bare conquest by this last descent.

In *Picardie*.

Tremouille (although he had so few men, as hee was forced, when the enemy had left the place, to retire his men, to put them into that, whether the enemy seemed to E bend) had so furnished the Townes with valiant Commanders, and all things necessary, as the Duke and Earle, hauing made a shew to beseege *Terouenne*, *Hedin*, *Pourlans* and *Corbie*, in the end they campe before *Bray* vpon *Somme*. The wall was weake, and three mountaines commanding the Towne, were the cause they could not fortifie it: yet that braue *Pontdormy* had thrust himselfe into it, with a hundred and fiftie men at armes, and some fiteene hundred foote, to defend this passage against the enemy. Let vs not blame a valiant Captaine, if he receiue a disgrace, in a weake place. Hee made his accompt (in case he were forced) to retire by the Cause, and to breake the bridges after him. But he was so prest, as he had no meanes to retire, but in disorder, with the losse of foure score, or a hundred men: and if he had not maintained the fight with his men at armes, whilst his footmen recovered *Corbie*, there had been no hope of safetie for the rest.

But see how hee reuenged this disgrace. The enemy threatned *Montdidier*: and the small forces *Tremouille* had, made all men vnwilling to leade any succours thither.

1523. *Pontdormy* was neuer daunted with the difficultie of any enterprife.

Night being come, he goes to field, and without any encounter, puts into *Montdidier Rochebaron*, an *Auvergne*, and *Fleuras* Lieutenant of the Earle of *Damers*. The valour of *Pontdormy*. *his* company, either of them commanding fiftie men at armes, and *René of Palletiere*, with a thousand *French*. And fearing least *Tremouille* should haue need of him, he had not the patience to attend for night to make his retreat, hee doth it at noone day, resolute to charge all hee should incoutre, hauing but his owne companie, with that of the Vicont of *Laudedan*. With this resolution he meets with five hundred horse, chargeth them with such furie, as hee puts them to rout. But two thousand men comming to succour the rest, he was forced to leaue the chase, to saouer the retreat of his troupe. In the which, his horse being slaine, hee left *Barnicuelles*, and *Camilles* his brother and nephew, to beate the shooke, with twentie men at armes, whilst that he saued the rest in *Amiens*, the enemy cutting off the way to *Corbie*, *Barnicuelles* and *Camilles* (ouerthrowne from their horses,) were taken prisoners, with seven men at armes, of their companie. So *Roye* remayned at the enemies mercie, wholely taken, and burnt it, marched to *Montdidier*, where a breach being made, they within distrustung of their forces, departed with their baggage, and came to *Tremouille*.

Bayard and *Montdidier* taken.

The enemy had opened the passage of *Oise*, and approched within eleuen leagues of *Paris*. But their courses are stayed, and *Paris* is assured by the arriual of the Duke of *Vendosme*, with four hundred men at armes, so as the *English* and *Bourguignons* fearing to be compassed in by the Duke and *Tremouille*, and so famished, took their way to *Artois*, and a little after All Saints day, (a notable season for the losse of *Corne*, which was frosen generally throughout the Realme) they dismissed their armie, carrying no other spoyle of their victorie, but the taking of the Castle of *Behan*, which was yeilded vnto them without somons. But the enemy was no sooner retired, but *Tremouille*, before the Duke of *Vendosmes* arriual, made to furious a batterie, with sixe Cannons, as the garison seeing their armie broken, yeilded by composition. Thus *Picardie* is freed from a mightie armie, which at their departure held not one foot of land of their Conquest.

In like sort, the Duke *Bourbons* attempt against *Bourgogne* turned to smoke, for wanting money, to pay his Lanquenets, the King did practise some of their Captains, who came to him with their troupes. So despayring to get any thing in *France*, he retired into *Milan*. *Augustus* the Emperour loued treason, but not the Traitor. So the Emperour *Charles* loued his actions, but not the Duke of *Bourbons* person. To keepe him from passing into *Spaine* vnder hope of marrying with *Eleonor*, sister to the Emperour *Charles*, made him his Lieutenant generall in *Italie*, whilst that hee prepared to passe into *France* in person, as we shall see.

Pope *Adrian* dies.

Let vs now returne into *Italie*, where wee shall see a Pope, of more turbulent spirit then *Adrian*, who died the foureteenth of September, little lamented, and of small esteeme. Hee was a stranger, and little acquainted with the affaires of the Court of *Rome*, hee was learned, and not greatly vicious. The Colledge of Cardinals repined to see any other sett in *Saint Peters* chaire but an *Italian*, or at the least, one bred vp in *Italie*: *Iules* Cardinall of *Medicis* after many and sundry strits and contentions, euery one of the Cardinals seeking the choise and election by the support of such as fauored him, in the end he carried it, the nineteenth of November, through the fauour (saith the originall) of the great revenues of his ecclesiasticall linings.

Clement the 7. chosen.

In all his actions, wee shall see him discover a spirit wonderfully ambitious, of a great courage, active, desirous of innouations, giuen to affaires, especially of the world, not much subiect to his pleasures, and giuing hope of great and extraordinary matters: and for that presently after his insailement, hee vsed clemencie to the Cardinall of *Volterre*, declared vnusufficient to come into the Conclau by *Adrian*, for the subiect wee haue formerly noted: hee therefore tooke vpon him the name

A name of *Clement* the 7. In the meane time our Admirall tooke cold before *Milan*, which he thought to famish, cutting off conduits that went into the Towne, & bearing down the milles: but the great number of hand milles (which *Colonne* had caused to be made) preserved the Citizens from famine. And to cut off the victualles that came from *Laudesan* to the *French* Campe, *Colonne* had put the *Marquis* of *Mantoua*, with five hundred horse into *Pausia*. The Admirall fearing, least he should seize vpon the bridge hee had made at *Vigene*, by the which victuals came vnto his armie, he commanded *Bayard* and *Rence*, to come and lodge at *Vigene*: but by their dislodging from *Monce*, the passage was open to the enemy, and then victuals entered abundantly into *Milan*, which caused the ruine of the *French* army.

The enemies victories.

B Nothing succeeds happily with them, whome the prouidence of God doth not fauour. The hope to famish *Milan* is frustrate, and the intelligence which the Admirall had within the Towne with one *Morgand*, a Corporall of the Squadron of *Iohn de Medicis*, is discovered with the losse of all their lines, that had consented (hee should haue receiued the *French* into a bastion, when the gard thereof fell vnto him.) Moreover the enemy growes proude of small aduantages and light victories, who being accustomed to ouercome by degrees, resolues to vanquish all at once. *Iohn de Medicis* being to garde the victuals that came from *Tresse* to *Milan*, with five hundred horse and a thousand foote, met with foure score *French* Lances: and by a fayned retreat drew them into an ambush of five hundred hargnebuziers, which he had layd, he easily

Iohn de Medicis frustrated.

C ly defeats them, slue some and takes the rest. In an other encounter, *Succe* a *Bourguignon* put to rout threescore men at armes, of the companie of the maister of the horse. Our men being in gard at the trenches, which were made to gouern vnto the rampars, assailed by many skirmishes, had most commonly the worst. So decreasing in number, prest with abundance of snowe and the sharpnesse of the winter, which they had endured fixe monethes together, the Admirall retired his army, to lodge it in *Biagras*, and other places thereabouts. He sent the Earle of *S. Paul* from *Biagras*, with *Rance de Ceres*, and *Lorges* generall of the *French* foote, to beseege *Aron*, a towne vpon the *Lac-Maiour*. They make their approches, plant their ordinance, batter it about five and twenty daies, and giue two or three assaults. But *Colonne* foreseeing this dessein, at the retreat of our men, had manned the Towne with twelue hundred soldiars, who made our attempts fruitlesse. That which they could not do by assault, they seeke to effect by mine, blowing vp a great part of the wall. But they kickt against the pricke. The wall falls vpon the same foundation, and stands firme. So frustrate of their intention, hauing lost many good men, they returne to the Campe.

An extraordinary chance.

At that time *Prosper Colonne*, the chiefe pillar of the Emperours affaires in *Italie*, died the last day but one of the yeare. A famous Captaine throughout all the course of his life, well practised in matters of warre, slowe to embrace the occasions which the weakenesse or disorders of his enemies might present him: but commended to haue managed the warre, more by counsell then with the sword. *Don Charles* of *Lannoy*, Viceroy of *Naples*, was substituted by the Emperour: *Don Charles*, hauing taken vpon him the gouernment, imployed all his wit to expell the *French* out off the Duchie of *Milan*, eyther by force or famine: and to appoche neere vnto them, attending a supplie of six thousand Lanquenets out of *Germany*: an occasion was offered to make the first fruits of his armes famous.

Prosper Colonne dies.

They giue him intelligence, that *Bayard*, *Mezieres* and *Saint Mesme* with two hundred men at armes, and *Lorges* with the *French* foote, whereof hee was *Colonell*, lodged at *Rebee*, two myles from *Biagras*. To giue them a Camifadoe on the fodaine, he sends the *Marquis* of *Pescare*, and *Iohn de Medicis*, who came from the taking of *Marignan* by composition. Sometimes renowned Captaines, are lulled a-sleepe with conceit of their owne reputations: and although the enemy feares them, yet he most obserues them, and desires most to circumuent them. But *Bayard* was sick, and that day had taken physicke.

The *Spaniards* fallies vpon the *French* gardes, two houres before daie, and presently beats.

1524.
The French
charged and
beaten in their
quarter.

beates them backe vpon their men at armes, *Bayard* (being sicke) and *Lorges*, gather together what men they could, and mainteine the shocke, whilst the rest retreie to the Campe: few men, but all the baggage was lost.

Hereupon the *Lansquenets* arriue, and the Imperiall armie ioyned with the *Venetians*: and the Popes (a right *Florentine*, and no lesse counterfet then *Leo* the tenth, his kinsman, for hee assured *Saint Maxian*, the Kings Ambassador, that hee would assist neither partie, and yet hee did ayd the Emperour, both with men, and money,) being come to lodge at *Casere*, fūe miles from *Biagras*. There were in the Imperiall troupes, sixtene hundred men at armes, fūteene hundred light horse, seuen thousand *Spartiards*, twelue thousand *Lansquenets*, and fūteene hundred *Italians*. The chiefe Commanders, were the Dukes of *Milan* and *Bourbon*, the Viceroy of *Naples*, the Marquis of *Uersaire*. The Duke of *Urbino* commaunded for the *Venetians*, sixe hundred men at armes, sixe hundred light horse, and seuen thousand foote. *John de Medicis* led the Popes forces. The Admirall besides his companies deuided into garisons, and the French troupes camped at *Biagras*, (attending sixe thousand *Suisses* to refresh his armie) had with him eight hundred Lances, eight thousand *Suisses*, (and with in few dayes after, three thousand more ioyned with him) foure thousand *Italians*, and two thousand *Lansquenets*. The lodging was safe, and no meanes to force them: only feare of famine must dislodge them. With this dessein, the Imperials passe the ruer of *Tessin*, and lodge at *Cambale* to cut off the victuals that came from *Omeline* to the French: they take *Garlas* from them, and *Saint George*, seated aboue *Monce*. *Garlas* furnished their armie, with victuals which came freely to them, from *Paula*, and *Saint George* cut off the prouision, that came to our men from *Biagras*.

So the Admirall fearing to be distressed for victuals, and to loose the other places of *Omeline*, the which being taken, he had beene in a manner besieged of all sides: he leaues a hundred light horse, and a thousand foote in *Biagras*, vnder *Serome Caraccioli*, a Neapolitaine, and went to lodge at *Vigene*. Hee was farre inferiour in number, yet he presents his armie in bataille, three dayes together, but the enemy refuseth the combat: he would not hazard a victorie, which he held assured, without losse of men. It was better to dislodge the French from *Vigene*: for the effecting whereof, the Imperials march to *Sartiane* vpon *Po*, fit to cut off the victuals from our men: *High Earle* of *Pepoli*, and *John of Birague* kept it for the King. The Admirall followes them a saue both the men, and the place. But vpon the way he had newes, that it was forced: most part of the men slaine, and the Commanders prisoners.

Fercel supplied our men, with most part of their necessary victuals. The enemy by the meanes of *Petit Vercelais*, stirr vp the *Gibelins* being stronger then the *Guelfes*, in the sayd Citie, who by their mutinie bring in the Imperials, which gaue them great hope to haue the French armie at their mercie, for want of victuals: and if neede were to stop their retreat into *France*, and to this end they scaze vpon the passage of *Camarlian*. Mischiefe vpon mischiefe is no safetie. *Monteian* and *Boutieres*, Lieutenant of *Bayard* his company, had chosen a hundred, or sixe score of their best men at armes, for the execution of an enterprise they had plotted. But being ill guided, they encountered a stronger partie: were defeated, and all taken prisoners. A great weakening to the armie, in an after season. The Admirall did still temporise, grounding his hopes vpon foure hundred Lances, which the Marquis of *Rotelin* did bring: who passing by the mount of *Geneure*, should ioine with ten thousand *Suisses*, and *Rance de Cere* brought sixe thousand *Gijons*, by the Countie of *Bergamo*, to passe at *Lande* to *Frederike* of *Lofsole*, who led a great number of *Italian* foote, to assaile the Duchie of *Milan* on that side, and force the enemy to repasse the ruer of *Tessin*. With this dessein, the Admirall comes to lodge at *Nouare*.

But the ruine of our men approached. *Sforce* sent *John de Medicis* against the *Gijons*, with fūtie men at armes, three hundred light horse, & three thousand foot, who ioyned with three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, & foure thousand foot of the *Venetians*, and stopt their passage, so as being discontented hauing no escape of horse

A horse nor foot, as *Rance* had promised them, they returned to their Countie. This thorne pulled out of the Emperalls foote, *John de Medicis* takes *Carauage*, batters downe with his Cannon the bridge, which the French had vpon *Tessin* at *Bisfalore*: and nothing remaining of all the Townes betwixt *Milan* and the *Tessin* but onely *Biagras*, which lying vpon the great chanell that runnes to *Milan*, did cut off the victuals which were wont to come to the Towne, in a great aboundance: *Sforce* followed by all the youth of *Milan*, besieged it, accompanied with *John de Medicis*: he battered it foure or five dayes, was repulled from the first assault, forced it at the second, and spoyled it. A poile deereely sold to the *Milanois*. *Biagras* was infected with the plague, so all the houses of *Milan*, whether any of the boone came, were infected with the same contagion, which was the death of aboue fūtie thousand persons.

Biagras taken, (to stoppe all passages from the French) the Viceroy went to lodge at *Mirignon*, and the Admirall, considering that it was better to hazard the rest of his armie, then to perish by famine, and pestilence, which had greatly diminished his troupes: hee tooke the way of *Romagnan*, to ioine with eight thousand *Suisses*, which were come to *Turee*. But they strook the last stroke. They send him word, That it should suffice them, to retire their companions, and conduct them into *Suisse*, seeing the King had broken his promise with them, by the which they should meet at *Turee* with *Claude* of *Longueville*, and foure hundred Lances to accompany them. Their Countreimen, which remained in the campe, vnderstanding that their companions were vpon the banks of the ruer of *Stesse*, fled away for the most part, to ioine with them that were newly come.

In the meane time the Imperials, by the perswasion of the Duke of *Bourbon*, followed the Admirall at the heeles, who to take from the enemy the knowledge of the *Suisses* disorder, endured the shocke, with such men at armes as hee could gather together: but being hurt at the first charge, with a shot in the arme, and forced through the griefe of his wound to leaue the retreat of the armie, to the Earle of *Saint Paul*, and to Captaine *Bayard*, *Bayard* and *Vandensse* (performing wondrous deeds of armes) died there: *Vandensse* presently, *Bayard* thrust through the bodie, caused himselfe to be layed at the foote of a tree, by his steward, his face turned to the enemy, as he that neuer turned his backe. The Duke of *Bourbon* pursuing the chase, seeing him in this pittifull estate. I am sorry for you, said hee, hauing knowne you so valorous a Knight. Sir sayd *Bayard* (drawing towards his end) there is no pittie of mee, I die an honest man. you are to be lamented, who serued against your Prince, your Countie, and your oth: and soone after hee gaue vp the Ghost. *Lorges* arriuing with those few French which remained, repulled such as pursued vnto the bodie of their armie, and the Earle of *Saint Paul* hauing passed the ruer, with the losse of few, but the brauest of his men, deliuered the artillerie to the *Suisses*, who made their retreat by the valley of *Aoufle*, and himselfe by *Turin*. *Laude*, *Alexandria*, *Nouare* and generally all which the King possessed in *Italie*, remained at the victors deuotion.

The estate of *Milan* was thus freed from the French, and *Italie* from their present calamities, but the roots were not yet cut vpp: it was but deferred for a time. Then the Duke of *Bourbon* gaue the Emperour Councell, to transport the warre into *France*. The King of *England* did willingly giue eare vnto it. The fauour, the authoritie, the many followers, and the great intelligence which the Duke of *Bourbon* presumed to haue in *France*, invited him thereunto. To this end, the Emperour treated with the English, and the Duke of *Bourbon*: That the Duke should enter into *France*, with a part of his armie, which was in *Italie*. That hauing passed the *Alpes*, the King of *England* should pay him a hundred thousand Crownes for the charge of the first moneth, and should continue the same monethly, vntlesse hee would invade the Realme, with a mightie armie: That *France* should be conquered for the English, and *Prrouence* for the Duke of *Bourbon*, according to the treatie wee haue before made mention of. That the Emperour, at the same instant should make warre vpon the confines of *Spainie*, and should procure the potentates of *Italie*, to concurre in this enterprise, for the freeing of themselves for ever from the

1524. the invasion of the French. *Marseilles* is a commodious port to annoy France, and to passe from Spaine into Italy. According to the Emperours desire, and the former treatye, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Marquis of Pescara, march to the conquest of *Marseilles*.

The King advertised of their desseine, sends *Rante de Cere*, a man well experienced in warre, and the Lord of *Brion*, with two hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote, for the gard of *Marseilles*: repayed his army, and sent to make a leaue of foure-reene thousand *Swisses*, and six thousand *Lansquenets*. The Duke and Marquis had now lien six moneths before *Marseilles*: the King hauing vnited his forces, marched with an intent to fight with his enemies before *Marseilles*, who seeing to great a power to approach, imbarcked their great Ordinance for *Genes*: the lesser they laid vpon Moyles, and so made a speedy retreat. The Marshall of *Chabannes*, who had the leading of the foreward, sent foure or five hundred horses after them: who overthrew many, and returned with great spoile: euery one leauing his baggage behinde him, and the Souldiars casting away their armes, to bee more light to runne away.

The Imperiall
allert in confusion.

The king
goes into Italy

The King seeing himselfe to haue a goodly army ready, and his enemies retired, resolues to cut off their way, or to come before them into Italy: many dissuaded him, the season might well diuert him (for it was in the midst of October) the Regent his mother aduised him to make warre by his Captaines, and not in person: and the Bishop of *Capoua*, came from the Pope to treat of a generall peace. But the heate which transported this good Prince to his owne ruine, and dishonour, made him to say vnto the Bishop: That hee should treat with him by letters, and attend him at *Auignon* with his Mother. If the King makes hast to pursue, the Duke and Marquis made as great hast to arriue in time, for the defence of *Milan*: so as in one day the King arriued at *Perceil*, and the Marquis at *Alba*: the Duke followed one daie after him with the *Lansquenets*.

At that time *Claude* Queene of France, died at *Blois*, leauing three sonnes by the King and her, *Francis* the Dauphin, *Henry* Duke of Orleans, and *Charles* Duke of Angoulême: and two daughters: *Magdalene*, married afterwards to the King of *Sotie*, and *Marguerit*, which shall be Duchesse of *Sauoy*. The Viceroy seeing the King to march directly towards *Milan*, without stay, hee put *Anthony de Leue* into *Paui*, with twelue hundred *Spaniards*, and six thousand *Lansquenets*: posting himselfe with exceeding speed to *Milan* with the rest of the armye.

The estate of
Milan.

Milan had changed her minde, the plague had wonderfully wasted the Citizens: many (to auoide this danger) had absented themselves: there was no such store of victuals within it as was visuall: the traffick had ceased, there was no meanes to recouer money: they had made no accompt to repaire the fortifications: and the King had from *Vigene* sent *Michel Anthony* Marquis of *Salusses*, with two hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foote: who at the first, ouerthrew the *Spaniards*: that were set to gard the suburbes of *Milan*: beate them into the Towne, and kept the suburbes: notwithstanding their continuall fallies, by meanes of the Lord of *Tremouille*, who came to second him.

Milan taken.

The Viceroy finding the Citizens mindes to be little at his deuotion, issued forth by the port *Romaine*, leading with him the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Marquis of *Pescara*, and the rest of the army, and went to *Laude*. The *Milanois* freed from the danger of the Imperialls, receiued in the Marquis of *Salusse* and *Tremouille*. The Imperiall army retired in great confusion and disorder, tyred with the tediousnesse of the way, hauing lost many horse and armes. if they had beene wholly pursued, without doubt they had beene easily ouerthrowne. Moreover, if our men had presently gone to *Laude*, the Imperialls had not dared to stay there: and it may be, passing the River of *Adda* with speede they had disordered the rest of the armie with the like facilitie. But when as the prouidence of GOD meanes to chastise any people, hee blindes the eyes of their vnderstandings, in such sort as they can-

not

A not iudge of occurrents, but often times they imbrace those wayes that bee most dangerous.

Thus it fell out with our *Francis*: for according to the aduice of such (as held it not fit for his Maiesties affaires, to leaue a strong Towne behinde him, manned with martiall Souldiars) he turned head to *Paui*, in the end of October. He had with him *Henrie* of *Albret* King of *Nauarre*, the Dukes of *Alanson*, *Lorraine*, *Albaine*, and *Longueville*, the Earles of *Saint Paul*, *Vaudemont*, *Laval* and *Tonnerre*: the Marshalls of *Foix*, *Chabannes* and *Montmorency*, the Bastard of *Saintoy* Lord Steward, the Admirall of *Bonnivet*, the chiefe author of this Counsell: *Lewis* of *Tremouille*, the Marquis of *Salusses*, *Anthony* of *Rocheaucourt*, the Lords of *Brion*, *Escar*, *Bonneuil*, *Fleuranges*, *Paulmy*, *Rothelin*, *de la maine*: the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, *Aubigny*, *Clermont*, *Bussy d'Amboise*, *de Conty*, *Fontenay* a younger brother to *Rohan*, *d'Aumont*, and a great number of others: two thousand *Launces*, eight thousand aduenturers, eight thousand *Lansquenets*, six thousand *Swisses*, and foure thousand *Italians*, which number did afterwards greatly increase.

The Imperialls gathered together the remainder of their shipwracke, and made a new leue of twelue thousand men in *Germanie*: but want of money did greatly trouble their affaires. The Emperour could not helpe them: to draw any out of the Duchie of *Milan*, there was no meanes. From their ancient confederates, they hoped for small or no succours at all. The Pope and the *Florentines* contented them, but with generall words. *Clement* sought to mainteine himselfe in the midst of these stormes, and would make no League with any other Prince. The *Venetians*, vrged by the Viceroy, to furnish the men wherevnto they were bound by the Capitulation, made colde answers. They grew now more ialous of the Emperours ambition. All *Italy* complained, that hee would not inuest *Sforza* in the Duchie of *Milan*, vnto which the Popes authoritye did mooue him: to whose examples and counsels they had then great regarde, being willing in like sort to frame themselves to present occurrences. And the King of *England*, in stead of furnishing them with the money hee had promised, demanded all that which hee had lent.

All these considerations, made our *Francis* resolute to the siege of *Paui*. He battered it in two places, makes a breach, and giues an assault, they winne the breach, but had not meanes to enter: they side large and deepe trenches to stay them, and the nearest houses pierced and furnished with shotte, forced them to abandon the breach after the losse of many good men. As they despaired to take *Paui* by force: *James* of *Silly* Bayliffe of *Caen*, propounds a more easie meanes to force it. The ruer of *Tesin* diuides it selfe into two branches, two miles about *Paui*, and ioynes againe a mile beneath the Towre, before it runnes into *Po*. By reason of the depth of the water, the Wall was nothing fortified vpon the greatest streame. Hee undertakes to cut this arme, and to drive all the Streame into the lesse, hoping that the course of the water being dried, and making a sodaine and furious batterie on that side, the Towne should bee forced, before the enemy had any meanes to prevent it.

They spend many dayes, imploy an infinite number of men, and make a great expense in this worke. But the water is of more force then the labour of men, or the industrie of Enginours. A continuall raine did so swell the ruer, as breaking the Sluces and Bankes which were made within the Chanell, in one houre it made all this great labour fruitlesse. So all the attempts of our men were reduced to a hope, to force them to yeeld at length by necessitie. The Pope in the meane time, (mooued with the sodaine spoile and conquest of the Duchie of *Milan*, by the King, desirous to settle his affaires and businesse, and to pacifie *Italy* the better, hee sent *John Mathieu Gilbert*, Bishop of *Verone* his Daire, to exhort our warriours to peace and concord. The Viceroy, trusting in the strength and valour of *Paui*, refused to giue eare to any agreement or composition, whereby the King should hold any foote of land in the Duchie of *Milan*: The King on the other side,

1524. Putt vp with this good successe, the greatnesse of his armie, the hope not onely to mainteine it, but also to increase it, to preserue vnto himselfe the estate of *Milan*, to recouer *Genes*, and afterwards to assaile the realme of *Naples*, made him as vnwilling to yeeld to any peace.

The Pope makes a league with the King.

The King sent an army to Naples.

Thus the Pope hauing failed to reconcile these two Princes, the chiefe cause why he sent his Datarie, tooke effect. *Clement* bound himselfe, Not to giue any succours, either open or secret, against the King. And the King receiued the Pope and the *Florentines* into his protection, especially to mainteine the familie of *Medicis* in their greatnesse. The Pope supposed, the Emperour should go to the wall: but he will soone repent him. This agreement drew the King to the enterprise of *Naples*: for the execution whereof, he made *John Steward* Duke of *Albania* his Lieutenant generall, accompanied with *Rance de Cere*, six hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, ten thousand foote, and ten or twelue peeces of Artillerie. His intent was to force the Viceroy to abandon the estate of *Milan*, to flie to the defence of *Naples*, where, as there remained no garrisons. But he should haue consulted hereof, after the absolute conquest of the Duchie. The enemy will make his profit of this indiscreet diuision of his armie in so vnseasonable a time. Hee did foresee, that in succouring *Naples*, the Duchie of *Milan* would be wholly lost. The Viceroy hauing resolved to make head against the King within *Lombardie*, sent the Duke of *Tyrette*, to giue order for the defence of the realme, in case the *French* did assaile it. Let vs leaue the King a little at his siege, and see some exploits of armes.

The Marquis of *Salusses*, Lieutenant for the King at *Sauonne*, had in the beginning of March, sent two thousand men in garrison to *Varas*, a small towne, all walled vpon the sea shore, midway betwixt *Sauonne* and *Genes*. *Don Hugues of Moncade*, Viceroy of *Sielle*, then Gouvernour of *Genes* for the Emperour, brought the Emperours galleys to beat downe the gate of *Varas* with their Canon, hoping that the weakenesse of the place would force the Souldiars to make their retreat to *Sauonne*, and with this designe he put him selfe in Ambush, with foure thousand men, betwixt *Varas* and *Sauonne*. The Marquis aduertised of this batterie, flies thither, with those few men which the present necessitie would suffer him to gather together. At his approche, the besieged take courage, and rampar vp their gate quite ruined. The Gallies of *Genes* growe amazed, and turne their prowes. The Marquis pursues them. *Dom Hugues* seeing himselfe abandoned by his forces at Sea, begins likewise to make his retreat to *Genes*, along the shore. *La Mailleray*, by the commandement of the Marquis, goes to shoare, drawes forth the garrison of *Varas*, and leads them in the pursute, whilest that he coasted along, seeking to disorder them with his Canon, being forced to Marche by the sea side, by reason of the mountaines. *Moncade* falls into the rearward, with some of the chiefe Captaines, to endure the shock. They charge him, and put his troupes in route, and he, with all them that did accompany him, are taken prisoners. The Marquis takes two Gallies, and pursuing his victorie, findes the Admirall of *Genes* in the roade, forceth her to yeeld, makes a great bootie of Artillerie, munition, and other riches. And if his forces had beene sufficient to assaile *Genes* suddenly by land, as well as by sea, considering the feare which had seized vpon the Cittie, it had beene in danger to haue beene lost for the Emperour.

A notable victorie gotten by the Marquis of Salusses.

On the other side, *Anthoine of Crequy* Lord of *Pontdormy*, parting from *Monstruel*, at such time as the King lay incamped before *Pauia*, to put victuals into *Terouenne*, and to trie if he could force *Neuffosse*, (which was a great trench full of water, that shutt vp the Valley of *Cassel*, from *Saint Omer* vnto *Aire*, furnished with Bulwarkes at every entry with Artillerie, and well manned, to garde the entries and passages of the said Valley, (whether they retired all their goods and cattle) he came to *Foucamberg*, with three hundred men at armes, some twelue hundred foote, and two Culuerins. And after the men at armes had fed their horses, hauing put the victuals they had brought into *Terouenne*, he parted for the execution of his enterprise, and comming to *Neuffosse* before day, he forced the passage, canying away an inestimable prey: and passing,

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1524. In his retreat neere to *Arques*, halfe a league from *Saint Omer*: he ouerthrew the garrison of the sayd *Saint Omer*, which issued forth to succour the valee. In this charge *Esfree* tooke *Lieques*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Ascot*, who the same day had married his mistresse, to whome *Esfree* was likewise a seruant: but with a curstie neuer heard of, at the request of the new Bride, hee sent backe his prisoner. Those of *Aire*, and *Beune*, likewise came posting, to the number of eight or nine hundred native *Spaniards*, five or sixe hundred *Wallons*, and three hundred horse, of their ordinances, and ioyned with the troupes of *Saint Omer*, to stoppe or hinder the retreat of the *French*. *Pontdormy* chargeth them, beates back their horse vpon their *Spaniards* foote, and entering pelmel, breakes them, flew two hundred and fortie, and caried away eyght or nine hundred prisoners to *Terouenne*, all which hee sent backe for a moneths pay, and for hostages, retained their Captaines.

The worthy exploits of Pontdormy.

Moreouer, *Fiennes* Gouvernour of *Flanders*, hauing suborned a Souldiar of the Garrison of *Hedin*, which had beene taken in the warres, to deliuer him the Castle of *Hedin*: the Souldiar aduertised *Pontdormy*, of the meanes hee had to deliuer into his hands the sayd Gouvernour, the Duke of *Ascot*, and most of the Noblemen of the countrie. The Souldiar brings this troupe at the day appointed. *Pontdormy* is there with two hundred men at armes: and couers balles of wilde-fire with straw, in a raelin of stone, where the enemy must passe, into the which those that were aboute the gate should cast fire, when as they should see a sufficient number of the enemies entred. Men incounter their enemies both by fraude and vertue. But fraude is oft times fatall to the Author.

Pontdormy hauing his mouth open to speake, the fire was so suddenly cast, by him that had it in charge, as entering in at *Pontdormy*'s mouth, it burnt his bowels, whereof hee dyed two dayes after. *Canaples* his Nephew, had his face likewise so burnt, as there remained no forme thereof: so as their enterprise to charge the enemy behinde in this disorder, came to nothing. Foure score or a hundred *Bourguignons* being entred within the Raelin, were burnt: the rest saued themselves in this amazement, and many were lost in the wood vpon their retreat. But all were not sufficient to repaire the losse of that worthy and valiant man of warre.

Pontdormy's name.

1525. The siege of *Pauia* was continued, when as the Duke of *Bourbon* bringing five hundred men at armes *Bourguignons*, and six thousand *Lansquenets*, the Imperials resolute to succour *Pauia*, and to that end part from *Lande* the 25. of Ianuarie. The Imperials approach, assured the King hee should haue battaile, and to provide for it, hee had caused *Tremouille*, whome hee had appointed Gouvernour of *Milan*, to come vnto him, leauing *Theodore Triulsee*, with *Chandon* within *Milan*. *John* of *Medicis*, with three hundred light horse, and three thousand foote, was newly come into the Kings pay, and had wone him many *Italian* Captaines: amongst others, *Guy* and *Francis*, Earles of *Rangon*, and *John Lewis Paluofin*, brother to him whom *Lautrec* had beheaded at *Milan*. *Tremouille*, the Marshalls of *Foix* and *Chabannes* with other Captaines of experience, aduised the King to retire his armie from before *Pauia*, and to incampe in some strong place, whereof there are many in that Countrie, by reason of the Channels which ouer flowe the Medowes. They gaue him to vnderstand, that the enemies armie being vnfurnished of money, they should be forced within fewe dayes, to breake off their companies, and to put them into Townes. That the Strangers for want of payment of their money, would make some dangerous mutinie. That the enemies did not mainteine themselves together, but with hope to giue battaile: and if they did see the warre prolonged, they would bee engaged in many difficulties and confusions. To conclude, it was (say they) exceeding dangerous, to thrust himselfe betwixt a Towne defended, by five thousand men, and an armie that came to succour it, being mighty in numbers of men, in valour and experience.

The two armies approach.

But all this, was to cast Oyle into a fire which already flamed. The King will not leaue the siege, & yet will hee keepe the enemy from entering into *Pauia*. He referred (saith the

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1525. the Originall the gouernment of the armie to the Admirall: he beleueed his counsell only to gaue care to Anne of Montmorencie, and Philip Chabot Lord of Brion, men pleasing vnto him, but not yet of any great experience in matters of warre. Moreouer, he had not that number of men in his armie, as they gaue him to vnderstand. The Duke of Albany had led away part of his horse: some remained for the gard of Milan, many were dispersed into Townes and Villages about. There were but eight hundred Launces in the Campe: and the negligence of his officers, with the deceit of his Captaines, especially the Italians, abused him, not furnishing the number of footmen, for the which they receiued pay. But howsoeuer, he must needs fight. Behold pittifull first fruites, forerunners of a generall ouerthrow.

Sad forerunners of an ouerthrow.

Two thousand *Valaisans* lodged at Saint *Sauueur*, betwixt *S. Langfranc* and *Paula*. They within charge them sodenly, and disperse them. *Pirrhus* brother to *Frederick of Bossole*, held the Castell of Saint *Ange*, with two hundred horse, and eight hundred foote. This place lying betwixt *Laude* and *Paula*, stoppeth the victuals which might be brought from *Laude*. *Ferdinand of Aualo* approcheth with his *Spaniards*, takes away the defences, and forceth the garrison to yeeld: that *Pirrhus*, *Aemilius Cauriane*, and three sonnes of *Phabus Gonzague*, remaining prisoners, all the rest should depart without armes or horses, and for a moneth, should beare no armes against the Emperour. *Belioyense*, and then all the other places which lay behind them, except Saint *Colombain*, which they had so besieged, as no man could issue forth, came into the power of the Imperials.

Moreouer, the King caused two thousand *Italians* to come, of those which had maintained the siege of *Marseilles*. Passing the confines of *Alexandria*, neere to the riuer of *Trbè*, wearied and toyled with the tediousnesse of the way, *Gaspard Maine* Captaine of *Alexandria*, chargeth them sodenly, breakes them, and chaseth them into *Castellat*, and there forceth them to yeeld, with fouenteene Ensignes. The like successe had *John Lewis Paluiofin*. The King had sent him to surprise *Cremona*, which was garded onely by fise or six hundred foote. *Sforce* aduertised, that he lodged at *Cassal* the great, with foure hundred horse, and two thousand foote, sent *Alexander Bentiuole*, with some number of horse, and two thousand foote, sodenly leuiet, to *Cremona*. Too great confidence doth no lesse preiudice men, then feare. *Paluiofin* (holding himselfe strong enough, without attending of *Francis of Rangen*, who came to ioyne with him, with three or foure thousand men) abandons his Fort to fight with them, marcheth directly to the enemy, and at the first, puts *Sforces* horsemen to flight: but *Bentiuole* comming with his foote men, *John Lewis* was ouerthrowne in the midst of the combat, taken prisoner, and all his men put to route, which was a great preiudice to the Kings affaires. Behold another disgrace, of no lesse importance.

John James of Medici, a *Milanois*, Captaine of the Castell of *Mus*, had intelligence, that the Captaine of *Chiauenne*, a Castle vpon the Lake of *Como*, belonging to the *Grisons*, hauing no enemy neere to annoy him, went daily to walke without his Fort, (the taking of this place, was a fit meane to diuert six thousand *Grisons*, newly come vnto the Kings Campe), *John James* lying one night in ambush close to the Castle, failed not of his prey, but holding this insufficient Captaine, he brought him before the gate, with a Dagger at his throte, ready to stabbe him, if his wife had not let downe the bridge. The gate being open, three hundred men issue forth off another ambush, seize vpon the Castle, and so on the Towne. The *Grisons*, supposing that *Medici* had other enterprises vpon their places, call home their men, who notwithstanding the shame they should purchase in forsaking (vpon the point of a battaille,) a Prince, whose pay they had receiued, and to whom they had giuen an othe, returned fise daies before the fight. All these difficulties chancing one vpon another, were infallible forerunners of great misfortune: which when he sees come, he ought carefully to prouide for the preteruation of his estate, or with a firme and constant resolution, to trie the hazard of a battaille. A commander may lawfully trie this last remedie: but a King must vsethe other. The two armies approached within halfe a mile: the forward lead by the Mar-

shall

1525. A shall of *Chabannes*, lodged with the *Suisses* at *Ronces*, in the suburbs neere to Saint *Iustins* gate: the King at the monasteries of Saint *Paul* and Saint *Lames*, places of aduantage neere vnto *Paula*: the Duke of *Alanson* at *Mirabel* with the reterward, so as holding *Paula* girt in of all sides, the Imperials could not enter, vntil they did passe the riuer of *Tesin* or the Parke of *Paula*. The Imperials lodged at *Prati* towards Saint *Iustins* gate, and extended vnto *Treleuere* and *la Motte*, and in a wood by Saint *Lazare*; so neere as they did greatly indomage one another with their Cannon, being deuied onely by a little brooke, which they call *Vernicule*. The lodging of both armies had infiont on their wings, and on the left flanke, great rampars enuironed with trenches, and fortified with bastions. But the Imperials had this aduantage, being approached so neere vnto *Paula*, as in a day of battaille they might be assisted by them within the Towne. In the meane time *Anthony de Leue* did greatly annoy our men by continuall sallies, and in many skirmishes had most commonly the better.

The 17. of Februarie, *John de Medici*, to be reuenged of a disgrace which his troups had receiued by a former sallie, layed a bayte for them of the Towne, seconded with a double ambush, the one in the trenches neere vnto the Towne, the other farther off. The *Spaniards* drawen on by their former victories, pursuing them which had charged them, they discouer the farthest Ambush, and began to retire, when as the nerer cutting off their way, putts them all to the sword. But this small victory did greatly preiudice the generall. *John de Medici* had the boane of his heele broken with a shot, and was carried vnto *Plaisance*. His troups were so dispersed after his hurt, as the annie was diminished about two thousand, and his absence did coole his soldiers courage and heat, in skirmishes and assaults: for he was a great soldiär, and the good successe of a battaille, doth partly depend of the presence of such personages.

The Imperials had no more meanes to mayntaine themselves within their fort, want of money had soone driuen them forth: yet they considered that by their retreat, *Paula* would be lost, and they were out of hope to preserve the rest, which remaind in the Duchie of *Milan*. To assaile the *French* within their lodging, were a dangerous and vaine attempt. Also the enemies resolution was not to giue battaille, vntil some aduantage were offered them; but onely to retire their men that were within *Paula*, and to man it with newe troups, the which they could not do, without passing in view of the *French* Campe. They therefore prepare themselves to two effects, eyther to execute their dessein, or to fight, if the King issuing out of his fort would stoppe their passage.

The night before Saint *Mathias* day, the 25. of February, the day of the Emperour *Charles* his nativity, they disquirt and tire our men with many false alarmes, and make Battaille of two squadrons of horse and foure of foote. The first, vnder the commande of the *Marquis of Guast*, consisting of sixe thousand Lanquenets, *Spaniards* and *Italians*. The second under the *Marquis of Pesquaire*. The third & fourth of Lanquenets, led by the vice-roy and Duke of *Bourbon*. They come to the Parke wall, cast downe about threecore sadme, enter within it, take the way to *Mirabel*, leauing the Kings army vpon their left hand. The artillery planted in a place of aduantage, doth much indomage their battalions, and forceth them to runne into the valley for shelter. Here impatience transports the King. He sees the enemy disordred and thinks they are amazed: moreouer he had intelligence, that the Duke of *Alanson* had defeated some *Spaniards* that would haue passed on the right hand, and had taken from them foure or fise Cannons. Thus the King loosing his aduantage, seekes his enemies; and passing before his owne Cannon, hinders their execution.

The Imperials desired nothing more, then to haue the King out of his forte, and to be coniered from his artillery. They now turne head against him which was directed to *Mirabel*. The King (supported with a battaillon of his *Suisses*, being his chiefe strength,) marched directly against the *Marquis* of Saint *Ange*, who ledde the first of the horsemen, ouerthrowes them, killes many, and the *Marquis* himselfe.

But

1525. But oh villanie! The *Suisses* in steed of charging a battallion of the Emperours Lan-
quenets, which did second their men at armes, they wheele about, and go to faule them
selues at *Milan*. The *Marquis* of *Pesara* came to charge the King with his batta-
lions: *Francis* Brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Norfolke*, who led
about five thousand Lanquenets, marched resolutely against him, but they are fode-
inuirowed with two great battallions of *Germaines*, defeated and cut in peeces. The
Suisses thus retired, the Lanquenets lost, the whole burthen of the battailay upon
the King, so as in the end being hurt in the legge, face and hand, his horse slaine under
him, charged on all sides, defending himselfe vnto the last gaspe, he yeeled vnto the
Viceroy of *Naples*, who kissing his hand with great reuerence, receiued him as prisoner
to the Emperour.

Shine in the
battale.

At the same instant, the *Marquis of Guis* had defeated the horse that were at *Mirebel*, and *Anthony de Leue* issuing out of *Paule* charged our men behinde. Thus seeing the pittifull estate of the Kings person, all giue way, all seekte to saue themselves by flight. The Duke of *Alanson* seeing no hope of recouerie, preferres the reward in a manner whole, and passeth the river of *Tesin*. The vanguard (for a time) maintained the fight, but in the ende it thronke by the death of the Marshall of *Chabannes*. This day deprived vs of a great number of the chiefeft Noblemen of *France*, amongst the which the Marshalls of *Chabannes* and *Foix*, the Admirall of *Bonniuet*, *Lewis of Tremouille*, about thre score and fiteene yeares old, (a worthy bedde for so valiant a Nobleman, whole Councell deferred, to be followed) *Galeas* of *Saint Senerin* master of the horse, *Francis* Lord of *Lorraine*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Tonnerre*, *Chaumont* Sonne to the great master of *Amboise*, *Bussy of Amboise*, the Baron of *Buzansois*, *Beaupre*, *Maras* the chiefe *Quirie* of the Kings stable, and about eight thousand men. The battard of *Sauois* Lord Steward of *France*, died of his wounds being prisoner. There were taken, *Henry* King of *Nauarre*, the Earle of *Saint Paul*, *Lewis* Lord of *Neuers*, *Fleuranges* sonne to *Robert* de la Mark, the Marshall of *Montmorency*, *Lanval*, *Brien*, *Lorges*, *la Rochepot*, *Montian*, *Annebault*, *Imbercourt*, *Frederic* of *Bessole*, *la Roche Du Maine*, *la Maileray*, *Montpesat*, *Boissy*, *Curtion*, *Langey* and many others. Of the enemy there died about seauen hundred, fewe men of *Marke* besides the *Marquis* of *Saint Ange*: *Trinuite* and *Chandions* who remayned at *Milan*, aduertised of the ruine of their army, returned with D their men into *France*, so as the very day of the battaille, all the Duchie of *Milan* was freed from the *French* forces.

The Regents
forefight.

The next day the King was led to the Castell of *Pisqueton*, vnder the gard of Cap-
taine *Alarson*, alwaies intreated according to the dignity of a royall person, but so farre
forth as the quality of a pri^{son}er would permit. The Duke of *Albanie* was farre in-
gaged in the realme of *Naples*, and all passages by land were by this disgrace stoppt. To
drawe him out of danger, the Regent mother to the King, giuing order for the affaires
of the realme, sent *Andrew Dortie* generall of the Kings gallies vnto him, with *la Reine*
the Viceadmirall beeing at *Marfeskis*, who (without any losse of men, but of some
scouts chased by the *Colonnos* euen to the very gates of *Rome*) returned safely into
France.

The King of
England offers
all love to the
French King
being a pry-
soner.

The estate seemed now neerer a shipwracke, as well by the imprisonment of the head, as by the death of many worthy personages, who might haue serued greatly in the preservation thereof. But God by many corrections would often chastise France, but neuer ruine it. And now touching the King of England (who was then readie to imbarke for Calais,) he suddenly changeth his hatred into Loue, so as growing jealous of the Emperours exceeding greatnesse, the Regent hauing intreated him by *John Ioschin*, a Genouois his Ambassador, to giue care to some mylde treaty, rather thē to invade the Estate, of a Capriue Prince: he promiseth all succors both of men and money for the Kings deliuey, and without any demand of restitution for his charges he dismisseth his army.

In the meane time, the Emperour aduifeth in Councell, what course he should hold with the King. The Bishop of *Osme*, the Emperours confessor, is commended

A. who have aduited him to shew a brotherly loue, and to set him free, retaining this notable victory to the expresse will of God: shewing that the chiefe vie thereof should bee the peace of Christendome, threatened with a total ruine by the Turkish armes, whereof we shall soone see farall effects. But the aduice of *Frederic Duke of Alba*, a man of great authority with the Emperour, was of more force. Hee yielded to the kings libertie, but with so excesfull conditions, as it might haue been the meates, for Charles to lay the foundation of an absolute monarchie in *Christendome*.

According to this aduice, he sent the Earle of *Reux*, his Lord Steward, to offer the King liberty, so as hee would resigne all the rights hee pretended in *Italie*, reitore the Duchie of *Bourgogne*, as belonging to him by right, with *Prouence* and *Dauphiné* for the Duke of *Bourbon*, to incorporate them with other lands, which he had formerly enjoyed, and to make all together a Kingdom. Moreover the Emperour offered to giue him his sister in marriage, propounding many other conditions, to ablynd and vnde of reason as it is better to let the curious read them in the Originalls themselves. Amongest all losses, that of liberty toucheth nereit; but our *Francis* having learned to withstand all aduersities with a constant resolution, *I will die* (sayd he) *a prisoner, rather then make any breach in my realme for my deliuerance.* Whereof I neither wil nor can altere any part, *without the consent of the soueraine Courts and Officers, in whose hands remaines the authoritie of the whole realme: Wee preferre the generall good before the private interest of Kings persons.* If the Emperour will treat with mee, let him demand reasonable things, which are in my power, then shall he finde me readie to iync with him, and to fauour his greatnesse. And to redeeme his libertie with honor, and his subiects content, who wonderfully desired his enlargement, hee then offered, *To marrie his sayd sister, widow to the King of Portugall, and to hold Bourgogne for her dowrie, the which should belong to the Children that should come of this marriage, to reigne his interest to the realme of Naples and the Duchie of Milan: To accompanie the Emperour with an army both by land and sea, when he should go to Rome to receive the Imperiull Crowne.* Was not this properly to giue him all *Italie* in prey? To yeeld vnto the Duke of Bourbon his offices, lands and moouables confiscated, and the reuenues reserved by reason of this seizure, and to giue him to wife the Duchesse of Alanson his sister, newly a widow by the death of the Duke of Alanson, instead of Eleonor, the widow of Portugall, which had beene promised him. To content the King of England with money, and to pay what summes of money should be let downe for his ranfome.

The Empe-
rours vn colo-
nabl de-
mands.

The King's
reasonable
officers.

Hereupon the Earle of *S. Paul*, having corrupted his guards, escaped out of prison, & jointly with the Earle of *Vaudemont*, and the *Marquis of Salusses*, treated by the means of *Francis Earle of Pontrefme*, with certain Princes and Captaines of *Italie*, to stay the King frō being transported out of the Duchie of *Milan*, hoping that the Potentates of *Italie* (fearing least the Emperour should seeke to supplant them) would seeke his maiesties deliuerie with their commūne forces. And the *Venetians* being not aduertised of the reconciliation of the *English* with the King, retired themselves from their League with the Emperour. But the Viceroy discovering these practises, gaue the King to vnderstand, that hee had commandement from the Emperour, to passe him into *Spaine*, that being there, their maiesties by a gracious and fauorable enteruewe, would easily conclude a peace, which should cause his libertie. So the King vnderstanding that the Duke of *Bourbon* pursued his marriage in *Spaine* with *Eleonor*, yielded to this passage, hoping the would rather desire to marrie a King of *France*, then a Prince dis-honoured. They imbarke the seauenth of Iune, and within fewe dayes after (the Emperour having commanded, that hee should bee receiued, with all the honour that might bee, as hee passed,) they arrive happily in *Castille*: the King was lodged at *Madrid*, a place of hunting and pleasure, but farr from the sea, or the confines of *France*.

The King transported into Captivity

The Emperour would not admit the King to his presence, before the accord were made, or in such terms as there were no doubt thereof for the advancing whereof a truce was concluded & until the end of December, during the which *Marguerite* the Kings Sister,

1525. Sister, Duchesse of *Alanson*, came with a large commission into *Castile*, to treat with the Emperour. Her arrivall was very pleasing and healthfull to the King: who finding him so sick, as few men hoped for his recovery, she did more reuive him then all the Physicians art. But hauing found the Emperour (who was come to visit the sick King) constant in his vnreasonable demands, especially for the restitution of *Bourgonne*, whereunto the King would not yeeld, but vpon the former condition, or that they might trie it by lawe, to whom it belonged: and seeing that the King had recovered his former health, she returned into *France*, leauing with the Emperour, the Archbishop of *Amburn*, afterwards Cardinall of *Tournon*, & *John de Selue*, chiefe President at *Paris*, to pursue the treatie begun, bringing with her an ample declaration from the King, whereby (resigning vp his Crowne) hee gaue her power to inuest the Dauphin B his sonne, the King remaining resolute, rather to continue in perpetuall prison, then to passe any thing to the preiudice of his realme.

The King set at libertie.

But the Emperour seeing the King constant in this resolution, in the end agreed to his Maiesties deliuerie, whereof we will set downe the most important points: That within sixe weekes after his deliuerie, he should consign the Duchie of *Bourgonne* to the Emperour, with all the dependences, as well of the Duchie, as of the Countie, the which should hereafter be sequestred from the Soueraignie of the realme of *France*. That at the very instant of his enlargement, they should deliuer into the Emperours hands, the Dauphin, and with him the Duke of *Orleans*, the Kings second sonne, or twelue of the chiefe Noble men of *France*, such as the Emperour should name, to remaine as hostages, untill the restitution C of the sayd lands, and ratification of the peace, with all the Articles, by the generall Estates of the realme: and vpon the restoring of the Hostages, they should deliuer vnto the Emperour the Earle of *Angoulesme* the Kings third sonne, to be bred up with him, the better to assure and maintaine the peace. That he should resign vnto the Emperour, all his rights pretended to the Estates of *Naples*, *Milan*, *Genes* and *Ast*: That hee should quitte the Soueraignie of *Flanders* and *Arthois*, and should marry *Eleonor*, sister to the sayd Emperour, with two hundred thousand Crownes dowrie, and Jewels fit for her estate, and the Emperour should renounce all his pretensions, to any place belonging to the Crowne of *France*: especially to *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, *Roye*, *Bologne*, *Ponthieu*, and other *Seigneuries*, lying on eyther side the river of *Somme*. Without doubt, these were hard conditions, and beyond all the bounds of reason. But the King being a prisoner, garded, and not his owne man, of what validitie could they be in lawe? It was therefore in his power to redeeme his children by money. These bee the fruites the Spaniard would gather by his victorie, to teach the *French* not to fall againe into their hands. The iudicious reader may consider, whether they be growne wise by their owne losse.

Then the King and Emperour did see one another againe, with great demonstrations of loue: they shewed themselves together in publike places, had often, long, and secret discourses: they went in one Carrosse together, to see *Queene Eleonor*, to whome the King was made sure. But for that in the midst of all these shewes of loue, the King was at no more liberty then before, but more carefully garded: who would not haue E held this accord to be full of discord, this alliance without loue: and the most part of the articles extorted by force, would bring forth the fruits of their ancient ieaiousies? A lesson for Princes that be victors, to containe themselves within the limits of reason, for whatsoeuer is forced by violence, is not durable.

Some dayes were spent in these actions: then the King was conducted to *Fonsarbie*, where exchange was made of his Maiestie, with his two sonnes, being yet very young. At *Bayonne* the Ambassadors of *Charles* demanded the ratification of the treaty which the King should giue at his entrie into the realme: but he could not alienate the *Bourguignons* without their consent: and therefore he answers, That he will shortly assemble the Estates of the countie, to know their mindes. Let vs see then what followed, and begin somewhat higher.

After they had transported the King into *Castile*, *Francis Sforce* fearing least the Emperour should retaine the Duchie of *Milan* to himselfe, together with the excessive sum of ruiue

A hundred thousand Ducats, which he demanded for the expences he had made in the conquest, and defence of the said estate: considering also, that part of the *Spaniards* were gone into *Spain* with the Viceroy, part were with the Duke of *Bourbon*: many laden with spoile, were retired into diuers places. And the Marquisse of *Pesquara*, was in bad termes with the Viceroy: he perswaded himselfe, that the rest of the troups might bee easily overcome, if the Marquis would giue his consent. Sforce therefore, by the aduice of *Jerome Moron* his Chancellor, did found the Marquisse his mind: hee propounded vnto him, to cut in peeces those companies which remained within the estate of *Milan*, and to make him King of *Naples*, if the Pope and the *Venetians* would agree. A sufficient spur to prick forward an ambitious man. B The Pope did not dislike it: the *Venetians* shewed themselves most affectionate: all vnto do malice the greatnesse of *Charles*. The Marquis at the first gaue eare vnto them, but hauing discouered the whole practise to the Emperour, and growing suspect vnto the rest, accepting the Lieutenantie of *Lombardie*, of the Emperour, hee publicly put in execution what hee had in charge: to prevent these imminent dangers, as he should thinke fit. And first he seized vpon *Moron*, whom he made to confesse all the conspiracie, charging Duke Sforce, as culpable and consenting to all that had passed, he made him to resigne vnto him *Cremona*, *Tresse*, *Leecie*, and *Pisqueton*, the Keyes of the Duchie of *Milan*: he forced the *Milanais* to take the Oath of fealtie C vnto the Emperour, and Sforce to shutte himselfe into the Castle of *Milan*. But when the Marquisse had reduced him to all extremities, death takes him away before hee could enioy the fruites of his malice. The Duke of *Bourbon* did succeed after him.

The Marquis of Pesquara dyes.

There was great likelihood, that the Emperour being in quiet possession of the estate of *Milan*, all the rest, especially the Popes (lying betwixt *Lombardie*, and the realme of *Naples*) would remaine in prey. To prevent *Charles* his attempts (who made shew to inuest the Duke of *Bourbon* in the Duchie of *Milan*, if Sforce were found guiltye of the crime, whereof they accused them) a League was made at *Cognac*, betwixt the Pope, the Kings of *France*, and *England*, the *Venetians*, *Flarentines* and *Suisses*, for the common libertie of *Italy*, and the restoring of *Francis Sforce* to the Duchie of *Milan*, being besieged, as we haue said. A League against the Emperour.

This League was signified by the King, to the Viceroy of *Naples*, to the Duke of *Trinette*, and to *Alarson*, whom the Emperour had sent, to bee fully satisfied of the Kings intent: who excusing himselfe, that hee could not performe his promise for the alienation of *Bourgonne*, as very preiudiciall to the Crowne, hee offered to accomplish all the rest, and for the ranfome of his children, to pay two Millions of crownes. According to this treatie, the Pope sends into field eight hundred men at armes, seven hundred light horse, and eight thousand foote, vnder the charge of *Guy Earle of Ranson*, and *John de Medicis* Colonell of the *Italian* foote. The *Venetians* sent eight hundred men at armes, a thousand light horse, and eight thousand foote, commanded by *Francis Maria* Duke of *Vrbino*. Lsude was the first obiect of their armes, the which by the intelligence of *Lodowick Vistarin*, a Gentleman of that Towne, they surprised from fiftene hundred *Neapolitaines*, whome the Marquisse of *Gualf*, and *Anthoine de Leue*, had placed there, vnder the charge and command of *Fabrizio Maramao*.

These happy beginnings, should haue made the heads of the League to haue proceeded in their course speedily and valiantly. By the taking of *Lsude*, the way was open euen to the gates of *Milan*: the enemy had no more meanes to succour *Cremona*, and if they had speedily aduanced towards *Milan*, they had found them in great perplexitie and confusion: the Citizens oppressed by the tyrannicall vsage of the *Spaniards*, dreamed of nothing but rebellion: but the Duke of *Vrbino*, terrified with the very name of the *Spaniards*, marching slowly like an Abbot, and staying a whole day in euery lodging, to attend the *Suisses*, without the which hee thought it dangerous to approach neere *Milan*, by his slowe and faint proceeding, hee caused an

1526. irreparable losse and shame to his owne reputation, and to his maisters. For hauing by his long delayes, giuen the Duke of *Bourbon* leasure to enter into *Milan*, with eight hundred *Spaniards*, before the armie of the League could approche: the Souldiers of *Milan* returned courage, charged the Artillerie in the night, and so terrified the Duke, as he presently retired his armie, desiring rather, sayd he, to repaire the forepassed error, then to persist in it, seeing they had approached so neere *Milan*, contrary to his opinion, where expecting no resistance, he knew that a longer abode would wholly raine the League. He trembled for feare, at the report of the *Spanish* forces, and yet would make shew as though he had to deale with men made of snowe, who without striking stroake, would suffer him to reape the fruites of his pretended victorie. So the Duke retired to *Margran*, being resolute, not to dislodge, until he were fortified with twelue thousand *Swisses*: without doubt, a hundred thousand men cannot assure a fearfull minde. It was a foule error, at the beginning of a long and dangerous voyage.

The Imperials fled from this armie, repaired the Rampars and Bulwarkes of the Suburbs, disarmed the people, thrust forth such as were suspect, and lodged the Souldiers in the Citizens houses: Who insulting ouer their hostes, as in a Towne of conquest, forced them to furnish victuals, clothes, and money: abused their wives and daughters, compelled seruants to discover their maisters wealth being hidden: to conclude, they practised all actes of inhumanitie, which licentiousnes doth commonly breed in this nation being a Conquerour.

Being thus oppressed, they repaire to the Duke of *Bourbon*, being newly arrived, and with pittifull complaints, teares, and lamentations, they beseech him to ease their miseries. The Duke, after he had imputed the causes of these insolencies, to the want of pay for the armie, promised to lodge them else where, so as they would prouide thirtiethousand crownes for the maintenance of one moneth: and the better to countenance his promise, he wished, *In case that euer any extortion were committed, that he might be staine with a Hargueluse, at the first enterprise he should be at.* A prayer which we shall soone see take effect. The money was gathered, but the people finding no fruits of his promise, the pittifull estate of the multitude being spoiled, nothing mollifying the cruell insolencie of these barbarous souldiers many not knowing to whom to haue recourse, cast themselves headlong from the toppes of their houses, many hangd themselves, many ended both their liues and miseries, by other horrible and strange manners of voluntarie torments.

Francis Sforce was at this instant ready to yeeld vp the Castle, when as the confederates, fortified with five thousand *Swisses*, newly arrived, drew the Duke of *Vrbina* a second time before *Milan*: but this was to make a second discouerie of his indiscretion and cowardise: for being still ready to number his Souldiers, possessed with a strange feare, and seeking rather meanes to flie then to fight, *Sforce* prest by famine, and want of courage in the Duke of *Vrbina*, yeelded vp the Castle of *Milan*, to the Duke of *Bourbon*, the 24. of Iuly, and retired himselfe to the confederates, who put *Laude* to his hands. Then the Kings armie arrived, lead by *Michell Antonie* Marquis of *Saluces*, consisting of foure hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse: and foure thousand *Gascous*, and within fewe dayes after, the twelue thousand *Swisses*, leuied in the Kings name, encouraged the Duke of *Vrbina* to returne towards *Milan*, where leauing part of his men at Armes, the Popes troups, and the fore sayd *Swisses*, hee went with the *Venetian* foote to fortifie *Malateste Edillon*, who with three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, and eight thousand foote, besieged *Cremona*, and so prest it, as they yeelded by composition, the which was likewise deliuered vnto *Sforce*.

Every one hath his turne, saith the Prouerbe: The Pope had beene the principall Author of the Kings sending the Duke of *Albanie* into the estate of *Naples*, and now hee sollicit his confederates againe to inuade the realme, supposing things could not succed happily, if the Emperour were no where else encountered, but in the Duchie of *Milan*. But whilest hee seeks to fire or burne his neighbours house,

As it falls vpon his owne head. Ill counsell is commonly dangerous to the giuer. All these warres had bene plotted in the Councell at *Rome*: was it not reason he should reape what he had sowne? The Pope vrged his confederates to send a part of their forces into the Realme of *Naples*: which consisted of foure Gallions, and sixteene Gallies for the King, thirteene Gallies for the *Venetians*, and eleuen for the Pope, ouer all the which *Peter of Nauarre* was appointed Generall at the Kings instance, notwithstanding the Popes pursute in fauour of *Andrew Dory*, who he had entertained. The Colonnes vnabie to resist such forces, did cunningly strike saile, and to butie the Pope until the *Viceroy* returne from *Spainne* with the armie at sea, they did capitulate with them the 22. of August: *To retire their troups to Naples, with the which they did molest the territories of the Church, and on the other side the Pope should remit all offences past, and reuoke the monitory which he had published against Cardinall Colonne.* This reconciliation, made the Pope in a manner to dismisse all the horse and foote, which he maintained vpon the territories of the Church against the Colonnes, and to disperse the rest into Townes about *Rome*: growing cold in his desseine to inuade *Naples*.

The Colonnes cared not to wrong the Pope with the preiudice of their honour, but hauing no meanes to make open warre against him, they straine all their wittes to circumuent him by fraud. Payning therefore to suppress *Agnane*, defended by two hundred men in the Popes name, they flie with all speed to *Rome* the twentieth of September, with eight hundred horse and three thousand foot, they teize vpon three gates, iacke the Popes pallace, and the ornaments of *S. Peters* Church. There were present in person *Ascanius Colonne*, *Don Hugues de Moncade*, *Vespasian* son to *Prosper Colonne*, (the mediator of the accord, and who had plighted his faith, for himselfe and the rest) *Cardinall Pompee Colonne*, so farre transported (saith the Originall) with ambition and fury, as hauing conspired to put the Pope cruelly to death, he had resolved to force the Cardinals to make choise of himselfe, and to install him in the seat being vacant. The Pope in the beginning grewe resolute, like vnto *Boniface* the 8. when hee was surprisid by *Sarre Colonne*: but in the ende coniuired by the Cardinals that were about him, he retired himselfe into the Castle of *S. Angelo*, where *Don Hugues* hauing received the Popes oath, and the Cardinals, *Cibo* and *Rodolphe* his cousins, for hostages of his faith: capitulating with him in tearmes of a Conqueror, he forced the Pope to promise, *To retire the army of the League, out off the Estate of Milan, and not to giue any succours to the Confederats for foure moneths.*

Times for punishments, are noted in the Counsell of Gods diuine prouidence, who ment to giue two notable stroakes with one stone, as we shall shortly see. This truce was wonderfully commodious for the Emperours affaires. *Milan* had beene vanquished at length: *Genes* oppressed by the Confederates armie at Sea: cryed out for bread, and the small store of victuals which came by land, did but keepe them in breath for some few dayes. But behold two great effects diuerred by the coming of *George Fronsperg*, who knowing the extremity of *Gaspar* his sonne, Collonell of the *Lansquenets*, which were within *Milan*, hauing stirred the *Germaines*, with hope to enrich themselves with the spoile of *Italy*: he led a good number of horse, and foureteen thousand *Lansquenets*, who receiving euery man a crowne, followed him to the succour of *Milan*. The Marquis of *Salusses*, and the Duke of *Vrbina* aduertised of these succours, abandon the sege of *Milan*, with an intent to cut off their victuals, and to charge them at the passage of some riuer. But the Dukes accustomed delayes had giue *Fronsperg* leasure to assure himselfe of the field, so as the league could no way annoy him, but by light skirmishes: in one of the which *John de Medeis* hauing his thigh broken with a faucon shot, he retired to *Mantoue*, and there died, within fewe daies. This death was an absolute victory to the aduerse party: for he was yong, wise, and a valiant Captaine. *Laude* and *Cremone*, did cut off the victuals from *Milan*: & the Duke of *Bourbon* being freed frō the sege, hauing no more meanes to mainteine his army, after he had by strapadoes & other tortures, wrested some money frō the Cittizens to pay his

1526. *Spaniards*, he left *Antonio de Lenc* in the Cittie, & entred the territories of the Church, with an intent to possesse *Plaisance*. To prevent him, the Marquis of *Saluzzes*, leaving the Duke of *Urbino* in field put him selfe into it: so as the Duke of *Bourbon* (seeing the Towne well manned, and the *Venetian* armie to follow him,) left *Plaisance*, and by the Duke of *Ferrares* aduice (whom the Emperour had w^{rote} vnto him) being ioy-
ned with *Fronspreg*, he marched directly towards *Rome*.

The warre
of
Naples.

The Pope (to be reuenged of the outrage receiued by the *Colonnas*) called the Earle of *Vaudemont*, brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*, issued from the house of *Anjou*, whose greatly desired by the ancient partisans thereof, to the realme of *Naples*. The Earle accompanied with *Rance de Cere*, about ten thousand foote, and some horse, entring into the Realme, had taken *Aquile*, *Salerne*, and many other places, chased *Don Hugues de Moncade*, and raised the siege of *Freselon*, which the Imperials had besieged: whereas the Viceroy of *Naples* required of the Pope in the Emperours name a surceasse from armes.

The Pope had no money to maintaine so long and so heauie a burthen of the warre: there were greater difficulties in the enterprise of *Naples* then he expected, the King did not seeme willing to make warre out of *Italie* as he had promised, in the articles of their Capitulation, neither did he furnish, besides his part of fortie thousand Crownes a moneth for the common warre, the twentie thousand, which hee ought euery moneth for the expedition of *Naples*: the *French* gallies were so ill furnished, both with men and munition, as they remayned fruitles at *Sauonne*, not attempting any thing, the succors of the King of *England* were farre off, and vncertaine, the tedious, and variable proceeding of the Duke of *Urbino* did vex him: the approach and threats of the Imperiall armie at the gates of *Rome*, did amaze him: All these considerations made him conclude a truce with the Viceroy for eight moneths, whereby either partie called backe his men speedily, deliuered vp the places taken, and caused the armie at sea to retire. This was an other meanes to lull the Pope a sleepe a little before his ruine.

For, three score thousand Ducats which Pope *Clement* had given in regard of this truce, were not sufficient to satisfie two pays due to the Duke of *Bourbons* Laniquenets: the *Cermains* and *Spaniards* gaped greedely after the sacke of *Rome*, which had bene long promised them. The truce did nothing stay them, from shewing all acts of hospitalitie. they spoyled the Countries of *Eologna* and *Romagnia*, and then camped before *Rome*: the next day, the Duke of *Bourbon* causing a furious assault to be giuen, marching in the head of his troupes, with a ladder in his hand, he was slaine with a harguebus. *Philibert* of *Chalon*, Prince of *Orenge* (who marched besids him, to conceale it from the souldiars) caused his bodie to be covered with a cloke, and following the charge hotly, he forced the suburbs and the Cittie.

The Duke of
Bourbon slaine

The victors entring, put about foure thousand men to the sword. (It is to be supposed, the slaughter had been greater, if the death of their generall had been knowne. they spoyle friend and so indifferently, Prelats, Temples, Monasteries, and reliques. They ranfome both secular, and religious men. They sacke the Cardinals Pallaces (except such as had redeemed their goods, and such as were fled into their houses) with exceeding summes of money. And which is worse, many being spoyled by the *Spaniards*, were fleeced againe by the Laniquenets, being seasoned for the most part with *Luthers* doctrine, and by consequence passionate enemies to the sea of *Rome*. To conclude, *Rome* is subiect to all the insolencies of a conquered Towne which they meane to ruine.

Rome sacked.

A hard capitulation for the Pope.

The Pope besieged in his Castle of *S. Angelo*, sent for the Viceroy of *Naples*, hoping that hee would make him some better composition. But comming to *Rome*, hee found the Imperials nothing pleased with his gouernment, who had chosen the Prince of *Auranges* for their generall, with whome the Pope (voyde of all hope of succors) agreed the 6. of Iune: To pay vnto the army foure hundred thousand ducats,

A fourth part presently, the rest at sundrie termes: to remaine prisoner with thirteene Cardis. 1527. *Cardinals* that did accompanie him, vntill the first hundred and fiftie thousand were payed, and then to go to Naples, or to Caiete, to attend how the Emperour would dispose of them. To giue in hostage for assurance of the money, the Archebishops of *Siponte* and *Pisa*: the Bishoppes of *Pisoye* and *Verona*, *James Saluati*, *Simon Ricatoli*, and *Laurence brother* to the Cardinal *Rodolphe*: To deliuer into the Emperours hands (to hold so long as he pleased) the Castles of *Saint Ange*, the forts of *Ostia*, *Cuirauecchia* and *Cuira Castellana*, with the Citties of *Plaisance*, *Parma* and *Modena*. The accord being made, *Alarson* entred the Castrell with three companies of *Spaniards*, and three of *Laniquenets*, lodging the Pope vnder straightly and with small libertie.

This insolent and hard proceeding against the Pope, to the scandale of all Christendome, caused the Kings of *France* and *England* to make warre in *Italie*, at their common charge, to free the Pope, and his Cardinals being besieged both with warre and pestilence, and to restore him to the possessions of the Church: the King of *England* contributing for his part three score thousand angelis a moneth: and to confirme the League betwixt the King and the *Venetians*, they promised to entertayne ten thousand *Swisses* in common, the King furnishing the first pay, and they the second, and so consequently. The Duke of *Milan* with the *Venetians* should likewise entertayne ten thousand *Italians*. *Odel of Foix* Earle of *Lautrec* was made generall of the whole army, and passed the Alpes with a leaue of sixe thousand horse, sixe thousand *Laniquenets*, ten thousand *French* and *Gascons*, and ten thousand *Swisses*. Then *Andrew Dorie* was entertained by the King with eight gallies, giuing him thirty thousand Crownes pay euery moneth.

A new league
against the
Emperour.

Before they came to open warre, the two Kings sent ioyntly to the Emperour, to demand the Popes enlargement; the restitution of the children of *France*, with an offer of two millions of gold for their ransom: the preservation of the estates & gouernments of *Italie*, and finally a generall peace: which the Emperour accepting, the Duke of *Orleans* should marrie with the daughter of *England*, but hauing refused these articles they did sweare and solemnly proclaime their League the 8. of August. The expectation of *Lautrecs* forces was great, and the confusions of the Imperiall army great, being disperfed by the plague about *Rome*, and so diminished as there scarce remayned ten thousand men of all the Emperours forces. *Lautrec* had no sooner set footing in the marches of *Lombardie*, but hauing intelligence that the Earle of *Lodron* had sent two thousand *Laniquenets* to *Besio*, in the territories of *Alexandria*, he beleagured the, battered it day and night, and the tenth day of the siege forced them to yeeld, at his discretion, who keeping the Captains prisoners, dismissed the soldiars; but vpon condition that the *Spaniards* should returne into *Spaine*, through *France*, and the *Laniquenets* into *Germanie*, through *Switzerland*: but these were afterwards receiued into the Kings fetuice, vnder the Earle of *Vaudemont* Colonel of the *Laniquenets*.

This small victorie was the fore-runner of another, of greater importance. *Andrew Dorie* generall of the Kings gallies, made hot warres against the *Genouois*, so as no ship durst go to sea along the riuier of *Genes*, and *Ceser Fregose* aduertised by his friends that were within *Genes*, of the great scarcetie of victuals which did presse the Inhabitants, being sent by *Latrece*, with two thousand men by land, hee kept them so short, as in fewe dayes there was neyther come nor cattle, for the Inhabitants. The bellie is an importune solicitor, especially when many mouthes trie for meate.

Moltus
clausuere.

The *Genouois* had no more hope of helpe, but in hazarding some gallies to sea. They came some, and send them out by hazard to seeke victuals: foure laden with corne were taken by the *French* gallies, foure retured fraught with corne, and one with other marchandise: and nine were gone forth of *Genes* to west them, when as hauing newes of *Fregoses* approach, they abandon their galleies to go to charge him. In the meantime *Andrew Dorie* arrives, hee compasseth in these galleies in the port of *Genes*, burnes one & takes al the rest, whilest the *Genouois* (hauing ouerthrowen

1527. the first they encountred,) chased them so farre, as the way being cut off by the French A betwixt the Towne and them, they were all defeated, and *Gabriel Earle of Marignan* their generall taken prisoner. This misfortune with sundrie other crosses and losses of money and diuers shippes, the famyne hauing brought them to the last extremity, reduced the Towne to the Kings obedience, where of *Lautree* made *Theodore Triumlee Gouvernor*.

Genes yielded to the King.

Alexandria taken.

The losse of the *Lansquenets* had wonderfully daunted them of *Alexandria*: so as although *Alberie of Bel-iouense* had somewhat reuiued them with a supply of a thousand men, yet the rough and continuall battery of *Lautree*, forced the Earle of *Leiron* to enter into composition, whereby the *Lansquenets* departed with their baggage, taking an oath not to carry armes against the King, nor his allies for six monethes. The taking hereof brought *Vigue*, with all the Countrey of *Lomeline* and *Biagras* to the Kings obedience. *Anthony de Leue* had not within *Milan* aboute a hundred and fiftie horie and fife thousand *Lansquenets* and *Spaniards*, being readie to abandon the Towne, (douting to be vnable to defend it, with so fewe men and so manye difficulties) and to retire to *Paue*. But *Paue* was ill victualed: and moreouer his army could not liue there vpon extortion and spoile, as it had done at *Milan*. He therefore sends *Lodowike of Bel-iouense* to *Paue*, with two thousand fife hundred men, and resolues himselfe to defend *Milan*. *Lautree* followes him, and beseegeth it on the Castle side, & the *Venetians* on the other part, hee makes a breach, and takes the Towne at the second assault, he leaues it eight dayes in spoile to the soldiars, & leads away *Bel-iouense* C (who lately for a quarrel with *Frederic of Bossole* had forsaken the King) prisoner at *Genes*. All which places according to the treaty were restored to *Francis Sforce*.

Genes taken.

Milan wauered, the Confederats did sollicit the taking thereof. But it was thought good to leaue this thorne in the *Venetians* feet and *Sforces*, for being both freed from feare of the Emperour, who (hauing this passage stoppt, should drawe no succors out off *Germaine*) would haue bene lesse affected to fauour the King in his enterprise of *Naples*. Moreouer it was a meanes for the King to make a more easie treaty of peace with the Emperour, of whome (leauiug the estate of *Milan*), he might with more ease obtaine the liberty of his children, according to the treaty with the Emperour, by the Ambassadors of *France*, *England* and *Venice*. But the King desyring that *Sforce* should still stand in neede of helpe, gaue the Emperour more meanes to speake bigge. Hee was of a great spirit, and neuer daunted in aduersitie. He protests, that neyther loue nor force, shal make him to alter any of the conditions before propounded: & his proud demands make proofe that hee had no inclynation to peace. As the *Venetians* and *Sforce* labored to stay the French forces in *Lombardie*: so the Pope pressed them to driue the Imperiall army out of the territories of the Church. Hee therefore passeth the riuer of *Po* the 18. of October, with an intent to attend the rest of the *Lansquenets* commanded by the Earle of *Vaudemont*, which were not yet arriued, to be in the *Suisse* place being for the most part retired.

Lautree had no sooner turned his backe, but *Anthony de Leue* came and recovered E *Biagras* the 18. of the sayd moneth, and prepared to passe into *Lomeline* to take *Vigue* and *Nauare*: but *Lautree* aduertised of this attempt, sends backe *Peter of Nauarre* with six thousand French foote, and some men at armes, who chased the *Spaniards* into *Milan*, & settled *Sforce* in *Biagras*. The *Lansquenets* being arriued, *Lautree* tooke the way to *Plaisance*, where the Duke of *Ferrare* (it may be) well pleased to see the Pope against whom he had bene long incensed, receiue some disgrace leauiug the Imperialls, joined in League with the King: and there was concluded the marriage of *Hercules* his eldest sonne with *Renée* the yongest daughter to King *Lewis* the 12. The *Marguis of Mantoue* a friend to the strongest, did likewise ioyne with the confederats.

The Pope deliuered.

The Emperour then foreseeing, that the inuasion of the realme of *Naples* by *Lautree*, would force him to call backe his forces, which hee had in the territories of the Church, he sent his Comission to set the Pope at liberty, which done, after many treaties he agreed the last of October, To attempt nothing against the Emperour, neither for

the estate of *Milan*, nor the Realme of *Naples*. To pay three hundred and fiftie thousand ducats, that is three score thousand presently, to the *Lansquenets*, and thirtie five thousand to the *Spaniards*: the like summe within fifteen dayes, and the rest three moneths after. The Pope to free himselfe from prison, fled to those remedies, which hee had before his relinquit neglected, hee made Cardinals for money, the most of them (saith the historie) being vnworthy of so great an honour. Necessary it was, that the Court of *Rome* should thus be disgraced, that they might lesse me lide in worldly affaires, & looke to their spirituall duties. The 10. of December was come, when as the *Spaniards* should conduct the Pope to a place of safetie, but knowing he had affection of the *Spaniards*, especially of *Don Hugues de Moncade*, Viceroy of *Naples*, by the death of *Launoy*, and fearing a worse condition, or some other change, hee deceiued his gardes, & the night before, disguised like a marchant (he went secretly out of the Castle, & saued himselfe in *Oruete*: but his hostages payed his ranfome. A rare example to bee noted in the Church, since the time it came to that greatness: To see a Pope issued from one of the greatest families in *Italie*, fallen from so great a dignitie, to loose *Rome*, to be a prisoner, and to haue all his estate possessed by the violence of Christian armes: then in few monthes, to be restored to his seat, and by the meanes of the eldest son of the Church to recover his estate, greatness & authoritie. Without doubt the Emperour, suffering himselfe to bee so much prest, for the Popes deliuerie, shewed, that the Countsell of *Spain* was more gouerned by ambition, then deuotion.

C The Pope being at libertie, he exhorted the Confederats to draw their Companies out of the territories of the Church, that by their example the Imperials might make their retreat according to promise, as in deed they did: he gaue thanks to *Lautree* in particular, for that he had assisted him in his deliuerance, adding, that he was as much bound vnto the King, and him, as if hee had bene freed by his forces. But the Moore changeth not his hewe. He held (saith the historie) his accustomed disposition, hauing not (by his imprisonment) left his craft, and couerousnesse. As the Kings of *France* and *England*, required him to reioyne his armes, and means with them and their allies, sometimes hee fed them with hope, that he would imploy himselfe for a general peace, and the good of all Christendome, sometimes with excuses, that wanting D men, money, and authoritie, his coniunction with them would be fruitles, and giue the Imperials occasion to wrong him in many respects. *Lautree* stayed at *Bologne*, attending directions from the King, eyther of a full resolution of peace, or to proceed in his course of armes. The Emperour offered to settle *Sforce* in his estate, and to compound with the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, & other confederats. But the Emperour and the King stood vpon the point of honour, which should trust other. A point which plainly discovered the bitterness of their spleene. The King would not be bound to draw his armes out of *Italie*, before he had recovered his children: yet hee offered to put hostages to the King of *Englands* hands, for performance of whatsoeuer hee should be bound vnto, if vpon the deliury of his children, hee did not presently withdrawe his armes.

E The Emperour was obstinate, and saying that hee could not trust him, who had once deceiued him. The Ambassadors of *France* and *England* tooke their leaues of the Emperour, and according to their maiesties Commission proclaimed war against him. The Emperour accepts it cheerefully: but to stay the Ambassadors, presently to send them fiftene leagues from *Bourges*, (where then the Court of *Spain* remayned,) to giue them a gard of shot, & halberds, and not to suffer them to conferre, or to write in any sort. Was not this to violate the Law of Nations? The fire is now kindled, they dreame of nothing but warre. *Lautree* proceeds in his course, he takes the way to *Rimini*, *Antenne* and *Reanate*, chaceth the Imperials before him into the realme of *Naples*, where we shall soone see the exploits of his armes.

F The King aduertised of the detention of the Bishop of *Tarbe*, his Ambassador, who was afterwards made Cardinal of *Grandmont*: he committed *Nicholas Perienot* Lord of *Granuelle*, the Emperours Ambassador, to the Chastelet at *Paris*, & staied al marchants, subjects to the Emperour. But this was not all. The Emperour had before time at *Granado*, when as they treated of a peace betwixt them, sayed: That he would willingly

The King of France and England proclaimed war against the Emperour.

end

1528. end all controuersies with the King, by a single combat of his person against the Kings: he now deliuer the same words vnto the Herald that denounceth warre vnto him, adding: That the King had basely, and treacherously broken his faith with him. The King would not haue refused it, but his Ambassador did then wrong him, in concealing this speech. It may be the Emperour had such an intent. He was a most valiant Prince: but our *Francis* did yeeld nothing vnto him in courage. Hee had no looser intelligence of his challenge, but calling together, the twentie eight of March, all the Princes, all Ambassadors, with the whole Court, into the great hall of the Pallace at *Paris*, sitting in his royall seate, he caused *John Robertet*, one of his Secretaries of Estate, with a loud voyce, to reade a Cartell signed with his owne hand: That the Emperour, accusing the King to haue falsified his faith, had spoken vnto him, and as often as he did speake it, he did lie. To the end therefore he should not deferre the deciding of their controuersies, he wished him to appoint the field, & he would bring the armes, the King protesting, that if hereafter the Emperour shall write, or speake any thing preiudiciall to his honour, the shame of the delay should redound vpon himselfe, seeing that the combat is the end of all writing. Without doubt, this proceeding had bene more seemely for Knights, then for such Princes: and no enterprises are commendable, but so farre forth as they agree with the dignitie of their persons, and States.

And for that *Granuelle* refused to take vpon him this charge, the King desirving him, did accompany him with an Herald, to present this writing vnto the Emperour. Within few dayes after, *Henry* King of *England*, sent him the like desie, and did put away *Catherine* his wife, daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* Kings of *Spain*, whom he had married being widow to *Arthur* his elder brother. A diuorce which *Pope Clement* granted, vpon promise that *Henry* should, for his safetie, maintaine him agard of foure thousand foote.

In the meane time *Lautrecs* forces preuailed in the Realme of *Naples*, with such applause of the people, as, whether for affection of the *French*, or hatred of the *Spaniards*, almost all the Townes, sent to offer their keyes, and gates. *Peter of Nauarre* had chased the Prince of *Melphe* out of *Aquile*, and reduced all *Abruzz* to the Kings obedience: the whole estate of *Naples* was readie to set vp the banners of *France*, when as the Prince of *Orange* hauing assembled within *Troye*, and thereabouts, fiftethousand *Germanes*, fiftethousand *Spaniards*, and fiftene hundred *Italians*, he made *Lautrec* to vnite his forces, which were disperfed, and to turne head to the enemye, with an intent to fight with him. He wanted the shewes of warre, the Kings assignations failed, so as he could not long maintaine the burthen of the warre: The aduantage of men, victuals, and the field, did inuite him: hee must therefore attempt some great matter. He goes to field with three thousand *French*, whereof the Lord of *Burie* was Colonell, foure thousand *Gasccons*, vnder the command of *Peter of Nauarre*, and the Lord of *Candale*, eight thousand *Germanes* commanded by the Earle of *Vaudemont*, threethousand *Suisses* vnder the charge of the Earle of *Tende*, with ten thousand *Italians*, and approached neere the enemye: but there was no meanes to draw him out of his fort. Many dayes were spent in skirmishes, and courtes: In one of them, three hundred hories coming out of their battailons, which marched after the artillerie, were charged by *Morice* and *Pomperant* (it is that faithfull *Achates* to the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom the King had drawn to his seruice, and honoured with a company of fiftie men at armes, for the good seruice he had done him at his taking of *Paia*, hauing freed him from some souldiars, that had inuironed him in, and not knowne him were wholly defeated, and their enfeignes, and guidons carried away.

Lautrec offered bataille, yet well pleased not to fight in the absence of *Horatio Baillon*, who brought thirteene enfeignes of foote, whome *John de Medeis* had long before trayned in the exercise of armes. But behold, a heauie signe of a fatall deaister, the winds were so violent, and the skie so troubled, as all the tents in the *French* campe were ouerthrowne, & many men slaine. *Baillon* arriues, the enemye packs vp the baggage,

1528. *A* gale, stops the bells of his moyles, and marcheth through the woods directly to *Naples*, without sound of drumme or trumpet.

It had bene a goodly thing to pursue these runawaies. The *French* Captaines fiewe after them in their hearts, but *Lautrec* sayd: *I will haue them at my mercie, and without losse of my men*. But the spirit of man is ignorant of future destinies. *Don Hugues de Monca-* The enemy retyres.
and other chiefe seruants to the Emperour, did so hate the Prince of *Orange*, as without doubt, they had shut the gates of *Naples* against him, the which had giue the *French* a great aduantage. But the soueraigne Lodge of armes had otherwise decreed. The Prince of *Orange* being dislodged, *Lautrec* sent some troupes of *French* horie and foote with the blacke bands (which were those of *Baillon*) to go before *Melfe*, which might be one of the victuals from the army lying before *Naples*: the Prince thereof defended it with three thousand men, who by their continuall sallies had much indamaged our troupes. They made a small breach with two Cannons, and the *Gasccons* burning with heat offer themselves to the assault: the blacke bands follow them, without any commandement or direction from their Captaines. A volley of shot makes them retire, kills many *Gasccons*, and some threecore of the black bands. At night they reneue the batterie, and make a second attempt: but with like successe, yet at length they carry it.

The next day they haue a supplie of artillerie, wherewith they make two great batteries. The peasants (which were in great numbers within *Melphe*) mutine for feare, they are in deed more fit to amaze, then to serue at neede. The soldiars terrified with this tumult, abandon the defenses and recouer the Castell, they enter the Towne, spoile and kill of soldiars and Inhabitants six or seauen thousand: they take the Castell by composition, and the Prince with his wife and children prisoners. *Barleta*, *Trani*, *Venosa*, *Asoli* with all the places thereabouts, except *Manfredonia*, yeeld to the victors fortune, who prepared a great masse of victuals for the sege of *Naples*, the *Venetians* troupes hauing fortified the armie with about two thousand men. *Capoua*, *Acerre*, *Noli*, *Auerse* and all places thereabouts, hauing voluntarilie opened their gates, made the way easie for *Lautrec*, who camps before the walles of *Naples*: in the end of April the Imperialls were resolved, onely to defend *Naples* and *Caiette*. It was a great matter to haue chased the enemye out of the field, and to keepe them coopt vp, within the capitall Cittie. But alas what shall become of so great a multitude of men: our *French* must learne once more, to their cost, that all their strange enterprises attempted farre off, haue bene mournfull graues vnto them. *The issues of death belong to the eternall God*.

Lautrec imploies all his witts, in the sege of *Naples*, but who can hope for any hap-
pinesse. The Cittie was full of men of defence, and the meane to furnish it verie
vncertaine: for the galleies of *Phillipin*, Nephew to *Andrew Dorie*, being vnable to
stoppe the port, some shippes fraught with meale stole in: those of *Venise* came
not: the enemies light horse (which were many) cut off the victuals from our men: the
ordinarie grossefesse of the aire, the continuall rayne, the discomodities of the soldiars,
who for the most part lay open, filled the campe full of diseases: the Kings
store prouision, and the negligence of the Treasurers were the cause that no money
could passe the mountaynes: the *Venetians*, of two and twentie thousand ducats
which they should contribute euery moneth, did owe threecore thousand, and
that little which *Lautrec* did gather of the custome of the Cattell of *Apulia*, was
employed for the detraying of his ordinarie expences. The number of the defendants
was great, their experience in deeds of armes well tryed, beeing nine or ten thousand
of soldiars.

It was therefore better to beseege, then to assault *Naples*, and to provide that they
might not bee releued with victuals neyther by land nor sea, *Phillippin Dorie* kept the
gulf of *Salerne*, and the Imperialls relying vpon the valour and strength of their men,
conceiue a hope to overcome him. This resolution was necessary for the *Spaniards*, they make choise of a thousand *Spanish* shot, and diuide
them

1528. them into six Gallies, four Foists, and two Brigantines. *Don Hugues* the Viceroy, *Gobbe* an olde sea Captaine, and almost all men of command, will be partakers: and to amaze *Dorie* a farre off, by a shew of a greater number of shippes, they make a long traine of Fisher-boates, and send two galleys before, giuing them charge to retire at the enemies approach, that they might draw them into the open sea. *Dorie* advertised of the Imperials counsell by faithfull spies, makes three of his galleys to disperse themselves, as if they fled, to the end that turning, they might (through fauour of the wind) charge them in flanke and in poupe: and followed with five galleys, he marches towards the enemy. The greatest stratagems consist in expedition: the first blow is worth two. The *Spaniards* presumed, that compassing in *Dorie*, with the smoke of their Canon to take from him his sight and marke. *Dorie* prevents them, and for the first check, he carries away with one Canon shotte, fortie men out of the Admiral, amongst the which was the Captaine and many officers: the other peeces fely discharged, do likewise disorder them. On the other side, the galley of *Don Hugues* discharging her Canon, kills the Captaine of *Dories* galley, and hurts the maister, with some others. The approaches are made, and a furious charge is giuen with their shotte and other armes. These two fight with great courage. three other Imperials presse two *Genouises*, and seemed to haue the better, after the death of many men of either side, when as the other three which made shew to flee (hauing gotten into the open Sea,) they turne the prow against the enemy, beate in peeces the Admiral, and another called *Gobbe*, take their foists, sinke some, burne others, kill their men, brake their armes, and fighting hand to hand, and foote to foote, in the end they get both the aduantage of the combate, and the honour of the victorie.

A victorie at sea gotten by *Philippus Dorie*.

The successe thereof.

Distresses in the French service.

Don Hugues de Moncade Viceroy of *Naples*, *Fieramosque*, with many other Gentlemen and Captaines, and aboue a thousand men, were slaine and remained as a prey for the Fish. Two *Spanish* foists fore battered, recouered *Naples* with great difficulty: the Prince of *Orange* caused the maister of one of them to be hanged, the other was and yeelded to *Philippin Dorie*. The Marquis of *Gualt*, *Ascanius*, and *Camille Colonne*, the Prince of *Salerno*, *Saint Croix*, *le Kiz*, *Gobbe*, *Serenon*, with a great number of chiefe men, were taken prisoners. These are goodly beginnings in so famous a siege, which fill the *French* with great hopes of a happy successe, and the Imperials with a strange amazement. They see the flower of their men buried in the waues, they haue lost the command of the Sea, and are blockt vp so neere at land, as they haue no meanes to be releued with victuals: they haue no meale but by their hand mills, no money for their souldiars, the plague did daily diminish their numbers: *Stabie*, *Saint Germaine*, *Fondy*, and all the countrie about, yeelds to the conquerour: the Prince of *Melfe* joynes to that partie: the people of *Calabria* seeme very willing to come vnder their command. But the point of a totall victorie consisted either in the conquest or the defence of *Naples*. Our men were much annoyed for fresh water, diseases encreased, the which did greatly waste the armie: the enemy being stronger in light horse, did cut off their provisions by their daily sallies.

Lautrec without doubt a great Captaine, but absolute in his opinions, left most of his horsemen dispersed at *Capoua*, *Auersa* and *Nola*, so as the black bands hauing no horse to second them, came often with disaduantage from their skirmishes. The report was, that they prepared an armie at sea at *Marseilles*: but it was onely in imagination. The *Venetians* more carefull of their private interest, then of the generall good, fitted themselves of those places which should be their portion of the conquest. The Pope had no other dessein, but to recover the authoritie which his house was wont to enjoy at *Florence*. Thus there appeared many difficulties on either side, yet such as there was an expectation of victorie for the *French*: for in the end there arriues two and twenty *Venetian* galleys in the gulphe of *Naples*, the tenth of Iune, which deprued the besieged of all commodities at sea, and threatned them with a generall famine. But see what caused the totall ruine of our *French*. The Emperour in the midst of a notable losse, makes a great gain. We do commonly sinke vnder our owne burthens, and are the

cause

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A cause & motives of our owne miseries. The infidelitie of the *Genouois* is herein detestable: but we may obserue a goodly lesson for Princes, To endure much of a rude servant, when he is profitable vnto them, and that they must neuer hope to recouer him, when he is chased away or lost. *Lautrec* advertised of the foresaid victorie, commanded they should send the prisoners into *France*, *Philippin* puts them into two galleys, with that intent. But the bootie was too good, and might easily draw a *Genouois* soule to disservice with his faith. As they passed by *Genes*, *Andrew Dorie* stayed them, concealing his secret dessein with this pretext. That the King had not satisfied him for the ranome of the Prince of *Orange*, and other prisoners, which hee had taken at *Porte-fin* during the siege of *Paue* (the which had beene set at libertie, a peace being concluded at *Madrid* with the Emperour) neither yet for the entertainment of his galleys, without the which he could no longer maintaine them. That if it pleased his Maestie to do him right, & yeeld vnto the *Genouois* their accustomed commands ouer *Sauone*, (the King thinking to keepe *Genes* in awe, had transported the traffike of merchandise, and the custome of salt to *Sauonne*) with their ancient liberties, and priuileges, he would deale with the people, that for assurance of his faith, hee should furnish the King with twelue galleys entertayned, in the which he might place such Captaines, and souldiars, as hee should thinke good, reseruing onely two galleys, for the gard of the port.

A strange and insolent course for the servant, to prescribe a law to his master. But the losse of such a servant was the losse of *Genes*, of the Realme of *Naples*, and of the armie which besieged it. But these demands of *Dorie*, being found vnreasonable by the Counsell, especially by the Chancellor *du Prat*, a sower man, and of great authority, the King sent *Anthony de la Rochefoucault* Lord of *Barbezicux*, with the office of Admirall into the East-seas, and a Comission to seize as well on his Maesties galleys, as of those of *Andrew Dorie*: yea and of his person, if hee might find the meanes. *Andrew* advertised of this charge, retyred himselfe to his galleys, deliuered vp the Kings, left his pay, and practised by his *Spanish* prisoners, hee tooke part with the Emperour with the libertie of *Genes*, vnder the Emperours protection, the subiection of *Sauonne* to the *Genouois*, a pardon for himselfe, who had beene so great a persecutor of the *Spanish* name, entertainment with the Emperour, of twelue galleys, and threecore thousand ducats yeerely pay, with many other honourable conditions: during which tyme, his nephew *Philippin*, not onely kept ill gard, but also priuilege releued the besieged with victuals, and in the end, retired himselfe from *Naples*, with all his galleys. This departure of *Philippin*, caused the *Venetians* (who wrought from the sea shore) until they met with the trench, which *Lautrec* had made betwixt the Towne and Mount *Saint Martin*, which the enemies had fortified) to leaue their worke, and looke to ward the sea. This was the first effect of *Dories* retreat, to preiudice the *French* armie. Behold the second, whence followed the ouerthrow of their enterprises, and the losse of their infinit charges.

Reuolt of *Andrew Dorie*

Of *Philippin* his nephew.

The great constancie of *Lautrec*.

The fifteenth of Iuly, the *Venetian* galleys returne into *Calabria*, to provide biscuit. So the port remayning open, the besieged receiued a great refreshing at such time as necessitie had brought them to *Lautrecs* deuotion, (who notwithstanding the plague) resolving rather to die, then to retire one foot backe from the place, hee solicited the King, to supplie him with money, and men in their roomes that had died of the infection.

The King sent the Prince of *Nauarre*, brother to *Henry* King of *Nauarre*, but with so small a troupe, (whereof the greatest part were voluntarie yong gentlemen, who marched onely for pleasure, and to win honour) as hee was forced to send some out of the armie, to conduct him safely from *Nola* to the Campe, and to receiue some money which he brought. This charge was giuen to *Candalles*, nephew to the Marquis of *Salusses*, who passing in his returne before *Naples*, was charged by the Imperials, who issued forth in great troups, being hurt, (his men put to rout, himselfe taken prisoner) to *Naples*: and then redeemed by exchange of one of theirs that was taken in the fight,

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1528. hee died of his wounds. *Hugh Earle of Pepoli* was likewise exchanged for an other, and their troupes were diminished, by about two hundred, that were slaine and taken. A hard forerunner of a fatal checke, which within few dayes shall wait our warriors.

Now behold a pittifull Catastrophe of these two armies. The Imperials, by their dayly sallies, provided them things necessary, and doe often cut off the victuals from the French armie, take their baggage, and forrage, euen at their forts, and their horties at the watering, their hopes increase with their aduantages: their Laniquenets mutine no more: euery one esteems it a glory to haue suffered: contrariwise, the others decay both in force and courage: the horse disband, some to refresh themselves, others to auoid the plague: the footmen faint, hauing no horse to second them: the plague began to cease at Naples, and increased amongst our men. The Earle of Vandemont, Gruffy with many other Capitaines, were already layed in their graues: the Prince of Nauarre, Camille Triunlee, and almost all the men of command were sicke: and that which did most import, *Lautrec* stricken with sicknes, could not redresse those things, which did hourly tend to ruine. *Rene de Cere*, whom he had sent towards *Abruzzo*, to make a leuie of foure thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse, found the Treasurers, who payd him with their ordinarie answere. *I haue not a farthing. The King hath no money in his coffers.* The enemies did so belay the wayes, as they could not go to *Capoue*: euery man almost was sicke in the armie, the footmen were almost wasted. *Simon Romain*, a braue Knight, and of the French partie, had bene defeated in *Calabria*. *Somme* had bene sackt with the slaughter of a troupe of men at armes, and light horse. Most commonly there were no victuals in the campe: they wanted water, all the Cesterns being drie: and to heape vp their miseries, *Lautrec* dying the 15. of August, interred with him all his braue desseins. Without doubt the death of a valiant commander, and of great reputation, is the ruine of an armie.

The head failing, all the members tremble, and soone fade away. Moreover, wee obserue in this Nobleman, that no man, (how wise and valiant soeuer) is alwaies happy: for vertue and fortune, haue alwayes bene at hatred and mortall waite. The King did honour his funerals, at our Ladies Church in *Paris*, with a mourning dumpe, fit for one of his children. The Marquis of *Silussis*, tooke vpon him the gouernment of the armie. A man of courage, beloued and well followed by men of war: but it decreased, and disorders encreased daily.

The Earle of *Sarni*, with a thousand Spaniards, chased three hundred foote from *Sarni* which were in garrison there: and followed with a greater troupe, hee tooke *Nola* from *Valerius Priser*, who being rettyred into the Castle, attended two thousand men which the Marquis sent him: the which being charged in the plaines of *Naples*, were put to rout. *Fabrizio Maramao* issued out of *Naples*, with foure hundred men, and finding *Capoue* in a manner forsaken, he straightway entred into it. So the French abandoning *Pozzuolo*, put the garrison into *Auerse*, a place of great importance for the

But *Capoue* and *Nola* being lost, they could hardly recover any victuals. So as the armie being no longer able to subsist, did rise in the night, to recover *Auerse*. The Imperials discover their departure. they pursue them, defeat the battaile vpon the way, being led by *Peter of Nauarre*, and the reereward commanded by *Pomperant*, *Negrepelisse*, and *Paul Camille Triunlee*. They take the *Nauarra* is with many other commanders, and men of qualitie, and beseege the Marquis in *Auerse*: who hauing no meanes to defend him selfe, sent *Guy of Rangon*, to parle with the Prince of *Auranges*, and did capitulate with him, as followeth: That hee should leaue *Auerse*, with the Castle, artillerie, and munition. That as Lieutenant Generall to the King, hee should remaine a prisoner: That hee should imploy his authoritie to cause both French and Venetians to yeeld vnto the Emperour all the Realme of *Naples*: That the men of warre should yeeld and deliuer vnto their

A ensignes, guidones, banderolles, armes, horses and baggage but such as had commande might 1528. *eueryone carrie away a horse, or a mayle, at their choise: That the strangers should not beare* The French army who's turned. *armes against the Emperour for six monethes.* So all the companie were defeated, all the Capitaines dead, taken or fled: and this accord was a conclusion or teale of the misery of the French in the realme of *Naples*, and a confirmation of the Spaniards greatness in *Italy*.

Things hauing thus passed, the Marquis was carried sicke in a Litter to *Naples*, where within fewe daies after hee died. During the sege, and after, there died the Earles of *Lautrec* and *Vaudemont*, Charles Prince of *Nauarre*, *Candilles*, the Barons of *Grandmont*, *Buzanfois*, *de Conty*, the Lord of *Tournon* and his brother, *Claude of Belpays* Lord of *la Ferte Nabert*, *Charbonneres*, *la Vall* a *D. alpherois*, *Cruffy*, *Moriae*, *de Pomperant*, *Montdragon*, *Louppé*, *Cornillon*, *Grutture*, *Mauourier*, the elder *Larnac*, *Boniuet*, *Hughe Earle of Pepoli*, *Cont Wolfe*, with so great a number of others, as of so many men at armes there remained not a hundred, and of so many thousand of foote, there hardly escaped foure thousand: but let vs see the successe of our forces in the estate of *Milan*.

The Duke of *Brunswike*, hauing passed the riuer of *Adice* the x. of May, with ten thousand Laniquenets, and sixe hundred horse well armed, hee marched to the succour of *Naples*. And the King, to crosse his desseins, opposed the Earle of *Saint Paul*, brother to the Duke of *Vendosme*, with five hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, under the commande of *Boissy*: six thousand foote led by *Lorges*, and three thousand Laniquenets, by *Monticau*. The Earle had commandement from the King, to followe this *Germaine* Duke at the heeles, if hee directed his course to *Naples*, and to engage him betwixt the two armies: but necessarie prouisions for his troupes causing the Earle to make a fruitlesse stay at *Ast*, gaue the Duke libertie to take by composition *Pescara*, *Rinolte*, *Lunete* and almost all the other places vpon the Lake of *Gard*. This little successe drew him to the sege of *Lande*: but in vaine, the valour of the besegged, the plague among the beseggers, the policie of *Anthoine de Leue* (who would haue no companions of the bootie, nor so great forces as might prescribe him a lawe in his gouernment) tooke from them all hope to recouer any money, considering the pouertie of *Milan*, and the difficultie of victuals, whereof there was great want in *Lombardie*: the Laniquenets mutyning returned home in disorder, the 13. of July.

The Earle being thus freed from this thorne, and ioyned with the Dukes of *Fribin* and *Milan*, recovered what the Imperials had seized on, and all that they held betwixt the *Po* and the riuer of *Tessin* vnto *Pavia*, which then obeyed the Emperour: for after the passage of *Lautrec* to *Naples*, *Anthoine de Leue*, aduertised that it was carelessly kept by *Peter of Lungene*, with foure hundred horse, and a thousand *Venetian* foote, and by *Hannibal Pissinard* a *Cremonois* with three hundred foote, hee scaled it in the night and surprisid it by assault. *Biogras* and *Arone* were by the same meanes brought vnder his obedience.

The confederats meaning was to assaile *Milan* hotlie: but a continuall raine, breakes their way to the Port of *Vercell*, by the which they should enter: so as they change aduise and went to campe before *Pavia*. They battred it with twentie Cannons, and made a reasonable breach, where they disputed who should haue the point of the assault, the French and the Venetians affecting this honour equally. The lot fell to the Venetians, who gaue it: but skitmiſhing coldly and farre off, *Lorges* moued with choller and impatience to see them so faintly pursue the aduantage, which fortune had giuen them, thrusts himselfe betwixt them and the breach, and takes it by force, before the Venetians could approach. *Florimond of Chailly* and *Gransay* (who did second *Lorges* on eyther side if neede should bee) were there slaine, and the ensigne which marched before them, *Peter of Birague* died being shot in the thigh. There were slaine within about seauen hundred, almost all Laniquenets. The towne being taken, the Castell yeilded by composition.

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But this victorie is crossed with a notable losse. The plague was great at *Genes*, and for this reason the Towne was almost desolate. *Andrew Doria* embraced this occasion: hee approacheth neere the Towne with some gallies, enters it with small resistance, ruins the *Chafselet* speditie, and in the end receiues it by a composition made with *Theodore Triuulce*, being vnfurnished of money and men.

The *Genouois* being restored to their liberty, raze the *Chafselet*, establish a new forme of government, name a Councell of foure hundred Cittizens, by whom all the officers and dignities of the Cittie should be chosen: they abrogate the Lawe, whereby all gentlemen were excluded (a good expedient to bannish all partialities) they reserve in their important affaires, the preheminance which *Andrew Doria* had deserued in recompence of the libertie which hee had purchased for them, whos neyther meddling with the election of their Duke, nor any other magnanimitie, neyther yet with the government of the treasor) made his authoritie lesse full, and this newe policie more pleasing. Afterwards they tooke *Sauonne*: and the better to hold it in subiection, they ruined the fort, and filled vp the haueu with stones.

The Earle of Saint Paul, relying on the word of some Cittizens, who promised to giue him meanes to surpris the Towne, parted with speed out of the Duchie of Milan, with three thousand foote and some horse to second them: but hauing no profit of victuals, but for foure and twentie houres, and no artillery with him, all turned to smoake, and he retired into *Alexandria*, to winter the rest of his troups, his Landsquenets being alreadie retired, and the French halfe diminished of their numbers, for want of pay.

The spring being come, the Earle of Saint Paul goes to field with those small troups he could gather together: he takes *Mortare*, a strong towne well flanked & with double ditches, full of water: *Nauare* abandoned by *Conte Philippin Tormiel*, *Vigne* and almost all other places on this side the riuer of *Tessin*, yet all this was nothing, seeing the Towne and Castell of *Milan*, with other chiefe places were in the Emperours power. The Dukes of *Vrbis* and *Milan* aduertised, that the French army kept the field, came and ioyned with them at *Marignan*: yet all these armies vnited were not sufficient to assault *Milan*, the *Venetians* hauing not the moitie of twelue thousand men, which they should entertaine by the articles of the League. Moreover *Anthony de Leue* was newly releued with three thousand *Spaniards*, which came from *Naples*. The resolute therefore, that (to cut off the victuals, from the Imperialls,) the French should marche to *Biagras*, the *Venetians* to *Cassin*, and *Sforce* to *Pauia*: but the Earle of Saint Paul did wonderfully affect the enterprise of *Genes*. *Andrew Doria* was departed the eight of Iune with his gallies, to gard the Emperour who passed into *Italie*. This absence put the Earle in good hope, that *Cesar Fregese* (to whom the King had promised the government of *Genes*) would make the Towne revolt, with some fewe foote.

This was to take a nightie wolfe by the eares, which will bite them freely: they had behind them too vigilant an enemy. According to this desseine, the Earle in steede of *Biagras* arrives at *Landriane*, the twentieth of Iune: but in the night a great raine doth to swell the riuer, as hee had no meanes to passe his artillery. *Anthony de Leue* aduertised of the Earles staie, parts from *Milan*, overtakes the Earle (who was busie in pulling downe an old house, to haue some peeces of Timber, to put vnder the carriage of a peece, that was all durty and myted) and chargeth him before hee had, in a manner, discovered him.

At the first the Earle forceth the *Spanish* shot to retire into the battallion of their *Germains*; and the French Landsquenets had repulst those that had passed a little riuer, which diuided the two armies: but pursuing and following them to the banke, they were greatly annoyed by them that were opposite on the other side. *Guy Earle of Rangon*, had in the morning taken the way to *Pauia* with the

General comen-
ted from the
French.

Enterprise
upon Genes.

Aforeward, so as hee had no notice of the fight, vntill it was past time to succour them. *John Thomas of Galere* and the *Castellan of Laude*, Colonells of Italian foote were alreadie well advanced: and leauing them engaged that were desirous to fight, they retire on the one side and saue themselves likewise in *Pauia*. *John Ierosme of Castillon* and *Claude of Rangon*, Commanders ouer two thousand *Italians*, performed wonders. But the Imperial horsemen, hauing passed the riuer with a great battallion of *Germains*, our *Italians* turne their backs, our Landsquenets yeeld to their Countrymen: the Earle and *Annebault* with those fewe horsemen which remayned, made the retreat, alwayes turning their faces to the enemy, vntill they were stayed by a brooke, which the Earle was not able to passe, through the weakenesse of his horse: where as hee and almost all that followed him were put to the sword, or prisoners, except *Annebault* and some fewe *Lances*, which leaped ouer the ditch: the footemen were all defeated, the artillery lost, and the baggage taken.

After all these stormes, and confusions: after so many fatall swears caused by the weight of their armes: was it not nowe time to take breath? The Alpes and high pointed *Pyrene* mountaines, bee they not sufficient barres to restrain vs within our bounds, content to enioy and defend that which belongs vnto vs? was not so much blood spilt sufficient to make all *Italie* dronke? Such pittifull spectacles of French mens boanes, where-with the plaines of the estates of *Milan* and *Naples* were made white, had they not force, and vertue, to take from vs all future desire to beare armes in such mortal conquests? Without doubt they had reason to make this complaint, with the ancient Church: *All our remains haue opened their mouthes vpon vs, they haue hissed, gnashed their teeth and sayd: we haue confounded them, this is the day which we expected: we haue found it, wee haue seene it.* And with the like repentance to crie: *Remember O Lord what hath chanced vnto vs, behold and see our reproches. Turne vs vnto thee O Lord, & we shall be turned.* Behold now the pittifull relikes of our Frenchmen, hatefull to strangers, scorned of all the world, beaten on all sides, returning home with their shirts tied vpon their shoulders, who hauing scarce breathed foure yeares, wee shall so againe fall to armes.

This vnfortunate successe of our men, hauing caused armes to cease, in a manner throughout all *Italie*, the Emperour and Pope, both being bare of money, treated of some articles of peace. The Emperour had no inclination therevnto: yet hee could not graunt it in a season more beneficiall for himselfe. The King sought it: two notable afflictions drew him therevnto, the imprisonment of his children, and the ruine of so many armies, with the wasting of his treasor. But one especiall consideration did moue him.

If the confederats had discovered his intent, they would haue prevented him, and by their agreement with the Emperour excluded him from League with any of them: and by consequence haue brought him to that point, as hee should haue bene forced to accept farre lesse tollerable conditions of peace. *Louyse* the Kings mother, & *Marquerite*, Aunty vnto the Emperour by the Fathers side, did treat it at *Cambray*, furnished with authoritie and Councell from both their maiesties, and finally they concluded: That the King should paie two millions of gold, for the freedome of his Children: that is, twelue hundred thousand crownes, when as the sayd Children should bee in France and at liberty: hee should deliuer the lands which *Marie of Luxembourg*, mother to the Duke of *Vendresine* had in *Flanders*, *Arthois*, *Brabant* and *Hainault*, and those which the Duke of *Montpensier*, cousin germaine to the sayd Duke did possesse in the sayd Countreies, for foure hundred thousand crownes, to bee redeemed within a certaine time: And for the other foure hundred thousand remayning, hee should acquite the Emperour of so much to the King of England, which hee had lent vnto him, and fiftie thousand more which the Emperour did owe vnto the English, for the indemnitie of the marriage, betwixt the Emperour and *Marie* Daughter to the sayd King of England, whome hee had left, to marry with the Daughter of Portugall. Moreover hee should vngage the *Count de Lis* of gold, inriched with pretious stones, and a peece of the crosse which *Philip the Emperours*

Fatall to the
undertakers.

A Peace con-
cluded at
Cambray be-
twixt the Em-
perour and
French King.

1529. Father had ingaged to the King of Englandes Father, for fiftie thousand Crownes. That the King should renounce the Soueraintie of Flanders and Arthois. That he should marrie with Eleonor the Emperours sister: and if they had a sonne, he should haue the Duchy of Bourgogne. That he should restore whatsoeuer hee possessed in the Duchie of Milan, and the Realme of Naples. That he should disanull the Duke of Bourbons proces, restore him to his honour, and his Childre to their inheritance, and generally to all others that had bene spoiled by reason of the warres. These articles thus coloured, were read and published in the great Church of Cambray, the 5. day of August. But could the King renounce such pretensions, seeing they were inheritances, purchased to the infants of France by the succession of Claude their mother, daughter to Lewis the 12. Duke of Orleans, of whome depended the sayd succession of Milan.

This treatie did greatly moue the confederats, for that they were not acquainted with it, especially the King of England: notwithstanding his secret desseins, made him to temper his choller. He ment to put away Catherine his wife, Aunte to the Emperour, and daughter to Ferdinand King of Spaine, saying, as it was true, that she had bene before married to his eldest brother, wherewith the Pope could not dispence, belonging to the Lawe of God: which conclusion hee obteyned by the means of the Lord of Langcy, in the vniuersities of Paris, Padua, Bologna and others. The Emperour and his ministers, cross him in this desire. This quarrell had neede of a strong support. To make vse of the Kings fauour at neede, hee lent him the sayd summe of foure hundred thousand Crownes, to bee paid in five yeares: hee lent him fiftie thousand Crownes, and gaue the flower de Lis to his good sonne Henry Duke of Orleans.

The tenth of May was come, when as the deputies should meete at Bayonne, for the exchange of the Infants of France, with the paiement of their ranfome. Montmorency, Lord Steward and Marshall of France, came for the King; for the Emperour came Felasque Constable of Castille: the Crownes are told and put to the proofe: but being found somewhat altered by the aduice of the Chancellor du Prat, who thought to make it a benefite to the King, fortie thousand Crownes more payed the interest of the whole summe.

The Kings children and their ranfome payed.

There were about foure monethes spent in the trial of these Crownes: and in the beginning of Iulie, the Dauphin of France and the Duke of Orleans, came to the river which runnes by the walls of Fontenay, and diuides France from Biscaye. A great boate was fastened in the midst of the streame, with anchors and cables, that the sea, which flowes twice a day, rayfing the boate to the height of the water, might serue as a bridge: and ouerthwart this great boate, they made a barre, to the ende that the boate which carried the Infants of France, and that which brought the money for their ranfome, being fastened on eyther side the great boate, the French men should passe into that, where the Infants were, and the Spaniards where the ranfome was. Thus it was performed, and they came accompanied with Queene Eleonor, to meete the King their Father betwixt Roquefort of Marsan, and Capricieux, in a little Abbie of Nunnes, where the King and Queene were espoused, an houre before day. Then taking their way by Bourdeaux, Cognac, Amboise and Blois, they came to Saint Germain in Laye, attending the preparatiues for the Queenes coronation at Saint Denis, and her entrie into Paris.

The Emperour beeing thus assured of the King, who aboue all others might crosse his desseins, he is nowe resolved to bee crowned. To this effect, hee must winne the Pope (for he must receiue the Crowne from him): and the Pope who desired some notable reuenge of the Florentines, for the iniurie they had done him during his captiuitie vnder the Imperials (they had spoyled all the goods belonging to the Medeis, and chased them and their adherents out of the estate of Florence) was easily drawne to the Emperours will; yea with such extraordinarie priuileges, as the Emperour fitting himselfe to the Popes passions, settled the foundation of

of that admirable greatnesse, which his house doth at this present inioy in Italie. The Pope hauing graunted the Crowne to the Emperour, which hee could neuer obtaine of his Predecessor Iulius: vpon condition, that for recompence thereof, he should succour him with an armie, to restore them of his name, to their ancient authoritie within Florence, he imbarques at Barcellone, lands at Genes, passeth to Plaisance, and at the Popes request, restores Francis Sforce to the Duchie of Milan: but he reserves in his owne power, the Castles of Milan and Cremona: hee marrieth the sayd Sforce with his Neece, Daughter to the King of Denmarke, a prisoner, and dispossessed of his realme: and on Saint Mathias day (so famous for his Natinitie, and the taking of the King before Pavia) hee receiued the ornaments of the Imperiall dignitie from the Pope.

One scruple withheld the Emperour from resolving against the Florentines. The Turke besieged Vienna in Austria, with two hundred and fiftie Scwerentie thousand fighting men: but the valour of Philip Count Palatin, the Earles of Salme and Rokendolf, and the succours brought by Ferdinand Archduke of Austria, and King of Hongarie, hauing forced the Infidels to take their way to Constantinople, with shame and losse: the Emperour gaue the charge of this warre to the Prince of Anranches, who ioyning with Don Ferdinand of Gonzague, and the Marquis of Guast, takes from the Florentines, Cortone, Arezzo, Laffre, Pistoia, Prato, Volterra, Empoli, campos before Florence, and reduceth the Citizens to extremitie: but as he marched to encounter some forces that came to succour the besieged, meaning to winne the horse, or to loose the saddle: he was slaine in the charge being in the head of his troups, performing (saith the Originall) rather the office of a man at armes, then of a Captaine.

The Prince of Anranches slaine.

The succours notwithstanding overcome, the Florentines after a long and painfull siege of eleuen moneths, fell in the end into the popes power: who by many and hardly punishments of death and banishment, did so weaken the Cittie, as in the end (the power of the Medeis being more free,) they haue settled the Soueraignie in either family. The Duke of Ferrara had in time purchased fauour with the Emperour: and happy was hee, for without it they would haue clipt his wings shorter. Wherewith the pope was so greatly moued, as hee would not ratifie the sentence, by the which the Emperour had condemned the Ferrarois in a hundred thousand Crownes to the Pope: neither would hee accept the money, nor the rent, which according to the ancient custome, the sayd Duke caused to bee offered vnto him, at the feast of Saint Peter following: and euen then began to studie how hee might secretly oppresse or greeue the Duke by ambush, or finde some matter or occasion to wrong him openly, with the ayde of great princes. But hee did not foresee, that death would soone cut off the thred of his life, and interre with him the issue of his desseins.

The present estate of things, promised in shew a generall peace betwixt these two great princes, but their mindes were possessed: That of our Francis, with a wonderful desire to bee reneged, for the rigorous conditions of the treatie of Cambray, being forced to renounce the Soueraignies of Flanders and Arthois, ancient members of the Crowne of France, and to quitte his rights to the estates of Milan and Naples, the which had wonderfully discontented him. That of Charles, who feared least the King or his successors, should draw those prouinces within the bounds of the realme, and by the recouerie of the Duchie of Milan, molest him continually in the possession of Naples and Sicile. To exclude the King from all hope, the Emperour thought it best to restore Sforce to the estate of Milan, that hee might rule him at his will and pleasure: and for a time, giue good contentment to the Potentates and Commonalties of Italy, to sequester them from the allyance of France, and make them enter into a defensive League for the sayd Sforce: the first motiue or occasion, which within fewe yeares shall transport our Armes beyond the mountaynes. There were diuers others which toucht as neere. Sauege lyes vpon the way or passage from France to Lombardie. Therefore, for to laye a strong barre

The Emperour comes into Italy.

1531.

before the King, if he should reuue his ancient quarrels, and pretensions: the Emperor sold to *Charles Duke of Sauoy*, the Countie of *Ast*, with the appertenance, being the ancient patrimonie of the house of *Orleans*, to tie him to his command, & to draw him to this league, as having now a priuat interest in the warres of *Lombardie*. Moreover he employed the mediation of the said Duke, to withdraw the *Suisses*, and *Crisons*, from the Kings friendship, to his. These were new motives, of new troubles: and at one enemy, he had two: they all had priuie persuaders, who desirous of new broyles, anchored the hope of their priuate affaires, vpon the generall troubles of Christendome.

Causes of the Kings discontent.

A scarre scratched too hard, breakes forth easily: a noble courage wronged, doth with like facilitie feele an outrage. Here wee obserue a publike prejudice done to the Crowne, and a priuat contempt to the Kings person. A notable wrong, cutting it from the soueraintie, two rich neighbour Prouinces. A contempt, for that wee see *Sforce* issued from a meane stocke, and the sonne of a bastard, (often times termed by the Emperours owne mouth, a traitor, and periured) preferred before the King, brother in law to the said Emperour, and his Maiesties children, whom no iustitie, but only force of armes could exclude. Let vs adde hereunto a third sting, sufficient to animate any generous mind: vnder a colour pretended, that they sought to flatter the Infants of *France* secretly, out of prison, the Emperour had put most of their officers into the galleies: and although he had bene often summoned by the King, by vertue of the treatie of *Cambray*, yet would hee neuer enlarge them. Let the Iudicious reader Iudge, which of these two did first infringe the articles of the sayd treatie.

Cunning practises.

But the vicers of precedent warres, being not yet well cured, and the King calling to mind the calamities to come, they dissuaded him from taking armes. It was better to trie a friendly course, and seeke to recouer his owne by money, rather than by force. With this dessein hee sends *Rabodenges* to the Emperour. The Regent and Queene, assist and labour for an enteruue, betwixt the Emperour, and the King. The Emperour aduertiseth the Pope, and doth assure him, that whatsoeuer hee treats with the King, he will conclude nothing with him, to bring him into ialousie. The Pope dares not belie vpon this promise: hee complains of the King, that without his priuie such practises are managed. The King excuseth himselfe, alleaging, that they were not so farre forward, as it deserued to be lightly imparted to his holynes: notwithstanding, hee surceaseth the sayd practises, and the death of *Louise* the Kings mother and Regent, chancing the 22. of September, did quite dissolve them.

The Regent of France died

There are other matters, which shall hereafter import. The Emperour sought to force the Princes, and other estates of the Empire, to receiue *Ferdinand* his brother for King of the *Romaines*, making them to allow of the election made of him, to the preiudice of the golden Bull, and contrary to the ancient orders of the said Empire. A leuie, which shall cause the ciuill warres, that hereafter shall afflict *Germany*. Moreover, these Princes pretended, that the Emperour failed in the performance of many things promised by him, touching the rights, priuileges, and liberties of the Empire. So as *John*, Elector and Duke of *Saxony*, *John Frederise* his sonne, *William* and *Lewis* Dukes of *Bauerie*, *Philip Landgrau* of *Hessen*, with many other Princes, make a generall league, for the foresaid causes.

A league of the Princes of Germany against the Emperour.

And now seeing the King discontented, that the Emperour had newly discovered vnto the Pope the treatie of their enteruue, mediated by the Ladies, & that the King had many & lawfull occasions, to giue eare to the perswasions which were made often vnto him, that the Emperour did but seeke to lull him a sleepe, while that he did fortifie himselfe, with men, money, and alliances: they incited the King, to enter into their association, by vertue of an ancient league, obserued long before, betwixt the Empire, and the Crowne of *France*: they send him an authentick copie of their treatie, that he might know, their intention was not to make any inuasion, but for the defence of the Empire; the which they did foresee, that *Charles* the first did seeke to subuert; and to make it hereditarie to his house, to the great preiudice of the neighbour Princes

Princes greatly troubled with the Emperours exceeding ambition, and inuious outrages 1532.

The King to giue two stroaks with one stone, imparts this matter to the King of England, his perpetuall Alier: asketh his aduice, and counsell, how they two together might enter into this League, without breach of the treaties they had with the Emperour: and in the end, by *Pommeraye* his Ambassador, he doth capitulate: That the King of England, being assailed by the Emperour, he should succour him with twelve shippes, well appointed, and victualled, with five hundred men at armes, French, and three thousand foot. And in like case, if the King were inuaded within his Realme, the King of England was bound to furnish him the like proportion of shipping, and with sixe thousand English men, both the one and the other to be entertained at his charge that was assailed. That either of them being assailed, should stay all marchants, that were subiect to him that did assaile, that should be found within the territories of their obedience, and deliuer them to him that was assailed, to redeeme such as had bene seized on by the aggressor, in the beginning of the war. That neither the one, nor the other Prince, should hereafter treat or make alliance with any other Prince, Potentate, or Comonaltie, without the consent, and association of either of them.

A League.

And they treated likewise, of the meanes how they might best vndertake to resist the *Turke* (if hee did persist to inuade Christendome): wherevpon their Maiesties concluded an enteruue at *Bologne*: the 28. of October, they made a new treatie: That to giue more perfect prooue of their zeale, and desire to enlarge Christendome, and to summon other Princes by their example, considering that the *Turke*, notwithstanding his great power, had left a good part of his forces in *Hongarie*, they should assemble together, by their own forces, an armie of four score thousand men, whereof there should be tenne thousand horse, with artillerie requisite for the said Campe.

Enteruue of the two kings

And besides this treatie, these two Kings had many causes of discontent: Our King found himselfe grieuouly wronged, for that the Pope, and the Emperour with their partisans, had newly made a League for the defence of *Italie*, whereof they had declared *Anthony de Lene* to be generall. The King of England had no lesse cause to complaine of the wrong, he sayd the Court of *Rome* did him, touching the matter of his divorce, seeking to force him, either to go to prison to *Rome*, for to send thence, with expresse deputation, men of great account that should stand to the Popes Iudgement.

An insolent proceeding in like cases, chanced among soueraine Princes: seeing that such a businesse of that importance, and touching the conscience so neere, did well deserue, that according to the vsuall custome, they should send Iudges to the place: it being reasonable, that the persons should speake personally, and not by their Attorneys: and very vnreasonable, that a Soueraine Prince, leauing the internal government of his estates, should goe and plead his cause at *Rome*. Moreover hee did complaine vnto the King, of the exactions of the *Romaine* Church, vpon the clergie, and people of England, and did instantly require, that they two should send their Ambassadors ioynly together to the Pope, to summon him to appeare at the next Councell, for to heare the extortions hee did vnto Princes, and Christian people.

The King propounded like abuses. The Pope had dissembled with him touching certaine tithes which hee had graunted him to leuie vpon the Clergie: and the French Church complained of him, of the vniuersall and new exactions, which vnder colour of pietie they made at *Rome*, for the expedition of Bulls, by means whereof all the treator was daily carried out of his Realme, to the preiudice of the Clergie, which grew poore: the Churches were not restored, nor the poore clothed nor fedd: their yeerely rents were excessive, no equalitie in them, many offices newly created, which were payd vpon the dispatch and expedition of Bulls,ouer and aboue the iust price which they were wont in former time to pay: the offices which fell voyd, were sold to the great benefit and profit of Saint Peter, entertayning

1532. excommunicating many gromes, Chamberlaines, Protonotaries their seruants, Gardners and others: and for the repairing of Saint *Peters* Church, a great summe of money was leuied, the which they did afterwards employ, to make warre against the King. Yet the King would neither wholly allow, nor disallow of the King of *Englands* complaints: but for that the Pope had sent him a promise, by the Cardinall of *Grandmont*, of an interview at *Nice* or *Auignon*, after the Emperours returne into *Spaine*, he requested the King of *England* to attend the issue of their parole.

The Duchie of *Brittany* incorporate to the Crowne.

These griefes of the *French* Church, had bene presented vnto the King in the assembly of the Estates of the Countrey and Duchie of *Brittaine*, with many other things, farre from that charitie which ought to be in the Church. In the said Estates it was concluded: That Francis the Kings eldest sonne, Daulphin of *Viennois*, should be acknowledged Duke of *Brittaine*: that the eldest sonne of France, should hereafter carrie the titles of Daulphin of *Viennois*, and Duke of *Brittanie*: and the said Duchie should for ever be incorporate to the Crowne. So the treatie made by the marriage betwixt King *Charles* the 8. and *Anne* Duchesse of *Brittanie*, and others following, were disannulled in regarde of the said Duchie.

A treatie betwixt the King and the Princes of *Germany*.

As these things passed in *England*, *William* of *Bellay*, Lord of *Lancey*, promised the *Germane* Princes in the Kings name, That for the affection he bare to the preservation of the priuileges, rights, and customes of the Empire: if the Emperour whom he desired to obserue inuolably the alliances and treaties he had with him, would in that case employ his forces to their oppression, he would succour them with all his power: so as neither his men nor money, should not be employed to the offence of any of his confederates, namely of the Emperour, but onely to defend the rights & priuileges of the Empire. A great desseine is alwayes shadowed with goodly shewes.

The Kings of *France* and *England* complained of the Pope.

Hereupon the Emperour came to *Bologne*, to conferre againe with the Pope. The Kings of *France* and *England*, well informed of the Emperours bad disposition, and especially the *English*, of the Popes to him, by reason of his pretended diuorce: they sent the Cardinals of *Tournon* & *Grandmont*, the Popes seruants, that vnder colour to accompanie him at this interview, they might employ their authorities, that nothing might be done to the preiudice of their Maesties: or at the least they should giue intelligence of their conclusions. And the sayd Cardinals had commission to lay open vnto the Pope, the griefes and complaints of the two Kings: and to summon him to make reparation: if not, they would take order for it. So as his Holynesie might well perceiue, that they two together were not to be contented: and to with him to consider wisely, of the support and profit he might draw from these two Kings, and what disgrace otherwise in discontenting them, especially the King of *England*, whose cause the King did no lesse affect then his owne. For (sayd these two Princes) if we come to demand a generall counsell, and his Holynesie doth not grant it, or delays it, we shall take his delay for a deniall, and calling it without him, we will easily iustifie the fact with other Princes, who producing the like, or greater complaints, would in the end, forbid their subiects to send or carrie any money to *Rome*. If his Holynesie (for so did our *Francis* protest) will proceed by censures against me and my realme, and that I be forced to go to *Rome* for an absolution, I will passe the *Alpes*, so well accompanied, as his Holynesie shall be glad to grant it me. The scandales of *Rome* haue already withdrawn most part of *Germanie*, and the Cantons, from the obedience of the *Romaine* Church. It is to be feared, that if these two mightie Kings seuer themselves for want of iustice, they shall finde many adherents, and these two, together with their open and secret allyes, may make such an attempt, as it will be hard to resist. That if the holy father be disposed to moderate things (especially towards the King of *England*) there is hope, that at the first interview, all may be ordered by mildnesse, before they should proceed to greater bitterness, by a generall summons from both the Kings.

Thus the King spake vnto those Cardinals whom he sent to *Rome*. But we haue elsewhere obserued, that men of the Church do commonly prefer the Popes respect, before

1533. A before the seruice of such as employ them. These flea the Ecce by the tale, and in freed of following their instructions from point to point, beginning with rigour, and ending with mildnesse: they take a contrary courle. They feared (sayd they in their justification) that his Holynesie holding the Wolfe by the eares, pressed on the one side, sometimes with promises, sometimes with threats by the Emperour: and on the other side, in a maner despairing euer to finde grace or fauour with the King, should in the end cast himselfe into the Emperours armes, and runne the same fortune with him. To draw him therefore to the *French* party, they offer the Pope in the Kings name: To make him Iudge and Arbitrator, of such controuersies and quarrels, as hee had with the *Genouois*, the which his Maestie pretended were not contained in his renunciation. And the better to draw him, they renewed (without any speciall commission,) the proposition first made by Pope *Leo*, and after requied by *Clement*, of the marriage of *Henry* Duke of *Orleanse*, with *Katherine* Daughter to the Duke of *Urbain*. This did greatly please *Clement*, who then began to hold vp his head, and resolved to like whilst the Yron was hote. This match was wonderfull honourable and beneficiall for his Holynesie, and helpt much for the ratifying and support of his house, the which he had in singular regard.

The Cardinals meanes to win the Pope.

The Emperour did presently discover, that vpon the comming of these Cardinals, the Popes affection to him was greatly altered. And vpon the first discouerie of this treatie of marriage, hee employes the Lordes of *Cannes* and *Granuelle*, to breake in fauour of *Francis Sforce*, with the sayd Duchesse of *Urbain*, and to perswade the Pope that his practises was artificially brought in by the King, to entertaine him onely, but not with any intent to conclude it, considering the great disparitie of their degrees and qualities: and seeing the two Cardinals (said he) had no sufficient authority touching this allyance, it was an euident prooue of the fraude. But by meanes of this marriage, the King thought to strengthen his house, and to get new footing in *Italie*: and the Pope did thereby free himselfe from the feare of a Councell, where-with he was threatened from *France*, *Germanie* and *England*. While the Cardinals attended a Commission from his Maestie, to conclude this marriage, the Emperour continued his pursuite, for the assurance and declaration of his league, comprehending the estate of *Genes*. And the better to vnite it, he required his confederates, to make a tax among them, for the pay of such Souldiars as should be fitte to entertaine in *Italie*, for the peace and quiet thereof: that the first payment should bee presently assigned into the hands of a Banker of *Genes*, and that the Emperour should not be tied to any contribution, in regard of his great charge to resist the Turkes inuasion, and to prevent the attempts of such as would trouble the common quiet of *Italy*, whereof there was now great likelihood.

By the force of his perswasions, the matter was in a maner concluded. But through the liuely reasons of the *French* Cardinals, and the Lord of *Velly*, Ambassador for the King, shewing, That the Emperour had no other desseine, but to entertaine his armie E vpon the frontiers of *Italie*, at other mens charges, being ready to assaile the King vpon all occasions, without any charge to himselfe: and that without doubt the Kings, (hauing reason to looke to his affaires,) would incounter him with another armie, on the frontiers of *Italy*, in the Marquisate of *Salusse*, or in *Daulphiné*, which would breed no quiet, but troubles and combustions throughout all *Italy* (for two armies being nere, they willingly fall to blowes,) they concluded, not to make any confignation, but that euery one of the confederates, should taxe himselfe for his portion (any warre chancing in *Italy*) and should giue a caution for his part, the which did amount to a hundred or sixe score thousand Crownes a moneth. So the Emperour sent three thousand men out of his Armie into *Spaine*, as many likewise to *Naples*, and the rest he dismissed.

Then came authority from the King, to the Cardinals & his Ambassador, with an expresse clause for the confirmation of the marriage. And the Emperour seeing himselfe frustrate of his intent (to make the Pope declare himselfe openly against the King,

1533. King,) he imbarke the 8. of Aprill at *Genes*, and sailed towards *Spain*. the Pope, etc. towards *Rome*, whether the aboue named Cardinals did accompanie him, alwaye assisting by the Kings importunitie, that the troubles of *England* might be pacified, before the fall of that great storme which threatned the Churches.

But the King of *England*, wearied with the Popes dissembling and delays (whom he then called but Bishop of *Rome*) vpon the matter of his diuorice, he caused it to be decided by the *English* Church. The Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Primate of *England*, being president: where, by sentence of the said Church, his marriage was declared void, and the dispensation void, as giuen in a case that was not dispensable, and which is not in the Popes power, nor in the Churches. According to this sentence, he left his first marriage, and tooke to wife *Anne Bullen*, and in her name did publish an ample Treatie, against the authoritie and preheminiences of the Church of *Rome*, resolute to sequester himselfe wholly, if the Court of *Rome* did him not iustice. These newes being published, the Emperour growes in choller, threatens to raise all the world against *England*: takes his Aunts cause in hand, summons the Pope to administer the like iustice to her that was put away, as her cause required: if hee doth not, he protests with an oath to be reuenged. The Colledge of Cardinals stonies, they enuiron the Pope, and all with one voyce, demand iustice against the attempt of the King of *England*, and the Archbishops, hauing taken knowledge of a cause, the deciding whereof belonged to Iudges deputed by his Holiness.

His Holynesse desired to temporise, and to make a more quiet end. He did foresee, that proceeding to condemnation, and hauing no meanes to execute it really, were a fruitlesse enterprize, and would make his Apostolick authoritie contemptible, having no meanes to put it in execution without the Emperours assistance: besides, they had a great let, which was the strict alliance of the most Christian King with the *Emperour*, who joining their mutuall forces, offensive and defensive, might ingage all Christendome in more mortall warres then euer. Notwithstanding, in the end (as well to gratifie the Emperour as his Cardinals,) he pronounced his censures against the King of *England*, if within a certaine time he made not reparation of the sayd attempts. Then he prepared for his interview with the King, notwithstanding all the crosses which the Imperials gaue him, transforming themselves into as many shapes as *Protes*, to draw him from this resolution: all which are to be read in the Originalls.

Nice had bene appointed for this effect: the Duke of *Savoie* had freely offered it at the Popes request, holding himselfe happy (sayd he) that so holy a worke should be treated off in his countrie. And in truth it was his best course. The Pope did wish this place, that he might by this meanes reconcile the Duke vnto the King, whose many respects (as we shall note hereafter) was discontented with him. But the Emperour, forgetting nothing which he thought might serue to breake off this interview, gaue him such goodly reasons, as afterwards he let men vnderstand, that this assembly was nothing pleasing vnto him. *Marsilles* supplied the defect of *Nice*. Patience being moued (saith the *Prouerbe*) turnes into furie. If the King to this time had manie motives of discontent, now is he prickt to the quick, which will soone draw him to reuenge. The vniuall death of the Seigneur of *Merueilles*, who was a Gentleman of *Milanois*, bred vp in Court, since King *Lewis* the 12. one of the Quirries: and now Ambassadour for the King with *Sforce* Duke of *Milan*, yet secretly, hauing besides his instructions and letters of credit, a priuate letter directed to the Duke, in recommendation of some businesse for the sayd *Merueilles*: to the end, that if the Emperour should grow ialous of the Duke, he might by meanes of the sayd letters, iustifie his being there, not in qualitie of an Ambassadour, but onely for his owne priuate affaires. It chanced, the first of Iuly, that *Merueilles* accompanying the Duke through the City, a Gentleman *Milanois* of the house of *Castiglione*, (hauing eyther by chance, or of purpose, pickt a quarrell) demanded of one of *Merueilles* seruants, to whom he belonged, he answered: I serue the Lord of *Merueilles* of *France*, who is there. Nay replied *Castiglione*, *Merueilles* of the gallows: which was a very ignominious word. Another follow-

Following his Lord, takes hold of this speech, and in the end, reprocheed the *Milanois*, saying spoken ill against such a personage: the *Milanois* denies it: the lie is giuen on either side, and the French man offers to maintayne it with his sword. *Castiglione* happily displaying a man of baser qualitie then himselfe, retires two of his seruants draw their swords, but they are parted. Afterwards *Castiglione* gathers together ten or twelue men, with largiebuzes and pertuisans: he passeth and repasseth often before *Merueilles* lodging, once enuening he meetes five or six of his seruants, offers them violence: but they retire, *Merueilles* complains to the Capitaine of the Iustice, and intreats him to take order, beeing loath to seeke reuenge of their wrongs, or that they should come to wrong them.

The Capitaine makes no account thereof. *Castiglione* continues his course, and sets upon *Merueilles* seruants: but the first feare had made them wise, they defend themselves, kill him, and put his followers to flight. The next day being the 4. of Iuly, the Capitaine goes in the morning, to take an Inuentarie of *Merueilles* goods, puts him in prison, & all his seruants he could find: giues the strapadoe to one about foure score years old being deafe for very age, to wrest some confession from him against his master: hee suffers not any of his friends to speake with him, or to see him: teares in tears, disdayning to reade the iustifications (which according to the custome of *Milanois* one of his friends had presented him in writing) and the Sunday following, after midnight, first informed of the Dukes pleasure, hee cuts off his head in prison, and commands body to be cast vpon the marchants meeting place. A horrible and insolent proceeding against so notable a person, being publike, sacred & inuolable! If it shalbe lawful to violate the lawes of nations, what safetie shall Ambassadors finde with them whom they are sent?

The King demands satisfaction of this wrong of the Duke: he writes to the Emperour to all Princes and Potentats of Christendome, as having all a priuate interest in this publike iniurie. The Duke excuseth himselfe by *Francis Tauerne* his Councillor, Nephewe to the sayd *Merueilles*, who alledgeth, that the Duke his master did neuer acknowledge *Merueilles* to haue the place, nor to hold the place of an Ambassadour: but as a priuate man, his vassall and subiect, hee had suffered iustice to be done, for the murder committed on the person of one of the chief gentlemen of his house. That *Merueilles* was a man of a vicious conversation, seditious, scandalous, a concealer of murderers and conspirators against the life of the Duke his master, who for these causes had often let him vnderstand that his stay at *Milan* was not pleasing vnto him.

A yong Nephew (hee was sonne to *Merueilles* sister) and a bad Aduocate for the cause. Had not *Sforce* belied himselfe in a letter of his owne, dated the twentieth of december 1532. whereof the King had the Originall, where hee giue him to vnderstand, that his comming from the most Christian King, to whom hee was, and desired to be a most humble seruant) was very pleasing to him, and that for many respects, he should alwayes haue been welcome to him.

A yong *Tauerne* bee ignorant of *Merueilles* qualitie, seeing that hee himselfe had procured this charge for his Vncle, being at *Fontainebleau*, and propounded this kind of priuate recommendation to the Duke, to serue as a shadowe against the Dukes ialousies? Moreouer hee knewe his Vncle had letters of credit to the Duke, and his instructions signed with the Kings hand. But the haste proceeding from Monday to Sunday, following the execution done by night and without the peoples priuie (who perchance would tumultuously haue opposed, fearing to incite the reuenge, which without doubt the King would take) do they not plainly discover that the fact was not excusable, nor to be iustified?

The Emperour made answer to the Ambassadour *de Velly*, that *Merueilles* had well deserved death, not beeing acknowledged for an Ambassadour, but for a priuate gentleman

T t t

leman

1533. tleman, subiect to the Duke, and following his owne private affaires, being moued, when as *Vellay* presented him the Dukes Letters vnto the King for his assistance: whereby it appeared what place *Meyuilles* held with the Duke. Thinking him selfe more assured of *Sforce*, hee sent into *Flanders* for his neece, the daughter of *Christierne* King of *Denmarke*, according to the promise which had been made him at *Plaisance*.

A new interview
between the
PoPe & King.

About this time the Pope made his entrie at *Marseilles* in great pompe, where a young Assie: he was carried in a high chaire, vpon two mens shoulders, follow'd by his Cardinals, and the Duchesse of *Vrbain* apart, accompanied with a great number of Ladies and Gentlemen. There was nothing ready for a counsell, which the Prince of *Germanie* did solicit with great vehemencie: neither was there any intent of reformation. But expecting the oportunitie of this generall conuocation, a Bull was sent forth to stay the course of religion, which passing from *Germanie* into *Switzerland*, and from thence into *France*, did greatly multiply. Then the marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, and *Katherine de Medicis* Duchesse of *Vrbain*, was consummated by *Clement* the 7. her Vncle: who in the end of their parlee, at the Kings request, created foure Cardinals, the Cardinall of *Veneur*, Bishop of *Lisieux*, and chiefe Almoner to the King, one borne of those three notable houses, *Chastillon*, *Chambre* and *Guise*. This done, the Pope imbarke for *Rome*, the 20. of Nouember, and the King to his way to *Auignon*.

Here the King resolued in his priuie Counsell vpon a request made vnto him, as well by *Christopher*, sonne to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, both in his owne name, and his fathers, spoiled of their estates seuenteen yeares since, by the Emperour *Charles*, and *Ferdinand* his brother: as also by *Lewis* and *William* Dukes of *Bauier* his Vncles. The mother of *Christopher*, was Daughter of a sister to *Maximilian*, Grand-father to the sayd Emperour, and King of *Romaines*, and the consummation of the marriage of *Eleonor* their sister, with his Maiestie, gaue the Father and the sonne hope, that the King in fauour of this alliance, interposing his authoritie for them that were spoiled, should eether procure restitution of *Ferdinand* for these Dukes, or refusing lustice, to purchase him the hatred of all *Germanie*, which in the end might by open force dispossesse him of the Duchie of *Wirtemberg*, and of the name of King of the *Romans*.

The King did greatly desire to see these Dukes restored to their estates, and that end would willingly haue opened his purse, to weaken the Emperours and his brothers forces, and by the same meanes, to confirme the amities which he had purchased in *Germanie*, and to procure new, requiting the Emperour, who sought by all meanes to take from the King his ancient alliances. But hee sought to collect the protection of these afflicted Princes in such sort, as no man might iustly chafe at him to haue broken the treatie of *Cambray*. Hee therefore sent the Lord of *Langey*, with commission to do for these Dukes whatsoever were in his power, not directly contradicting the conuentions: and to conclude, the confiscation of a hundred thousand Crownes, into the hands of the Dukes of *Bauier*, with a sufficient bond to his Maiestie, reseruing notwithstanding this clause: That his money should not be applied to the inuasion of any one, but onely for the defence of the ancient customes and priuileges of the Empire. The publike and private perswasions of *Langey*, were of such efficacy, that ancient and great League of *Suene* (which had continued three score and ten yeares, to the benefit of the house of *Austria*) was dissanulled. But for that the integration of these Dukes, could not bee made but by armes, they couered it with this expedient. That the Duke of *Wirtemberg* should sell the Countie of *Montbelliard* (whereof he was Lord) vnto the King, for six score thousand Crownes, vpon condition that he might redeeme it: which money he might employ to his use, either in peace or war, without any reach on the Kings part, to the articles of *Cambray*. So the Landgraue of *Hessen*, chiefe of this present League, and the Dukes of *Bauier* and *Wirtemberg*, with their allies, went suddenly to field with an armie, before the Emperour or his brother could crosse their attempts, restoring

A restoring them that were spoiled, to the possession of their Duchie: and soone after they repayed the Kings money, within thirtie or fortie thousand Crownes, for the which the Dukes of *Bauier* were answerable: and the Countie of *Montbelliard* was restored vnto them. Let vs now see what catastrophe the Popes rashe sentence giuen against *Henry* King of *England*, shall cause.

Henry was wonderfully incensed against the Apostolick See, by reason of the iniustice (he said) was done him, in that they had refused to send him commissioners to take knowledge of his cause, and of the contempt done to his authoritie, in that they would disdainfully force him to abandon his realme, and appeare personally at *Rome*. Notwithstanding, by the perswasions of *Iohn du Bellay*, Bishop of *Paris*, (whom the King had sent vnto him, presently after his interview with the Pope) hee granted, that in case the Pope would surcease from the sayd sentence, vntill he had sent Iudges to be heard, that he would likewise surcease from his intention, to withdraw himselfe wholly from the obedience of *Rome*. The Bishop offers himselfe to go to *Rome*, to that end. *Henry* increases him, and assures him, that hauing obtained his demand, he will giue him authoritie presently, to confirme what he had yielded vnto. The matter was not yet desperate, but the Consistorie of *Rome* gaue it about a time to haue an answer from the King of *England*, as the Poste came short two dayes at his returne. The terme expired, they proceed hastily to the confirmation of the curies and censures, notwithstanding the Bishops instance, to obtaine six dayes delay, seeing the King of *England* had waiered six yeares before he fell.

Estate of
England.

Troubles
through the
Popes rash &
hasty proceeding.

Two dayes were scarce past, after the prefixed time, but the poste arriuing, with authoritie and declarations from *England*, did greatly amaze those hastie Cardinals, who afterwards could finde no meanes to amend that which they had marred. The matter (saith the Originall) was so hastied, as that which could not bee finished in three consistories, was done in one. This indignitie done to the King of *England*, and the small respect they had to his Maiestie, caused both him and his realme, to shake off the yoke of the *Romaine* obedience, declaring himselfe immediately vnder God, supreme head of the Church of *England*.

In the meane time, the King not able to get by Iustice, a reparation of the vnworthy death of his Ambassador at *Milan*, hee studied to haue his reuenge by armes. To this end, following the example of the *Romaines*, he erected in euery Prouince of his realme, a Legion of sixe thousand foote, vnder the command of six Gentlemen, who for euery thousand should haue two Lieutenants, and vnder euery Ensigne sixe hundred men, who in time of peace, should once a yeare make a generall muster: and the Captaines should know their names and surnames, with the dwellings of euery one, to haue them ready at all commands. Then he sent *William* Earle of *Fustemberg*, into *Germanie*, to make a leaue of twentie Ensignes of *Lansquenets*, and demanded passage of the Duke of *Sauoy*, through his Countrie, to bee reuenged of the wrong done him by the Duke of *Milan*. The *Sauoisien* refused it: which causeth our *Francis* to demand the portion of *Louyse* of *Sauoy* his mother, sister to the sayd Duke, children to *Philip* Duke of *Sauoy*. *Philip* had to his first wife a daughter of *Bourbon*, by whom he had *Philibert* Duke of *Sauoy*, and *Louyse* the Kings mother. Then he had to his second wife, a Daughter of *Ponthieure*, by whom hee had *Charles*, who is now in question, and the Earle of *Geneua*, afterwards Duke of *Nemours*. *Philibert* was dead without children, and therefore the King challenged a good portion in the succession of *Sauoy*, his mother comming of the first venter, and sole heire to the sayd *Philibert*. But the Kings deputies not able to drawe any reason from *Charles*, Vncle to his Maiestie, he must seeke that by force, which he could not get by a friendly and amiable composition.

New troubles
of waite in
Sauoy.

The Kings first stratagem, was to bring a part of *Renée de Ceres* company into *Geneua*, to succour them against *Charles*, who besieged it. The second was to stirre vp the *Bernois*, allies and neighbours to *Geneua*: who taking the Towne into their protection, went to field with tenne or twelue thousand men, made the Duke

1535. Duke retire, spoiled him of a good part of the lands that were vnder his obedience, chased away the Bishop of *Lanzanna*, and ioyning it to their Iurisdiction, they remaine still in possession thereof.

The Emperour returned then from his victorie of *Tunis* against *Barberousse*, and seeming desirous to make a more stricter League with the King, hee offered him a pension of a hundred thousand Crownes a yeare, out of the Duchie of *Milan*, for any one of his Children, whome hee should name: hee treated the marriages of the *Dauphin* with the Infant of *Portugall*, Daughter to *Queene Eleonor*: and of the Duke of *Angoulême*, with such a one as the King should well like of (it seemed that he ment the Infant of *Spainne*) to the end that by these newe bonds of coniunction, tying their friendshipes more firmly, they might ioynly participate (sayd hee) in the honour and profit of the mightie conquests, which they should make vpon *Greece*.

The Emperours dissimulation.

The death of Francis Sforce.

All this was but cunning. The Emperour was tired, and his forces were wasted by the toyles of warre, and the great heat they had endured. And the King being readie with a fresh and mighty armie, threatened the Duchies of *Sauoy* and *Milan*: he must therefore busie him with some baite, and at the least stay the exploits of his forces. The death of *Francis Sforce*, presents a newe occasion. By this death the Emperour pretends to bee freed of that blood, and that he might dispose of this Duchie at his pleasure. The capitaines promise to hold their places of the Emperour. The Emperour giues hope, not onely to dispose of the sayd Duchie to the Kings liking, but also to conclude of a generall warre, against the *Turke*: in the which he offered to impart with the King, the good or euill that should growe thereby, and of the faithfull reunion of the Church, namely for the reducing of *Germanie* and *England*, to the generall beleefe of Christians, and of a generall peace in Christendome. In the meane time he prepared for warre: hee caused *Cont Nassau* to make a great Leue in *Germanie*, and called backe *Ferdinand Gonzague* into *Italie*, with his *Spaniards* which remained in *Sicilie*.

Thus all the negotiations and practises of these two great Princes, gaue sufficient signes of open warre: there wanted nothing but a lawfull occasion for either of them to blame his companion, and to lay vpon him the causes of the first inuasion. The Emperour required moreover, that for the quiet of *Italie*, the King should desist from the action of *Genes*. That excluding the Duke of *Orleans*, from the estate and Duchie of *Milan* (the which the King demanded for his second sonne, according to the treatie made with the Pope at *Asseffilles*) the Duke of *Angoulême*, for that hee was fittest from the Crowne, should be inuested.

That the King should send him the sayd Duke of *Orleans*, to assist him at the conquest of *Alger* which he pretended. The King desired greatly to maintayne true friendship with him, and to vnitie it by as strong alliances as the Emperour offered, that the greatnesse of the one might not breed any ialousie in the other. As for the action of *Genes*, hee was content to surcease that controuersie, vntill it might bee decided by good and lawefull meanes: to renounce for euer his pretensions to *Naples*, and to cause the sayd Duke of *Orleans* to yeeld vp his quarrell to *Florence* and *Vrbis*, with such security as the Emperour should require: so as his second sonne might be inuested in *Milan*. He promised the Pope (which was *Alexander Farnese*, vnder the name of *Paul* the 3. successor of *Clement*. 7.) summoning all Princes to that ende, to imploy his forces, to make *Germanie* and *England* obey the sentence & decree of the Church, and to imploy himselfe in fauour of the sayd Emperour, to the states and Princes of the Empire, that they should ioynly receiue his brother *Ferdinand*, for the true and lawfull King of the *Romains*. Hee offered to succour the Emperour in his holy warre with a certaine number of galleys, and men entertayned, promising to accompanie him the next yeare following, in the voyage of *Constantinople*, with all his forces.

But to exclude the Duke of *Orleans* from the enheritance of his Ancestors, which his eldest brother did willingly yeeld vnto him, in fauour of his marriage,

to install his youngest sonne: was it not to sowe dissention and cause of warre, betwixt them whom he desired to breed vp in peace and brotherly loue? And to what end did the Emperour demand the Duke of *Orleans*, but rather to hold him in manner of an hostage, then to make any shew of loue or trust? On the other side, to giue hope, that hee would compound with the King touching *Milan*, and to vrge this claime vehemently, That all should bee managed without the Popes priuatie, who no doubt would seeke all meanes to crosse it (sayd the Emperour), if he should vnderstand they had treated without imparting it vnto him, and notwithstanding to giue intelligence to the Court of *Rome*, by *Andrew Dorie*, and to assure him, that although hee gaue eare to the Kings ministers, yet would he not conclude any thing without the aduise and consent of his Holinesse: was not this a corrupt proceeding, seeking to breed a ialousie and distrust betwixt the Pope and his Maiestie?

The King (weariied with these long dissimulations and delayes, without effect, sent the Lord of *Beaunais* vnto *Venice*, to make a new League with the Senate: and the King of *England* lent the Bishop of *Winchester* to the same effect. The Emperour had some intelligence thereof: and to crosse the Kings desseins, he sent *Du Prat*, a Gentleman of his house, to make a new leuie of *Lusignets*: and *Andrew Dorie* to *Genes*, to prepare his armie by sea, but vnder colour of his enterprise of *Alger*. Who would not then iudge, but in steed of a confirmation of peace and loue, all things tended to open warre? Nothing could detain these inuincible warriors, but that the Emperour, after so great a dissipation of his forces, could not so sodenly repaire his armie, and the King making a scruple to be the first assailant, would not incur the blame, to haue broken the treatie of *Cambray*. But without breach thereof, many motives of discontent, had long incensed him against the Duke of *Sauoy*. The Jewels which the Duke had engaged, to borrow money for the Duke of *Bourbon*, and to fauour his rebellion against the King: the letters of congratulation he had written for his taking at *Pania*: his puerse to withdraw the *Suisses* from the alliance of *France*: the purchase of the Countie of *Ass*, his refusal to lend *Nice*, for the interview of Pope *Clement* and his Maiestie, and to giue him passage against *Sforce*, the detention of his Mothers inheritance, which the King could not by any amiable meanes drawe his Vnder to restore.

Causes of the Kings dislike with the duke of Sauoy.

This must be tryed by the sword. The King therefore sent *Francis of Bourbon*, Earle of *Saint Paul*, who before the Duke could oppose his forces, conquered all *Sauoy*, except *Montmelian*, where *Francis of Charamont* a *Neapolitane* commanded, who wanting victuals, and without hope of succours, in the end yeelded vp the place, to depart with baggage: and afterwards contemned by the Duke, he followed the victors fortune, & in the end did good seruice to the Crowne. Then the Emperor granted (by the Lord of *Cannes* and *Grannelle*) the Duchie of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*. But when it came to demand the securitie and conditions of his instalment, they made answer to the Ambassador *de Velly*, That it was sufficient for that time to haue granted the principall, the rest should be treated of with *Philip Chabot* Earle of *Busançois*, Admiral of *France*, who should presently arriue, (they supposed he should first make a voyage without any forces) and that they must keepe this conclusion secret from the knowledge of his Holynesse. All this discovered plainely, that it was a trick of their ordinary craft and dissembling, to lull the King asleepe in the beginning of his course.

At the same instant, the King hath newes, sufficient to giue him a certaine impressi- on of the Emperours desseins, That the Pope had bene duely aduertised by the Emperours ministers, of all these practises, which hee would haue secretly managed: That the *Penetians*, at the vrgent request of the Emperour, were entred into a defensiu League for the Duchie of *Milan*, in fauour of any one hee should choose: That he offered great matters to the King of *England*, to drawe him to his deuotion: That *Du Prat* passing by *Milan*, had deliuered speeches quite contra-

The Emperours practises vnder hand.

1536. rie to the hopes and promises which the Emperour had given: and that in *Flanders* A he had made great preparation for warre. That the Emperour tooke vpon him the protection of the Duke of *Sauoy*. And for the sixt point, the preparations made by *Andrew Doria*. It was therefore resolved, to proceed in *Sauoy* and farther, without breaking off (on his part) this negotiation with the Emperour.

To this end, the King sent (for his Lieutenant generall) the Earle of *Bassano* Admirall of *France*, with eight hundred *Launces*: whereof the feuerall Captaines were *James Galeat*, maister of the horse, and maister of the Ordinance of *France*; *Robert Steward* Marshall of *France*; *René of Montican*, *Francis Marquiffe* of *Salsaffes*, *Claude of Annabault*, *Antonie Lord of Montpesat*, *John d'Effouteville*, Lord of *Val-lebon* Prouost of *Paris*, *Gabriel d'Aligre*, *Charles Tiercelin* Lord of *Roche du Maine*, B and *John Paul de Cere*. A thousand light horse, vnder the command of the Lords of *Esse*, *Terme*, *Aussun*, & *Verets* of *Sauoy*. Twelve thousand of his Legionarie men, that is a thousand *Picards*, commanded by *Michel of Brabantin*, Lord of *Cany*, and *Antonie* of *Mailly* Lord of *Auchy*. Two thousand *Normans*, vnder their Captaines *La Sale*, and *Saint Aubin* the Hermit. Two thousand *Champanois*, lead by *John d'Anglere* Lord of *Jour*, and by the Lord of *Quincy*. A thousand of *Languedocs*, vnder the Knight d' *Ambres*. Four thousand out of *Dauphiné*, vnder the Lord of *Brejeux*, and others. And a thousand vnder the Lord of *Forges*, the Kings ordinarie Cap- bearer: of all which bands *René of Montican* was Colonell: sixe thousand *Laun- quenets*, lead by *William Earle of Furtemberg*: Two thousand *French*, not Legio- C naries, lead by their Captaines *Lartigue-Dieu*, *Blanche*, *Anguar* and *Warin* a *Nauarrois*. Two thousand *Italians*, vnder the command of *Marc Antoine* of *Cusan*, a Gentleman *Milmois*, and a thousand vnder Captaine *Christopher Gano*: eight hundred *Pioners*, sixe hundred and foure score horse for *Artillerie*, and the charge thereof appointed to be vnder the government of *Claude of Couët* Lord of *Burie*.

Count *Philip Torniel*, and *John Iaques* of *Medicis* Marquis of *Marignan*, marched before, to stoppe the passage of *Suze*: but *Annabault* aduancing with the troupes of *Dauphiné*, preuented them with speed, chased them before him, from lodging to lodging, and at the first summons, put into the Kings handes the townes D of *Turin* and *Chinus*. *Don Laurence Emanuel*, *John Iaques de Medicis*, and *John Baptista Castaldo*, camped vpon the river of *Doire*. The *French* and *Launquenets*, impatient to attend the making of a bridge, waded through the water euen vnto the breasts, repulse the Imperialls, and make them retire towards *Verceil*. A gallant Legionarie (to whom the Historie ought his name) swimming through the river, brought away a Boate in despite of the enemies shotte, for the building of a Bridge. The Admirall, to encourage the rest according to the Kings command, caused a gold ring to be giuen him, in view of the whole armie.

The Emperour was vpon termes of his departure from *Naples*, to make his entrie into *Rome*, when as these happy beginnings made him to renew the treaties of an accord: but with such slow proceeding, as a man might easily iudge, that his onely intent was, to staye the King in his course, labouring to entertaine him with doubts, hopes, and delays. In the meane time, hee sollicited the Pope to declare himselfe on his partie: hee assured the Duke of *Sauoy*, to cause all hee had lost to be soone restored to him againe: hee hastened the leue of his *Launquenets*: causeth his horsemen to aduance: drawes *Artillerie* and *Munition* out of *Imperiall Townes*: makes them to march towards *Italy*: protests againe to the Pope, that he would neuer yeeld *Milan* to the King, nor suffer him to possesse one foote of land in *Italy*: hee sollicited the Court of *Rome*, the Senate of *Venice*, and all other Potentates of *Italy*, to oppose against the inuesting of any stranger in the Duchie of *Milan*. There were F vehement presumptions, to shewe, that the Emperour meant not to treat but armed: which caused the King to commaund his Admirall to proceed in his first course, (he

A (he had temporised by his *Mueities* commaundement, attending the issue of this new 1536. parle and to march against *Verceil*: and if hee encountred his enemies with equalitye, to fight with them. There were three thousand men, to defend *Verceil*, and foure miles of the *Leue*, *Antonie de Leue* camped with about six hundred horse, and twelue thousand foot, not as Lieutenant to the Emperour, but as Captaine generall for the League of *Italy*, cutting off the passage to *Cagnin*, and *Mannibail Gonsague*, *Guy Earle of Rugon*, and some other pensioners to the King, who had brought for his seruice, sixe hundred light horse, choise men, bred vp in the former warres, and sixe thousand foot. The Admirall therefore, to bee assured of *Antonie de Leue*, demaunds free passage for the foresaid pensioners. I will (answered *Leue*) giue them assurance, so as they come for the 2 League of *Italy*. A sufficient answer to begin the warre, whereof the King would by no means be the first author.

During this time, the Emperour made his entrie into *Rome*. An entrie, which by the ruine (amongst other buildings) of that ancient temple of Peace, gave the most C onspicuous occasion to iudge that his entrie was not with an intent to confirme a peace, into *Rome*, as hee gaue hope by his speeches, but contrariwise, to deface all memorie thereof. His actions did afterwards confirme many in this opinion, for after *Charles* his first parle with the Pope, the Bishop of *Mascon* and *Velly* Ambassadors for *Rome*, the one to the Pope, the other to the Emperour, learned from the Popes mouth (who said he would remaine a Neuter, as a common father to maintaine C justice, and yet oppose against the obstinacie of him that would not yeeld to reason,) that the Emperour would neuer condescend, to giue *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*.

This was the chiefe point: and either partie growing obstinate, vpon the effect of this clause, what accord could bee expected? This holy father was little affected to the house of *Medicis*, and therefore would hardly haue bene pleased, to see a daughter of that house Duchesse of *Milan*. To conclude, the Emperour did submit his instalement, to the Popes liking: and the Pope did promise verbally, to yeeld vnto it, if the Emperour would content: yet did hee freely shew, that the Emperour enterrayned this practise of purpose, to abuse the King, which D that hee should fortifie himselfe with alliances, men, and money, and, yet as a were, giuing scope to both parties: I thinke (sayd the Pope to the *French* Ambassadors, replying that this condition sayling, the King their master would neuer come to any conclusion) that things cannot passe, without a breach. for that the Emperour rather will, nor can giue *Milan*, without the consent of some, who in my opinion will neuer yeeld.

These were the *Venetians*, whome the Emperour did coldly intreate, to like of this clause: but in effect to contradict it: and all in generally, would haue no Duke of *Orleans*, who might at any time, vnite this goodly estate to the Crowne of *France*. for (said they,) the Duke of *Angoulesme* being inuested in the Duchie of *Milan*, although E he depends on the King his father: yet marrying one of the Emperours Neeces, hee offered him the widow of *Sforce* his wife would be of the Emperours faction, and so matters should remaine in suspence; whereas the Duke of *Orleans*, besides many other obstacles, must bee onely at the King his fathers deuotion: and as husband to the Neece of Pope *Leo*, and of *Clement*, would not cease to pretend an interest in the estates of *Florence* and *Vrbis*: and consequently, by new, and pretended quarrels, trouble the quiet of *Italy*.

In the end, the Emperour in a speech made to the Pope, in the presence of all Cardinals, and many Ambassadors, as well to shew (said hee) his good meaning, and how much hee desired the peace of Christendome, as to hee cleared hereafter, before God and men, hee offered againe three conditions to the King. The first to giue the Duchie of *Milan* to one of his children, so as thereby hee might confirme a good and durable peace, mainrayning notwithstanding that it could not be, so long as F the

1529. the King continued obstinate in fauour of the Duke, of *Orleans*. The second was, to A fight with the King, hand to hand with like armes, and hostages, in an Island vpon a bridge or boate, or any other place of safetie, to auoide greater effusion of blood, being reasonable that they, by whome such great combustions did growe, should decide their quarrels in person.

A Spanish
bragge.

But vpon condition, that the victor should giue his forces to the holie Father, to maintayne the celebration of a Councell, to reduce them that were rebelled and sequestred from the Church, and to the suppression of Infidels: and that the vanquished should assist the victor with all his power. Requiring moreover, that this combat chancing, the King should pawne the Duchie of *Bourgogne*, and the Emperour that of *Milan*, both to be adiudged to the victor. The third was, a protestation neuer to take B armes, but forced, foreseeing that the war would be so cruell, as the victorie would be of small profit to the victor, and should but open a passage to the common enemy of our faith. And to conclude, hee added, that what hee had propounded touching a peace, proceeded not from any feare, hauing neuer sought peace in losse, but could well giue it to them that were vanquished. But contrariwise, three good and iust reasons gaue him an assured hope of victorie. That he was not the beginner of this war. That the King had begun it in a season of great aduantage for the Emperour. That he found his subiects, Captaines, and soldiars so well disposed, as if the Kings were like vnto them, he would craue mercie with his hands and feete bound.

The second article of the three, and the last, being but bragges, were by the Ambassadors, (as shalbe noted hereafter) concealed from the King. The Pope requested them, that without preiudice to the King, they should suppress what might increase his maiestie, adding therewith the explication, which the Emperour himselfe did afterwards make of his words, at the request of the *French* Ambassadors (desirous to knowe if the Emperour had any meaning thereby, to charge the King to haue done any thing preiudiciall to his honour, or if his intention were to challenge him,) hee publicly declared: That what he had spoken, was but by way of aduice and proposition, as being more fit, and of lesse inconuenience, then to expose the liues of so many thousands, fighting for their quarrells, to the mercie of armes, to decide it betwixt them two, with the perill of their owne bloods: not meaning in any sort to tax the King, whom he knewe to bee a great Prince both in courage and person, much lesse to defie him, and in the presence of his holinesse, without whose permission he would not attempt such an action. So as the King answering onely to those articles whereof hee was aduertised, sayled in these.

The Empe-
rours pro-
testation.

The Emperour hauing thus published his protestation, tooke his leaue of the Pope, who displeased in shew of the neere breach of peace, resolved to be a Neuter, not assisting eyther partie with counsell or fauour concerning the warre. In the meane time the Admirall (hauing expresse commandement from the King, and afterward reiterated by *John* Cardinall of *Lorraine* (sent by his maiestie to the Emperour,) not to attempt any thing whereby the Imperials might frame any iust complaint) had E retired his army towards *Saint Germaine*, with an intent to assure himselfe of the towne of *Yuree*, and of all the valley towards the *Suisses*, to receiue men for the Kings seruice, if they should come to open warre, and to succour *Turin* when neede should require.

But hauing intelligence of the Emperours care, to increase his forces, and that *Anthony de Lene* was resolved to passe into *Astisun*, to cut off his victualls behind, hee sent *Montesat* with two hundred men at armes, foure thousand *French* foote, and eight hundred *Italians*, to seize vpon *Fossan*, *Vignon*, *Sauillan*, *Cony*, *Mont-deuis* and other townes thereabouts: And to prouide for the fortification of *Turin*, he sent *Stephen Colonne* with a hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foote.

From words in the end they fall to blowes. The Emperour hether to fed vs with good words, now he discouers himselfe: and to make an open declaration of warre, he

A he makes three armies to assaile at one instant, the Prouinces of *Picardie*, *Provence* and *Champagne*. To crosse him, the King disperseth fourteene, or fifteene thousand of those men which he had in *Piedmont*, to fortifie those places, which hee held beyond the *Alpes*: and calls back his Admirall, to the end he might lay all the blame of this inuasion vpon the Emperour. Considering moreover, that the Admirall hauing placed his garrisons, had beene too weake in field, hee sent Commissions with great summes of money to *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendosme*, Gouverneur of *Picardie*, Grandfather to our most Christian and victorious King, and to *Claude* of *Lorraine*, Duke of *Guis*, Gouverneur of *Champagne*, brother in law to the said Duke, to leuie sixteene thousand Aduenturers, to diuide them into frontier Townes, and to prouide for the B victualing, and fortifications thereof. At *Marseilles* hee placed *Antonie* of *Roche-foucault*, Lord of *Barbezieu*. In *Dauphiné*, *John* Lord of *Humieres*. In *Guienne*, *Henry* of *Albret* King of *Nauarre*, for his Lieutenants, and gouernours in the said Prouinces. And himselfe (resolute to oppose against the enemy, some fortified places vpon the frontier, to make him to consume time, men, munition, victuals, and money, in the seige and batterie thereof,) assembled the rest of his forces neere to his owne person.

1536.

The Kings
preparation
for the warre.

The Admirall retrying out of *Piedmont*, left *Claude* Lord of *Annebaule*, to command within *Turin*, as the Kings Lieutenant, with a hundred men at armes, and three hundred light horse, led by the Lords of *Aussun*, *Termes* and *Essa*: foure thousand five hundred foot, vnder the ensignes of the Lords of *Auchy*, *Cany*, *Salé*, *Quincy*, *Lanigue-Dieu*, *Blanche* and *Anguar*, and two thousand *Italians*, vnder the charge of *Marie* *Antonie* of *Cusan*: of all which footmen, *Charles* of *Coucis*, Lord of *Burie*, was head and Colonell generall: and the rest of the armie *Francis* Marquis of *Salusf-* ses commanded.

This was to giue the purse to keepe to the veriest thiefe: but his trecherie was yet covered with a great shew of hypocrisie. He had long determined to reuolt Feate, and hope moued him thereunto, feare to loose his estate, hope, to bee fauored by the Emperour, in the cause hee pretended to the Marquisat of *Montferrat*. Moreover hee was a man curious to know what was to come, and did superstitiously beleene South- D uyers, who had foretold him, that the Emperour should this yeare dispossesse the King of his Realme. The first act of his treason appeared in this, that the enemy being neere, and strong, he sayd he had neither order nor means to fortifie any place in time, or to make it tenable, but that of *Turin*: and that to put in more men then role that were, were to loose them wilfully. The second was, when as the Lords of *Montesat*, *Roche du Maine*, *Villebon*, the Knight of *Ambres*, *Saint Aubin*, the Earle of *Pontreme* and other Captaines were resolved to attend the enemy in some place of importance, before he came to *Turin*, and was concluded to put themselves into *Fossan*, after they had receiued commandement to hold *Fossan* or *Cony* onely for fifteene E cays, to keepe the Imperials occupied; hee discovered this dessein to *Anthony de Lene*, aduising him to come thither with speed, promising to deliuer into his hands, both the Towne and men that were in it: and in steed of sending to *Fossan* the meale, a culuerie, three Canons, powder and bullets, which he had drawne out of *Cony*, he con- uided thither, but one Canon, a Culuerin, five barrels of powder and some bullets, but of another sorte he put all the rest into his house at *Ranel*, & retired the night following.

Trecherie
of the Mar-
quis of *Salu-*

A horrible treason. He had beene brought vp with the King, from his infancie, well maintained during the life of the Marquis *Michel* *Antonie* his brother, and honoured with the order of *Saint Michel*. And which is more, his Marquisate hauing beene ad- judged vnto the King for the treason, & rebellion of *John* *Lewis*, the eldest of the house, after the decease of *Michel*, the King had not onely inuested him, but also giuen him freely out of the conquest of *Sauoie*, to the number of seuentene Townes, the flower of *Piedmont*, amounting to more in reuenue, then the Marquisate, amongst the which *Sauillan*, *Cony*, *Fossan*, *Cauallimont*, *Mont-deuis*, and others, which he pretended to bee ancient appertinances of the said Marquisate.

According

1536.
Fossan be-
leaged.

A gillans
fallie.

Anthony de
Leue forced
to fire out of
his Campe.

According to the aduice of *Francis of Salusses*, *Anthony de Leue*, leauing at *Turin* (which he had beleaged) tenne thousand men, to continue the seage, came and camped before *Fossan* the twelfth of Iune: makes his approaches, begins his trenches: many of the assaillants loose their liues; few of the beleaged. The third day, the Canon playes, but slowly. The Marquis assured them, that shewing themselves before one gate: the beleaged would go forth at another: they go forth indeed, but not like men that fled. The Baron of *Castelpers* Lieutenant to *Montpesat*, led the horse, *Warris* the foot. The Imperiall Laniquenets were lodged somewhat farre from blowes, and therefore their gards were but weake. *Warris* doth charge them, and at the first giues them a great checke. *Castelpers* arrives, and reenforceth the Alarum. *Anthony de Leue* sends a good number of *Spaniards*, to cut off our men in their retreat: and they whome he had appointed to gard the trenches, seeing euery one runne to the alarum, would likewise haue their share in it. *Saint Petre Corse* appointed with *Villebon* to gard the *Bastian* newly begon, within the Towne, perceiuing the trenches vnurnished, issues forth with some *Champanois* and *Normans*, kils fise and twentie, or thirtie men, and puts the rest to flight. *Anthony de Leue* sends the rest of his men which remained, to second them, and himseife being old, and full of the gout, is carried forth of his lodging to saue himselfe: they follow him: but those which carried him, fer him in the ceme, where the heig'it of the eares couered him, from such as sought him.

It is a rashnesse, yea in the greatest Capitaines, to contemne an enimie. *Anthony de Leue* building vpon the hope which the Marquis had giuen them, left the beleaged a gate free, thin king they would retire to *Cony*. But this was a refreshing vnto them, for of seuen wels which they had in the Towne, fise were dried vp in two dayes. *Anthony de Leue* therefore perswaded, that the beleaged attended some more honest excuse, and colour for their retreat, hee plants foure Cannons in battery, and makes a breach for twentie men in front. *Fossan* had no ditches, so as the Imperials might more easily as- saile, then the *French* could defend the walls. But *Anthony* would reserve his *Spaniards* for some better enterprise: they were old souldiars, and the whole hope of his armie. The *Italians* would not march, vnlesse they were payed: and the *Germanes* who held themselves of no lesse reputation, then the *Spaniards* would not hazard themselves alone. So the breach continues twelue dayes in this sort, giuing them leaue to repair it, and to make a trench within, and a rampar well flanked.

The time the King had appointed, was now passed: they had no wine, nor meale, but some Corne, and no milles, and the Marquis had maliciously sent away the workmen they had to make any. Moreouer, the King commaunded them, not to hold it so long, as very necessitie should force them to accept a shamefull condition. But it was a point of honour, for the one to demand, and for the others to giue a composition. In the end, the griefe which *Anthony de Leue* conceiued, to spend the time before a paltrie hens roult, which might haue bin better employed: and the great desire thoe within the Towne had, to doe the King good seruice, in the affaires of better importance, made them to enter into capitulation: whereby at the end of the moneth, they departed with their armes, and ensignes displayed, leauing nothing in the Towne but the artillerie, munition, & their great horses, which were about 16. handfuls & foure fingers high, except twelue, at the choise of the Capitaines: and came to refresh, and to horse themselves anew at *Marseilles*, honoured by the King, with three moneths pay, besides that which was due. But the enimie had small profit by their horses, for they had filled them before with new corne, so as when they came to water them, most of them burst with drinking.

Let vs here obserue some other *Spanish* brags, but boldly incountred by a *French* libertie of speech. Eight dayes after the Capitulation was signed, the Emperour came to visit *Anthony de Leue's* Campe, accompanied with the Dukes of *Sauoy*, *Albe*, *Baviera*, and *Brunswicke*, the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignan*, the Marquis of *Guaft*, and many others: he cau'd his armie to be put in battaile, and finds it goodly, and pleasing to his mind: he calls *Roche du Maine*, *la Palisse* (the onely sonne of the Marshall of *Chaban-*

nes deceased) and *Asster* (the onely sonne of the maister of the Kings houle) who remained for hostages of the Composition: he embraceth *la Roche* curteously, whom he had heard reputed to be a gallant Gentleman, cauteh him to couer his head, by reason of the heat of the sunne: and saies, that to do him a pleasure, he will shew him his armie: *My Lord* (answered *la Roche*) to shew me your armie goodly, as you esteeme it, were contrary to all content. I should be better pleased to see it poore, and ruined: vnlesse the King my maister and you would agree together, and not bring two such goodly armies to fight, as yours, and that which the King will shortly oppose against you, to the preiudice of all *Christendome*. If you were both well aduised, you would agree and hold, both the *Turke* and all others in subiection. But to thinke to ouerthrow one another, were a meere folly. And if the first armie the King shall oppose against you, should chance to be vanquished (which God forbid) he will within fiftene dayes raise another: yea and at neede, would shew you as many Gentlemen on foote, as you haue men here of all sorts. Wherevpon the Emperour said: I am not ignorant of the Kings forces, so are mine well knowne vnto him. As for an accord, I will neuer shewe mine eares against that motion: so as it might be made as it ought. This beeing spoken, he commaunded the Marquis of *Guaft*, to conduct them about the army, and to dine with the Princes of *Germany*: that after dinner he would see them againe. After dinner the Emperour said: How thinke you of mine armie? I finde it very faire, answered *la Roche*, it is pittie you employe it not in some other desseine. The Emperour replied, where thinke you I will employ it? *la Roche* answered, Into *Prouence*. The Emperour said, C The *Prouencalls* are my subiects (he did commonly peruse the mappe of *Prouence*, and had already deuoured this Prouince in imagination, but he shall find the situation stronger then in his mappe, and men of a firmer mettal then paper) *la Roche* answered: You shall finde very rebellious, and disobedient subiects. The Emperour replied: How many daies iourney is it from hence to *Paris*? *la Roche* answered, If you meane battells, at the least a dozen, if the Inuader (meaning the Emperour) haue not his head broken at the first. The Emperour smiled, admiring his wit: and some one of the assistants (who knew *Tei celin* well) said, I told you before my Leage, he could speake well if he list. Then the Emperour taking the word, gaue him assurance that hee would giue eare to any proposition of peace, so as it might be worthily treated of.

And in trueth he doth reuiue it: but this was to haue speedier meanes to send newes to the Earle of *Nassau*, and to receiue intelligence from him: that both his armie, and that which the Earle led vpon the marches of *Picardie*, might at one instant inuade the frontiers of the Realme. Moreouer, attending the yeelding vp of *Fossan*, he made at *Sauillan*, *Montdenis*, *Cony*, and *Tende*, great prouision of biscuit, and beasts of burthen to followe the Campe with this biscuit, and other victuals to supply the waste which hee did foresec. Some, and the greatest number, counselled him to pursue the recovery of the countrie, which the King had won from the Duke of *Sauoy*, by meanes whereof hee might plant a strong barre against the *French* forces: and first to settle a sure peace beyond the Alpes, before hee came to make warre in *France*. Other men clawed him where it did itch, and by a more pleasing then holtsome Councell perswaded him to take on his way to *Prouence*.

The Earle dome pleased him greatly, gaping wonderfully after it, for the commodity of his passage vpon the Mediterranean sea, hoping that, as *Italy* should take breath, and new courage after the ruines and desolations where with it hath bene continually shaken these thirtie yeares, the curses, spoyles, sword, and fire, which hee should drawe after him, chasing, destroying, amazing and making desolate the people of *France*, *Paris* in the ende, and the Crowne of *France* should bee the prise and recompence of his victories. But hee reckened without his host, *Marseille* instead of making his entry into the Realme, shall shamefully make him retire into *Casille*.

Manye inticements drew him into *France*. Wee haue had (said hee) almost for these

1536. these twenty yeares, a continuall victory against the enemy. The Duchie of Milan which we now possesse, is a certain testimony of our triumphs: we haue reason to re-
 The Empe-
 rors conceit
 of his passage
 into France.
 taine the same resolution in this warre, and the same hope which conquerors ought to haue: and leaue vnto the French, terror and dispaire, which commonly doth accompa-
 ny the vanquished. We are superiors in number, men of better constitution, more practised in the art of warre: and leauing some part of our forces on this side the mountaynes, we haue sufficient remaining to incounter the enemies power. But that which will giue vs the victory, we march against one that hath broken his faith. The iudicious reader may consider which of these two Princes had most right, whether the Emperour, taking vpon him the protection of the Duke of Sauoye: or the King seeking his right by force of armes, which he could not obtaine by reason from his Vncle)

Doubt not but we haue God for vs, he is a iust Iudge, and a rigorous reuenger of the breach of faith. Moreouer let vs not feare, that the king of France can fortifie himselfe on this side the Alpes: he will prepare all his forces against this armie: but I haue an other, ready to inuade Picardy: and besides, the Emperesse prepares one in my kingdomes of Spaine, which shall come by *Largueto*, to ioyne with mee. I leue another to assaile Champagne and Bourgoigne, in the hottest of these warres, the which shall performe as much for my seruice as the rest. Having to great preparatiues, and in many places, and the king so surprised as he cannot in time assemble sufficient forces to encounter so many armies: it is impossible but on some one side, we should make a passage by force, euen into the heart of his Realme. Wee haue good intelligences and manage great practises. This spake the Emperour. But, *Doest thou know the deues of heauen* (saith the Eternal reprehending man) *and wilt thou dispose of the government thereof upon earth?* What were these great practises and secret intelligences, which the Emperour vaunted to haue in France? A politike Commaunder doth commonly vse this kinde of speech, to giue courage to his men, and breed ielousie and distrust in his enemye against his subjects. Hee had some secret practiser vpon the Towne of Langres, (but the Inhabitants were too faithfull to their King, and since in these latter dayes, haue giuen sufficient testimony of their obedience to the Crowne) Some held that the Marquis of Saluzes had partakers of his D treachery: and William Duke of Fianiere said openly, that many in France, holding the same party, would discouer themselves at need.

The death of
 Francis the
 Dauphin por-
 tioned.

But whatsoeuer it were, that which gaue a more liuely impression: Francis Dauphin of Viennois, the Kings eldest sonne, whom his maiesty (going from Lions, to see his army which he ment to oppose against the Emperour) had left sick at Tournon, dies the fourth day of his sicknesse, being about twenty yeares old: bred vp by his father in singular expectation of all the world, to proue in time, a great and most excellent Prince. And Sebastian Earle of Monticucullo, found guilty of poison, and for that cause was drawne in peeces with foure hortes within Lions, had by his confession declared, that the Emperour had once enquired: *If he knew the order and manner of the kings eating and drinking.* An attempt so wicked, as it is scarce credible, that so wretched and damnable a treason should enter into the heart of so generous a Prince. Notwithstanding when Don Ferdinand of Gonzague presented the sayd Sebastian to the Emperour: saying, that he was ready to execute that which hee had promised vnto him, and to Anthony de Leue: if the dessein extended vpon any places of the French obedience, why did he informe himselfe of the Kings eating and drinking? Besides, during these practises, why did Don Lopes of Sora, Ambassador for the Emperour at Venice, inquire who should reigne in France, and against whome the Emperour should pursue the wars, in case the King and his children should die: If he had not bin acquainted with some fatall practise against the said Princes.

Thus the Emperour, resolute to passe, against the opinion of the clearest sighted (as he afterwards confessed vnto the King with his owne mouth: who hauing till then seemed to follow Councell, did now rashly follow his owne head) and now by diuers and

A and many expeditions, of diuision of places, offices, Capitainehippes, governments, gifts of Townes and Castells, deuouring (by presumption) the goods of the Kings subjects and seruants, hee left ten thousand men to continue the siege of Turin: and for the affaires of Piedmont, hee diuided his armie into three bands, for the greater commoditie of the passage, and appointed their Rendezuons at Nice, and there abouts. In the first were the men at armes, with the Lansquenets of the Lord of Thamiſe, conducting the artillerie and the baggage, who tooke their way by the riuer of Genes. In the second Don Ferdinand of Gonzague, generall of the light horse and with them some Neapolitane men at armes, the Lords of Iseltſheim, Dietric, Spech, Wolſe, Dietric of Kuttinghem Colonells of the Reistres, then the Marquis of Guast with the Spaniards and B the Emperours household, and at their tayle Anthony de Leue, with the Lansquenets of Marc Ebenſtſheim: after whome marched the Emperour, in the midst of a troupe of Spaniards, followed by the Lansquenets of Gaspar of Fronſberg, taking the direct way fro Fossan to Nice. In the third, were the Italians, which tooke their way by Cony. On the other side the King made his necessarie prouisions at Lions, and prouiding for all parts wherethe enemy might land, hee sent Claude of Sauoye Earle of Tende, and the Lord of Bonneuall his Lieutenants generall in that army, to ioyne with William Earle of Furstemberg Colonell of his Lansquenets, & other Capitaines placed towards Cisteron, vpon the passages of Roqueſparuiere, Terreneuue, and other approches, to spoile the come, eyther standing, or in the barne: to draue all that might be into strong places: C to beate downe all ouens and milles, which might any way helpe the enemy, to burne the horſemeat: to beate out the heads of their wine vessells, if they did not speedily retire them, and to cast come into their wells to corrupt the waters. All the people, both great and small, were so wonderfully affected to the publike good, as euery man forgets the greefe of his priuat losse.

The Empe-
 rors passage
 into France.

The Kings
 order against
 the Empe-
 rour.

The Lords of Mas, Cals, Carſes and many others, pricke them forward by their example, themselves setting fire on their come, barnes, and mulls, and causing good fel-
 lowes to drinke their wine. And for that the King had not yet all his forces vnited, to present himselfe with honour and reason in person before the Imperials, his maiesty appointed the Lord of Montmorency, at that time Lord Steward & Marshall of France, D his Lieutenant generall as well on this side as beyond the Alpes, to seize vpon Auignon. But for that the King would consult with him, more at large of these great affaires, he sent Robert Steward Lord of Aubigny Marshall of France, to that ende, with eight thousand Swiſſes, who kept the enemy from the sayd towne. Montmorency hauing in Auignon imparted to the Marshall d' Aubigny and other Commanders, the meanes which seemed most conuenient for the managing of this warre: hee came to Aix, vewed the situation of the place, and finding it hard to fortifie, by reason of certaine little hills neere at hand, which looking into the Towne, might serue as a Cavalier or Mount for the enemy to plant his ordinance on, hee caused all that might be, to be transported, razed the portalls and such defences as it had, and abandoned it, leauing it E empty and vnprofitable for the enemy.

Aix abandon-
 ed.

The Emperour was now in the plaine of Cannes, and the next day Don Fernand Gonzague, who led the foreward, should aduance with eighreene hundred horse and six thousand Lansquenets, (whereof the master of the Campe marched sometimes three or foure Leagues before the whole army) Montiean, a hardie and aduenturous Knight, seeking opportunity in the beginning of this warre to do the King some notable seruice, resolved to see if hee could surprise this Master of the Campe. Boiſy no lesse couetous of glorie, would bee his Companion in this enterpriſe, they part with about eight score horse, and three hundred foote, and encounter Don Fernand with his horſemen, who came to take lodging for the forward in the Towne F of Luc, on this side the riuer of Argente, and gaue him an alarme: but vnable to fight with so great a troupe, they found the retreat, and all tired come about the shutting of the euening to Brignoles.

Don Fernand, aduertised by them that went and came, of the small number of
 Vvv our

1536. our men, takes a number of choise men, marcheth speedily after them, and sent all the rest of his forces to follow: hee passeth on the one side of *Brigoles*, and layeth a great ambush where our men should passe the next day, and doth compell them in betwixt his troupe and the ambush: at the breake of day hee chargeth into the village, some Barricadoes which the Captaines had made stay them, whilst the arme and goe to horse backe, they kill some at the first, and loose about forty. *Montrean* and *Bossy* take the field, they place Captaine *Blaris* with his footmen at the wings of their horsemen, marching close covered with their shute to get to *Aix*, maintaining still the shock of the enemies, they kill and hurt many in narrow wayes, whereas the enemy could not stretch forth his troupes. But thus in the open champaign, assailed by their whole force, charged by the a. upon one of their flanks, the Lanquenets approaching, this present supply giveth courage to the enemy, and the perill without hope of succour makes the *French* faint: they all give way, all are overthrowne: and of all this troupe but three men at armes escaped, but were slaine or taken. *Montrean*, *Bossy*, the other Captaine, and many Gentlemen which had followed them, (desirous to make proofe of their persons,) are taken prisoners. There were slaine of the enemies (besides the wounded, sixe score men,) and two hundred horse: but the number praised a-boue valour.

The defeat
taking of
Montrean &
Bossy.

The Emperour hearing of this victory, did not forget to make a triumph, publishing it throughout all the world, as if he had defeated all the Kings Foreward. A. without doubt this lightnesse allowed by *Montmorency*, at the importunate request of the undertaker, purchased to the enemy, those which were doubtful and uncertain what part they should take, confirmed his adherents, and strack seale into them that were contrarie. This first encounter might give courage to the Imperial to take the Constable in *Auignon*, yet he sees no reason to hazard a battaile in open field, before hee had sufficient forces to encounter so great a power. To push himselfe into *Auignon*, were to hazard himselfe in a Towne not defensible, and hardly to be fortified so speedily as necessarie required.

Marfeilles was the onely frontier Towne, sufficientlie furnished with all things necessary to endure an Imperiall siege: but to leave all the rest of the way open to the enemy, had bene to give him meanes to fortifie on eyther side of the river of *Rosne*, at his pleasure, and to draw vpon him (without resistance) a flourishing and great armie. It was therefore better to let the Emperour know, that for an unfortunate encounter they had neyther lost courage, nor hope: with this, desirous *Montmorency* lodgeth his men in field, and chooseth the place for his Campe, betwixt the rivers of *Rosne* and *Durance*, the one did furnish his armie with victuals and other commodities: the other served as a Rampar and barre against the enemies approach. And to cutte off all meanes and libertie to runne to forrage, to learnenewes of the *French* Campe, and to found the passage of the river at his pleasure, without contradiction, hee placed garrisons in all Townes and places, to bee held on the other side of the water.

The King on the other side was at *Valence*, where like the Maister of a ship commanding from the Helme to the prow, hee sent dayly new forces to the Constable, fortified the Towne, and assembled such a power, as if any mischance had ruined this it armie, the Emperour had had the King presently ready to give him a second battaile. Lervs now change our Climate, and make an escape into *Picardie*. *Henry* Earle of *Nassau*, and *Adrian* of *Croy*, Earle of *Reux*, Lord Steward of the Emperours house, being entred into *Picardie*, did at the same instant, spoile all places in their passage which were of weaker resistance: but besides the taking of *Bray* vpon *Somme*, they did more great exploits, but being repulsd from before *Saint Riquier*, they lost some of their Artillerie, and a great number of their men for a sleight enterprife.

The Earle of
Nassau in
Picardie.

Charles

A Charles Duke of *Vendosme*, with three hundred men at armes, and six thousand foot, 1536 having forced them to repasse the water, reuenged the wrong they had done vpon the frontier. hee tooke and spoiled some small Townes, Castles, and Villages vpon their Marches. But seeing the enemy fortified with two thousand men, the which he hoped to surpris at *Marolles* an open Towne, hee repassed the water, not to hazard his forces rashly, attending the coming of *Claude* Duke of *Guise* his brother in lawe. Among other places vpon the frontier not defensible, hee had appointed to abandon *Guise*.

The Earle aduertised by his spies, of the hast they made to carry away their moueables and victuals, and to drine away their cattell: and that the garrison of the B. Castell, carefull to free the Towne, and to beat downe the defences which might any way accommodate the enemy, did negligently garde the approaches, he marcheth thither with speed, surpriseth them in disorder, and kills some before they could recover any place of safetie: he summons the Castle: some preferring life before honour, cast themselves ouer the walls into the Ditch: the rest amazed, yeeld the place at the enemies discretion. A basenesse vnworthy of Nobilitie: so as those which were found to be Gentlemen, were degraded, and both they and their posteritie, declared peasants, and subiect to taxes.

Guise being sackt, and all the Countrie about burnt, the Earle carrying away a bootie of men, Cattell, and goods, marched against *S. Quintin*. But being aduertised of the good order the Duke had set for the good and defence of the Towne, hee turned soeily, and tooke the way of *Peronne*. It is strong by nature and situation, but at that time not well fortified, nor sufficiently manned to withstand so great a power. He therefore passeth the river of *Somme* about *Aplincourt*, abandoned as not defensible, and spoiling, burning and making the whole countrie desolate, hee camps before *Peronne* about the middest of August. The Lord of *Seren*, Captaine generall of the Legion of *Picardie*, puts himselfe into it with a thousand men, and the Marshall of *La Marke* with a hundred men at armes. Misfortune is good for some thing. The darkness of the smoake which the fire of the Fermes and Villages burnt by the enemy, had caused, covered the passages of our men, even at the Imperials noses. In the D. meane time, the Dukes of *Vendosme* and *Guise*, leue new bands in *Picardie* and *Champagne*, to ioyne with the *Larsequenets*, which *Nicholas* of *Rusticis* did bring. Let vs leave the Count *Nassau* assailing, and the defendants valiantly encountering his attempts, vntill that the Emperour after his first disgrace receiued before *Marfeilles*, shall be blemished with a second at *Peronne*, in the persons of the Earles of *Nassau* and *Reux*: and let vs see what happened in *Piedmont*, after the yeelding of *Fossan*.

Guise taken.

Peronne besieged.

Warre in
Piedmont.

The troupes which *Guy* Earle of *Rangon*, *Cesar* *Fregose* his brother in lawe, *Caguin* *Confague*, and other *Italian* Captaines, pensioners to the King, had leuied, were broken, by reason of the last hope and practise of peace, cunningly giuen out by the Emperour. Now they renew them by a new Commission from the King, so to cross the E. Imperials in *Italie*, as hee might thereby diuert the great forces they had in *France*. *Rangon* Lieutenant for the King in this armie, leuied two thousand men, *Caguin* as many, *Cesar* *Fregose* the like number, and two hundred light horse: the Lords of *Paluissima* Vicount of *Milan*, *Peter* *Strofi* a *Florentine*, *Balthazar* called the Cheualier d'Azsal a *Ferrarois*, eyther of them a thousand men. *Beringer* of *Caldore*, a *Neapolitane*, Earle of *Monte de Rife*, and *John* of *Turin* a *Florentine*, euery one five hundred, *Auerol* of *Bressan* foure hundred, *Bandin* of *Tuscane* foure hundred, and two hundred light horse; and the Lord of *Tais* (a *Frenchman* borne, but sent into *Italy*, to receiue the Earle of *Mirandole* into his Maiesties seruice) two hundred light horse. An armie of great hope, whose exploits we shall soone see.

F. *Annebant* and *Buric*, being straightly besieged in *Turin*, performed the parts of good and vigilant Captaines, & well practised in matters of warre, preuenting both the enemy, and the Citizens newly reduced to the Kings obedience, from daring to attempt any thing against them, and by their daily sallies, bringing prisoners, and store of cattell,

1536. returned victors within the circuit of their walls. *Maramba* had gathered together in *Ciria* all the corne & victuals he could get thereabouts. *Annebault* aduertised of by his espials, sent *Esse* with seuentie horse, and *Auchy*, and *Cany*, leading either of them five hundred foote. who parting towards the euening, came to the walls side before they were discovered: they plant their ladders, surpriſe the Towne, put all to the sword that made resistance, loade their beasts of burthen with victuals, and bootie, and retire to *Turin* without any encounter. This happie victorie brought vnto the beleeged the conquests of *Riuolles*, *Veillane*, and *S. Ambrois*.

A braue and
happie exploit

Enterprise vp-
on *Sauillan*.

The Imper-
ials defeated.

The garrison thus reuiued, aspires to greater enterprises. The Emperour had left in *Sauillan*, sixteene peeces of artillerie, with all their prouision of bullets, powder, and other necessaries, and a good prouision of armes. The garrison which he had placed there, foraging without feare in the villages about, gaue them hope to defeat them, and to surpriſe the Towne. *Marc Anthonie* of *Cusan* Capitaine of two thousand *Italians*, demanded the execution of this stratageme, with his troupes: they giue him for Companion *Chambray* Lieutenant of *Annebaults* company, with three score choise horse. But they looſe an oxe, to take an egge: vpon the way they are aduertised by their ſcowts that certaine freebooters of the enemies, laden with a great spoyle, were presently retrayed into a Castle adioyning. They turne head, and take the Castle by assault, and sacke it, it may be more greedily then wisely. For whilst they are busie at the spoyle, the alarm is giuen in the Countrey, and some troupes enter speedily into *Sauillan*, draw the bridges, ramper vp the gates, and man the walls, and the defences. The Towne being furnished, the suburbs remaine in spoyle, they beate in peeces two great Canons, they carrie away all the armes, and make bootie of all they finde good. In the meane time *James* of *Scalenghe* approached, with about foure thousand men, as well of his owne troupes, as of the peasants gathered together. Our men making a vertue of necessity, gather together, and go closely to field, charge the enemy running hastily to surpriſe them, dispersed in the streets, and busie at the spoyle: they make them turne their backs, kill about three hundred, hurt many more, and of nine enſeigns winne seuen: the horsemen flying, pulled away the other two, from them that carried them, to saue them. In the end, *John Iagues* of *Medicis*, Marquis of *Marignan*, came to succour them, with two thousand *Lansquenets*, being called by *Sid-
D
length*: our men hauing their bodies wearied with trauell, and their armes tyred with striking, resolute to retire, and send to *Annebault* for succours. *Aligre* an aduenturous and wise Capitaine, brings them two hundred horse, who arriuing when as our men were in danger to be defeated, entering among the enemies, killing, and chasing, gaue their companies halfe tyred leasure to take breath: and through the fauour of twelue hundred foot, which followed *Aligres* troupe, do retire with their bootie, & baggage safely into *Turin*. A shot which *Cusan* receiued in the head, caused him to remaine at *Pignerol*, where soone after hee died: leauing a happie memory of his valour, and a great griefe to his friends for the losse of his person.

The Emperour approached now to *Aix*, hauing receiued some losse by the way, not so great as troublesome, in regard of the qualitie of the persons. The peasants, and mountainers, lying in ambush, in the straights, and narrow passages along the *Alpes*, and disſuing forth sodainly, sometimes vpon the ſcowts, sometimes vpon the reerward, stayed them euery two hundred paces, to defend themselves: hauing no meanes to offend this swarme of men, who being charged, vanished by crooked and vnknowne wayes. Fiftie men of the Countrey, resolute for all euents, had shutt themselves in a fort, called our *Ladies* Tower: with an intent to shoote at the Emperour in the passage, and all of them at one instant to discharge their harguebuses. But they take *Martha*, for *Marie*: they kill a Nobleman with a rich coat of armes, and followed by a troupe of men, which did him great honour.

The Emp. brings the canon, batters the Tower, & forceth them to yeeld at his pleasure: & to purge the offence they had made, sends them all to be hanged. Moreover, being aduertised that a great number of peasants, women, children, & cattel were hidden

F

in the ground in a wood on the side of a mountaine, he caused the wood to be fired in many places about the wind, so as all were miserably burnt or slaine. A stratageme which did so incense the people against the Emperour, as neuer any of his men fell into their hands, but he made tryall of a most tragicke and cruell death. These first fruits might induce the Emperour, to draw a consequence from the lesse to the greater, in comparison of these people vnacquainted with armes, with those whome nature and exercise had instructed, and to make him knowe, that it was no small enterprize to attaine a King of France at his doore.

But this troubled his minde. Hee thought in the beginning of this warre to haue disgraced the King with the *Germaines* and *Suisses*, as he should drawe no men from them. Notwithstanding, aduertised that besides the eight thousand *Suisses* leuied by *Lewis* of *Anguerrand*, Lord of *Boisrigault*, *Stephen* d' *Aigne* Lord of *Beauuais* and *William* Lord of *Sernay* gentlemen of the Kings house, had made a leuie of the like number, all which had in a manner ioyned with the Marshall of *Montmorency*, who had nowe about thirty thousand men in his campe: he is nowe much greened in his heart, that hauing in the former warres wonne so many happy victories vnder the command of his Capitaines, now marching in person with so strong and mightie an army, after he had published his triumphes throughout the world, he should performe no honorable exploit of war. Therefore the 15. of August he makes choise of three thousand *Spaniards*, foure thousand *Italians*, and five thousand *Lansquenets*, and takes in his company the Duke of *Alba*, a *Spaniard*, *Alphonse* d' *Aualos*, the Marquis of *Guaſt* and *Don Fernand Gonſagne* *Italians*, and the *Cont Horne* a *Germaine*, followed with all the flower of his horsemen, and aduanceth neere to *Marseilles*: hee goes himſelfe in person, to viewe the Towne, being couered with the ruines of a house lately beat down, and forsooth the Marquis, to make a conuenient place for the planting of his artillerie against the weakest place of the Towne.

This resolution had bene good, when as the Kings forces were not yet united, and his people terrified by the sodaine and vnexpected landing of so mightie an enemy. The watch vpon the rampars discovered the Marquis: they send forth men to compasse him in behinde, if there were no more then those which appeared with him. Hee retires towards the place from whence hee parted, and by his retreat they discover a greater number of men, behind that ruined house. They set vpon them that issued forth, and some Cannon shot scatter the stoanes, kill some and hurt others.

This first amazement carried the Emperour to his Campe, after hee had appointed the Duke of *Alba* and the *Cont Horne*, to stay about *Marseilles*: and the Marquis of *Guaſt*, with twelue hundred horse, and six enſeigns of foote, to go and viewe *Arles*: that if they found it not able to bee taken by assault, he would come thither with all his forces. In the meane time, least the first that sallied forth, should fall into some ambush, they send other fresh men in fregats and boats armed, who going along the shoare, get about the place, where they had seene the harnes shine: and landing take a compasse among the mirtells and other bushes which grow in that Countrey. The Duke discovers them, and to busie them, sends certaine horses, to drawe the whole troupe which followed vpon them. Our men had the like desſeine: and when as the enemies whole strength appeeres, they seeme amazed, retire without order, and drawe them that pursued towards an open plaine, commanded by the Cannon, and turning their backs saue themselves among the bushes.

The Cannon plaies, and passing through the Imperials, makes heads, legges, and armes, to flie into the aire so pittifully mangled, as the cries of them that died, the terror of them that fled, and the amazement of them that were found, turnes them all into a hastie flight, & the soldiars hidden in the bushes, makes a furious fall vpon them that fled: the Duke gathereth againe his men far from the shoare into a valley couered with rocks and hills, and hauing viewed them, hee found his number greatly diminished, amongst others those of the *Cont Horne*, and of an other *Germaine* Capitaine his nere kinsman.

1536. The Marquis of *Gnaff* had already discovered, that they had abated a little hill, which did outlooke the Towne of *Ayles*, vpon the which, a few peeces of artillery being planted, would haue held the Towne in great subiection. *Ayles* is seated vpon *Rosne*, at the point where it parts in two, and runs with two mouths into the sea: making an Iland, which they call *Camarole*. *John Carraciola* Neapolitane, Prince of *Alphe*, commanded there, as the Kings Lieutenant, with a thousand foot, *Gascos*, of the troups of *John of Foix* Earle of *Cermaine*: a thousand Champenois vnder the command of *John Anglure* Lord of *Tour*, two thousand others vnder the enfeigns of the Lords of *Marien* of *Dauphiné*, *la Goute* a *Fourbois*, *du Palais*, of the Countie of *Toix*, and the Baron of *Fixen* of *Languedoc*, to euery one five hundred, and *Bonnacal* about a hundred and thirtie men at armes. As the Marquis lying in ambush, behind certaine windmills, viewed the weakest parts of the Towne, being discovered, *Anthony* of *Antenne* Lord of *Filliers*, Commisarie of the artillery, plants two peeces of artillery, so well against these mills, as if the Marquis seeing them giue fire, had not slipped aside, he had there ended his dayes. So as the Marquis (frustrate of his hope, either to surpris or to force the Towne of *Ayles*,) took his way to *Marseilles*.

Marseilles was beseege by the Duke of *Alba*, more in shew then with any hope, to force it, and onely with an expectation to draw the beseege to some rash sallie, or to haue the Kings armie, to come to succour them, and then to fight with them with an aduantage. With this dessein, the Emperour lay so neere, as at the first dislodging of the French Campe, he might easily prevent them, and ioine with his forces. But those within the Towne had good and wise commanders, who suffered not their men to issue forth, but to good purpose, and alwaies to the enemies losse. As for removing of the Campe, *Montmorency* would not hazard the estate, nor the forces of the King his master: he lopes by the rout of his enemies armie, to preserve his owne: and according to the aduicements he had, of the Imperiall desseins, he refrayned, or gaue libertie for the execution of his Counsels, and commandements. The surpris of *Brignoles* had made him more warie: yet not to daunt the courage of his men, he continually studi- ed of reuenge, vexing the Imperials with daily alarms, incounters, and charges, and all without any losse, or preiudice.

The King being aduerted of the approaches which the Emperour had made to *Marseilles*, *Henry* the new *Dauphin* and Duke of *Brittaine* desirous to make prooue of his person, in so iust and honourable a war, and against so worthie an enemy, obtained by his instant prayers, and the intercession of such as might preuaile much with his Maiestie, leave to go to the Campe: Not to command presently (sayd the King) but to learne to command hereafter, and vnder the Lord Steward, (as an other *Palantes* vnder *Lions*) who passeth his apprenticeship in the art of warre. His coming made the youth to rise for battaile, whensoever they went to consult, whether it were more expedient to approach neere their enemy, or to prolong the warre, by temporising, and delays: and many which till now had followed the last opinion, were carried away to the contrary. Many considerations moued them, the Kings forces able to encounter the Emperours, the presence of a yong Prince, burning with desire to trie himselfe in the warre, the dishonour (as they sayd) in suffering the Towne of *Marseilles* to be beseege, the meanes they had to defeat their enemies, before the Emperour could bring all his forces to succour them, who for want of victuals were constrained to be disperced.

But the Lord Steward, and the wisest heads, found it farre more safe to win the victorie without striking stroke, cutting off the enemies victuals, as they had done before. *Marseilles* was well fortified, furnished with all necessarie munition, manned with valiant Captaines, and men of resolution. Contrariwise, famine, and pestilence, which did much afflict, and daily increase in the Emperours campe, would soone rume his power. It was now neere at hand: The peasants had lately carried away, slaine, and hurt, all the beasts which carried the biscuit that was made at *Toulon*, and continuing to molest them by these affronts, they brought the imperiall

A speciall armie into wonderful wants and necessitie. Moreouer the dayly checks which the French men at armes gaue vnto the enemy, made the Emperour thinke of his retreat. It was therefore a wise constancie and resolution of the Lord Steward, not to submit the importance of this warre, to the discretion of a doubtfull hazard. There is no lesse honour to vanquish an enemy by counsell and gouernment, then by battaile: and not to hazard himselfe to the chance of armes without necessitie, it is an abusing of the blood and liues of men.

Here vpon newes comes to the King, that his armie beyond the Alpes had brought most part of *Piedmont* vnder his obedience, and all the Marquisate of *Saluzzes*, except some Castels. His Maiestie (vsing his rights) might haue annexed this Marquisate vnto *Dauphiné*, whereon it depends, as confiscate, by the rebellion & treachery of the Marquis *Francis*. But let vs heare an act of his naturall clemencie and bountie. *John Loris*, brother to the sayd *Francis*, was prisoner at *Paris* for the like rebellion. The King set him at liberty, he did inuest him in the Marquisate, takes his oath of fealtie to him, and against all other men: he causeth money to be giuen him, to furnish him and his raine, and then sends him to take possession. *Francis* within few weekes after, came to *Carmagnole*: *John Lewis* receiues him into the Castell, and suffers himselfe to be so carried away with sweet words, as he sweares by nothing, but by the confidence he had in his brother *Francis*. *Francis* was farre more malicious and cunning. *John Lewis*, against the aduice of Saint *Julian* (a Gentleman *Gascos* bred vp in the house of *Saluz*), whom the King had sent with *John Lewis* to obserue the actions, and the going and coming of this new Marquis, being a simple and dull man) he suffers himselfe to be drawne out of *Carmagnole*, and to be lead to the Castle of *Valseniere*, where *Francis* detained him prisoner, & then seekes to recouer the places of the Marquisate. *S. Julian* foreseeing the issue of this subtill stratagem, practised *Saluador d'Agueres* by his persuasions, and receiued of him in the Kings name, the strongest Castle of *Vrezen*, a beame in *Francis* his eye, which kept him from being absolute Marquis.

Andrew Dorie coming then from *Spain*, brought victuals and money to the Emperour, vpon whose arriual he made a Proclamation throughout the Campe: That all men bearing armes, should be ready to muster (without doubt the great decay of his armie, the which from fiftie thousand men that hee had parting from *Nice*, hee found decreased to 25. or 30. at the most, did touch him to the quick) to receiue money, and prepare to depart vpon the day assigned, euery man to be furnished with eight or ten dayes victuals. This proclamation made the King suspect, that he meant to come and assaile his campe, or to marche after the Duke of *Alba*, to the siege of *Marseilles*. And seeing the Emperour was there in person, the King did hope to haue meanes in the midst of these great armies, to effect the contents of the challenge he had before sent to the Emperour by an Herald, as we haue heard. But his Maiestie was no sooner come from *Valence* to his campe neere *Auignon*, as he was giuing order to prepare to receiue or fight battaile, newes comes vnto him, that the Emperour with all his Campe, is dislodged from *Aix*, leauing behind him (besides the dead bodies, which were infinit, are being corrupted round about) a great multitude of sick men, which could not follow the armie, neither on horseback nor on foote: and taking the route of *Spain*, spoiled with all the desolations which warre could bring forth, except fire, from which the Emperour did preserve it. Onely the pallace, and especially the Chamber of accounts were abandoned to the fire, at the instance of the Duke of *Sauoy*, who would assist in person at the burning thereof, hoping (it may be) to abolish the memorie of the titles, whereby it appeares, that *Piedmont* belongs to the Earldome of *Prouence*. But the Lord Steward had foreseeen this inconuenience, sending them to a strong place of his, named *Baux*. The King gaue money to repaire the losses. Amongst his chiefe champions, the Emperour loit *Anthony de Leue*, *Marc Bussheim*, another Captaine of *Languedoc* his kinsman, the Count *Horne*, *Baptista Castalde*, and many other men of account. Let vs apply here that holy Oracle, speaking of *Senacherib* King of the *Assyrians*. Thy bragging hath come vnto mine eares, I will put my ring into thy nostrils, and my

1536. *bitt into thy mouth, and will make thee returne the way thou camest. And, Thus sayeth the* A
Eternall touching the King of the Asirians: he shall not enter into this Cattie, neither shall he
shoot an arrow therein, he shall not present himselfe before it with shield, nor cast etc.

Behold the Earle of *Prouence* in imagination, who had lately threatened the Pro-
 uinces of this Realme, with fire and sword, and swallowed vp the Crowne there-
 of by presumption, afhamed, and confounded in his retreat, hauing lost halfe of
 his troupes, turmoyled by the pesants, who vsing the armes of his sicke men,
 and of those that were dead, seize vpon the passages and straights, beat downe the
 bridges vpon the riuers, which were then very violent, charge them in front, in flanke
 and behind, and the light horsemen led by the Earle of *Tende, Bonneau, Langey, and John*
Paul de Cere follow them so close, as they had no meanes to forrage, leauing the waies
 from *Aix to Fretus*, couered with dead carcases, and men languishing, harnes, lances,
 pikes, harguebuses, and all other armes pelmel on a heape.

Of the Earle
 of Nassau.

The King refused to march after them, and where so euer he should ouertake them
 to giue them battale, and so passe into *Italie*, where at that instant he had a mightie ar-
 mie in field. But he is diuerted from his dessein, by letters from the Marshall of *La*
Marke. Hee had no more meanes to hold *Peronne* long, the walls were beaten downe
 in many places, famine pressed the beseege, they wanted harguebusiers and powder.
 So the King caused some part of his men at armes, to march speedily, and tenne thou-
 sand *French* foote, resolute to follow after by great marches, to raise the siege, or to
 recouer the Towne before the enemy should fortifie it, and furnish it with victuals. C
 God would preserve him from this toyle, and giue him leisure to take breath. The
 Imperials being alwayes repulsed, with losse of many, and sundry assaults, the myne
 wherein they had long labored, prouing fruitlesse, (besides the death of *Phillip of Bou-*
inalliers, Earle of *Dammartin*, ouerwhelmed in the mines thereof, in a counter mine
 he made to blow vp the enemies myne (whose death was reuenged, with the slaugh-
 ter of three hundred *Lansquenets*, and twentie of their men at armes, at the last assault
 giuen by the Tower, that was vndermyned,) and the Towne being releued with fiftie
 hundred shot, euery one carrying ten pounds of powder, entring by meanes of a Ge-
 neral alarm, giuen by the Duke of *Guise*, with two hundred horse, and all the trumpets
 he could recouer, they dislodged in the night, about the middelt of September, conti- D
 nuing their burning as they had begun.

France (by the grace of God) is now free from enemies. But nothing is now perfect-
 ly happie. There are crosse newes which trouble the Court. The *English* Ambassadors
 that were neere the King, ill affected to his Maiestie, and without doubt, no faithfull
 seruants to their master, giue him intelligence. That the Emperour seeing, that hee
 could neither by spoyle, or any other meanes, prouoke the King to battaile, made
 shew of a retreat, to draw him to pursue him, and so to fight, or else retyre to take a
 greater leape, and to invade *Prouence* suddenly, when as the *French* forces should bee
 farthest off: That the Emperour himselfe (the better to colour his departure) gaue
 out, that famine and mortalitie had diminished his forces of one third part, and the E
 rest had runne the like danger, if he did not retired. yet notwithstanding he had no such
 want of victuals, as was supposed, and since his comming out of *Italie*, had not lost
 about two thousand men. That since the taking of *Monticau*, and *Boisy*, no man
 durst giue any alarme to the Emperours Campe, nor yet follow it at their dis-
 lodging.

These impostures, and false impressions had wrought such effects with the King
 of *England*, as *Pomeray* being sent from the King, to three ends: To satisfie him of the
 truth, touching the enterprise of *Prouence*: To procure his liking of the marriage of
Magdaleine a daughter of *France*, with the King of *Scots*, and to learne the King of *Eng-*
lands intention, vpon the motion before made, touching the marriage of the Duke F
 of *Orleans* with *Marie of England* daughter to the said King: hee had much ado
 to alter him any thing from the opinion hee had conceived. But the marriage of
Scotland did so incenle the King of *England*, as hauing layed open vnto *Pomeray*
 his

A his griefes and the caules of his discontent vpon this article, hee sent him backe 1536.
 without any conclusion, being loath to haue his neighbour so highly allyed. There The cause of
 comes an other matter of greater importance: the Country of *Tarentaise* in *Sauoy* had warre be-
 lately shaken off the *French* yoke. To reduce it to his obedience, the King sent the twice England
 the Earle of *Saint Paul*, Duke of *Esclouteville* by his wife, with *French* troupes of and France.
 horse and foote, and the Earle of *Furstemberg* with his companie of *Lansquenets*, to
 whome, for the purging of their offence the Country was abandoned to the
 spoile, with the Towne of *Conflans*. Being thus punished, they afterwards perfor-
 med the dutie of subiects, and the Duke returned into *France* with much honour and
 glory.

B Let vs now discharge our promise, and conclude the yeare with the exploits of the
 assembly made at *Mirandole* by the *Italian* Captaines, pensioners to the King. Their
 first dessein was vpon *Genes*: and to this effect they came speedily and closely, hoping
 either by surprise, or by the partisans of *Casur Fregose*, to become masters of the
 Towne: but a *Luquois* of the troupes of *Cont Guy*, stealing away in the night, had dis-
 couered the enterprise to the Citizens. So the Earle retyring his campe halfe a
 League from *Genes*, betwixt two mountaynes, hee suddenly caused many lad-
 ders to bee made, which prouing too short, made the successe fruitlesse. These Cap-
 taines had no Cannon to make any batterrie: moreover *Turin* being beseege, requi-
 red their prefence.

C They therefore turne head. The Imperials aduertised of the Earles approach,
 abandon the siege, and leaue the field at the deuotion of this newe army. The Lord
 of *Annebault*, seeing the Campe dislodged, fallies out after them, and in passing
 takes the Tower vpon the bridge of *Pau* by composition (the taking whereof the
 Emperour had so highly commended) and the Lord of *Burie* tooke *Groillan*: the
 come and wine that was found there, serued to refresh *Turin*. The Towne of
Quirs was taxed by the Imperials at five and twentie thousand Crownes: but
 whilst the soldiars were busie to force the Inhabitants to pay this summe, *Annebault*
 sent certaine Captaines, who surprised the Towne from foure hundred soldiars,
 which kept it in the Emperours name.

D *Montcallier* sent presently to offer obedience: and the Castell of *Carignan* yeel-
 ding, did furnish *Turin* with about three thousand sackes of meale, packt vp readie
 to send to the Campe. *Salusses*, *Queras* and many other places of the Marquisate
 and of *Piedmont* did homage vnto the victors. The King sent to refresh *Annebault*
 and his troupes, both with horse and foote: hee drew them out of *Turin*,
 sending two thousand *French* foote vnder the Command of Captaine *René*, and *la*
Godiniere: and two thousand others, vnder the *Cheualier Birague*: and for gouernour
 he sent *Burie*, to whome he gaue the company of men at armes, which *Francis* of *Sal-*
usses being reuolted, did command.

E But behold an act as remarkable, as it is rare, proceeding from a singular affection:
 and what will not a braue Knight do for his mistres? Vpon the first newes of the
 Emperours descent into *Prouence*, the King of *Scotland* did arme sixteene thousand
 men, to come and succour the King, without his request or priuie, (saies the Ori-
 ginal) and nothing stayed him from comming in time vpon the generall hope of a
 battaile, but a contrary winde, which had put him backe twife. The King had as-
 sured him selfe of his newe conquests, and hauing giuen order to the frontiers of his
 realme, returned into *France*.

The King of *Scotland* came to meete him at *la Chapelle*, betwixt *Tarare* and
Saint Saphorin in *Lionois*: and there he demanded one of his daughters in marriage.
 The ancient alliance of the realme of *France* and *Scotland*, was considerable. The
 Father of this King had bene slaine in battaile against the *English*, for the partie of
 King *Lewis* the twelfth, and should his kind affection bee denied? So the marriage
 betwixt him, and *Magdaleine* of *France*, was concluded in *Blois*, and solemnized the
 first day of the yeare following.

Vnto the King
 succors from
 Scotland.

Great

1536. Great prosperities are oftentimes accompanied with toine croiles, else the many of our senses, would easily transport vs; and we would attribute that to our owne valour, which belongs to the great Judge, and moderator of battells: behold pittu- fruits, in the gouernement of the Lord of *Bury* at *Turin*. Oiten times hee is taken, that thinks to take. The Emperour had adiudged *Monferrat* to the Marquis of *Montenapoli*, against the Duke of *Sauoy*, and *Francis* of *Saluffes* who pretended it. and those of *Casal*, would not accept of him. *Bury* during these garboiles, praistefeth *Damian* Captaine in the garrison at *Casal*, for the Emperour. *Damian*, promifeth to deuote him a gate. *Bury* leads thither *Christopher Gouast*, with twelue hundred *Italians*, whereof he was Colloanel, and some number of horfe, vnder the Lord of *Tais*: and at the first becomes maister of the towne.

Bury, taken
prisoner.

But the matrocks, shouels, and other instruments for Pyoners, which *William* Earle of *Biendras* should haue prouided with the money hee had receiued to that ende, to make a trench sodainly betwixt the Towne and the Castle, whilst that *Cont Guy* should come to succour them, with the artillery to batter the Castle, were yet to buy. Whilst they seeke for others, to make trenches, the Marquis of *Gouast* had leysure to assemble his forces within *Ast*, and to enter into the Castle, by the field-gate, and so into the towne. Twelue hundred men were not able to withstand the force of this vnexpected storme. He mainteins the shock, and enters fight: but in the end, being forced by the enemy, he is taken prisoner. *Tais*, *Gouast*, and all the rest were slaine, or taken, *Biendras*, *Damian* and other marchants saue themselves. We finde the fault when it is done. It is good to obserue it, to make vs wise. He should haue imparted this enterprise to *Cont Guy*, who should haue drawne his armie neere vnto *Ast*. The Marquis fealing to loose the one, and not to saue the other, had coneyned himselfe within his walls. *Guy Guiffroy* Lord of *Boutieres* was appointed gouernor by the King in *Bury* place.

Pursute a-
gainst the Em-
perour in
sultice.

The snow, yce, and slipperines of the winter, stayed the courses of the garrisons, in *Picardy*. And whilst the season kept them from doing any memorable exploits, the King laying open in his Court of Parliament at *Paris* (in the presence of the Peeres of *France*, and Princes of the bloud, forty and thirty Bishops, many officers of the Crowne, and other great personages of all Estates) the lawfull armes of a Lord against his val- fall that hath committed a trespass: he sent to summon the Emperour, vpon the tilters by a Herald, to come and plead what he should thinke good, against the demands of his maiesties Aduocate and Proffor generall. concluding, that in regard of the rebellions & treacheries of the said Emperour against the King, his naturall Prince, and Soueraigne Lord, by reason of the Eddedomes of *Flanders*, *Arthois*, *Charolois*, and other places, holding of the crowne of *France*, they should be adiudged confiscate and vnto the Crowne. And no man appearing for the Emperour, the demand of the Kings Council was registred according to the forme & tenure vsual in those cases.

For the execution of this sentence, the Lords of *Annebault*, *Tais*, *Termes*, *Ausson*, *Frenchmen*: *More* of *Nouate*, *Francis* *Bernardin* of *Vimercat*, *Italians*: *George* *Capasse- ment*, and *Theode* *Manes*, *Albanois*, cyther of them commanding two hundred light horse, *de Ries* Seneschall, and Gouernour of *Boullen*, and *De Crequi*, Gouernor of *Monfruel*, Captaines of fifty men at armes: hauing victualled *Therouenne* in viewe of the Earle of *Reux*, who issued forth of *S. Omer* with six hundred horse to preuent this Stragem, the King parting from *Amiens*, (whereas *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme*, then died, much lamented of the King and Realme, a braue Prince, and well deseruing of this Crowne, for his many & notable seruices) the king in the end of March, sends *William* Earle of *Furjslemberg* to field with eight thousand *Lansjueuers*, the Lords of *Seru* and *Auchi* who were slaine at the first approches at *Hedin* *Heilly*, *S. Seual*, *Picards*, *Baque- uille*, *la Salle*, & *S. Albin*. *Normands*, *Quincy* a *Champanois*, *Harancourt* a *Lorraine*, either of them leading a thousand men: and many other bandes of *Germaines* and *French*, amounting all to fife and twenty thousand men, whereof *Montmorency* (Lord Steward) was Lieutenant generall for his maiesty.

Hedin

A *Haris* of conuencence to the King, for the preferuation of his other places in *Picardy* and being in his power did wonderfully annoy the enemy. The towne abandoned by the garrison, they rayre into the Castell, the which was taken without resistance, but the Earle of *Reux* had well furnished the Castell for the defence of a place of importance. Captaine *Samson* an old Knight of *Namurs*, a great soldiar commanded there with fiftene hundred men, vnder the ensieignes of *Boutiers* and *Vandeuille*. They make their approches, & many Captaines perswaded that the thicknes of the wall, maintainted with a great rampar, would neuer admit any breach: they come to vndermine. The Prince of *Stephe*, the Lords of *Barbejeux*, *Burje* *Villiers* *Cornilles* vndertake the worke, and cast downe halfe a Tower passing from the Towne to the Castell, but that part which layned to the Castell standing firme, the place was not much weakened. The King then resolves to attempt it by batterie, and hee himselfe shewes the place, where to plant the Cannon. At the approches *Lafaches* and *Pont-briant*, well experienced Comissaries of the artillery, with many Canoniers and others loose their liues. The Cannon planted vpon the brink of the trench plaies two daies together, and the third they make a breach of thirtie fadomes. The Kings presence, being the rewarder of vertue, sets many yong gentlemen on fire, being desirous of reputation, and before that order be giuen for the assault, carries them to the toppe of the breach. But they find the like valour in receiuing them: some arsaue vpon the place, others retorne fort wounded. *Charles* of *Beaulieu* among others, Earle of *Sancerre*, a yong Noble man, who followed the steps of his Ancestors vertue, *Aubigny* Lieutenant to *Seren*: and *Damiete* ensieigne banner of the flyd Company, testified by their deaths the hope of their youth, if the chance of armes had lent them a longer life. *Harancourt* a *Lorraine* and his brother his Lieutenant, sons to the Lord of *Paroy* Lieutenant to the Duke of *Calise*, in the gouernement of *Champagne* and of his companie of men at armes, *Fleueres*, sonne to *Mardieque* and many others returned backe lame. Yet this attempt amazed the besieged, and helpt the generall. For when as they see the order the King had giuen to assault them in the morning, a great number of men at armes on foote, with fife or six hundred light horsemen, all therest on horse-backe, the whole army readie to be put in bataille if the enemy approached, some appoynted to march first, others to second them, and some to receiue them that went to the assault, the resolution and courage of the night past made them enter into composition, whereby they departed with their baggage, leauing the artillery, munition & victuals. The King committed it to the gard of *Seru*, giuing him a company of fifty men at armes and a thousand foote.

The Castell
of *Hedin* taken.

Saint Paul neere vnto *Hedin* might much annoy him, and reduced to the Kings obedience, crosse the garrisons of *Betune*, *Arras*, *Lillers*, and other places thereabouts. *Annebault* did this exploit, and *Antonie* of *Casell* an *Italian* Ingeniour vnderooke the fortification of the Towne and Castell. *Lillers* abandoned, by *Lienin* Captaine of the Towne, was by the Lord Steward and Duke of *Guise* visiting the Country, added to the former Conquests, and left vnder the commande of *Martin du Bellay* Captaine of two hundred light horse, ioyning vnto him *la Lande* with a thousand foote, to keepe them of *Saint Venant*, and *Maruille*, from annoying the forragers & victuallers of the French Army.

Saint Paul
and *Lillers*
taken.

The *Bourguignons* had fortified an Island, at *Saint Venant* vpon the riuer of *Lis*. The Lord Steward vndertakes to force it, and takes with him the Earle of *Furjslemberg*, with eight thousand *French* and *Germaines*. At the first the besieged repulse the *Lansjueuers*, kill some, and wound many. And now the day began to faile, when as *Charles* *Marcel* Lord of *Baqueuille*, & *la Lande* discovering one part of the trench worse manned then the rest, they crosse it with their *Normands* and *Picards*, and come to handie bowes, they loose some men, and kill many of the enemies, force the trench, the rampar and the bastion, they compell them to abandon and leaue their defence, and make way for the rest of their companies and troupes to enter, who chasing the enemies, make a great slaughter of men, to reuenge the death of their companions.

1537. companions. They presently set vpon the second fort, the bridge whereof was creit A with great long peeces of wood, ioyned one to another, and betwixt, manned with good shott, defended with a mill of stone well perced, and furnished with harguebules of Crocke, and other shor. But nothing is difficult to a resolute mind, and the first flying to the second fort, strooke terror into them: they force them, and put them all to the sword: The number of the dead, was esteemed twelue or fifteene hundred on both sides, the place spoyled, the bootie carried away, and the houses burnt.

There passed no day without an enterprize of one side or other, courses, and recourses, prizes, and reprises: of men, victuals, and places ill garded, or not gardable. The King seeing the Emperour had no armie readie, able to crosse his new conquest, content for that yeare to haue taken *Hedin*, and fortified *Saint Paul*, he caused *Liliers* to bee burnt, (referring the Abby of Nunnes, and the Churches) and the walls to bee beate B downe, that the enemy lodging there, should not annoy *Therouenne*, and *Saint Paul*. he gaue the gouernment of *S. Paul* to *Iohn d'Esouteuille* Lord of *Villebon*, *Prouost* of *Paris*, with his copany of men at armes: that of *Moyencourt* named *de Hangeft*, to *Martin du Bellay*, with his two hundred light horse, and two thousand foot, commanded by the Captaines *la Sale* and *Saint Aubin Normans*, *Blerencourt* and *Yuille Picards*, euery one five hundred, and in the Castle a thousand men, vnder the charge of *René de Pallestiere*. He left the Earle of *Furstemberg* in garrison at *Dourlans*, with his *Lansquenets*, and a hundred men at armes, vnder the guidons of the Lords of *Esfree* and *la Roche du Maine*. But these bands were so ill complect, as they made not halfe their numbers, C then hauing in like sort, prouided for other places, hee brake vp his campe, and dismissed his troupes, to giue order for the affaires of *Piedmont*, where the enemy grew strong.

The King thus disarming, the Earle of *Bures* armes fower and twentie thousand *Lansquenets*, six thousand *Walons*, and eight thousand horse, and resolues to charge the *Lansquenets*, lodged neere to *Dourlans*, to make the siege of *Saint Paul* more easie, which he ment to attempt. By the surprize of some letters, he learned that the fortifications of the place required yet 20. dayes time, to make it able to repulse the enemy. He changeth his opinion, and turning head to *Saint Paul*, makes his approaches the tenth of Iune, notwithstanding the many sallies, and skirmishes of the beleegged: hee reco- D uers (by meanes of a great hollow way, which the sodaine arriuall of the Imperials would not suffer them to make euen) the point of a great Bulwarke vpon the way to *Mouchy*. they vndermine day & night, shoot sixteene or eightene hundred canon shot, make a breach of three or foure paces, and by the furie of seuen or eight peeces of at- tillerie, force *Martin de Bellay*, *Blerencourt* and *Yuille* to abandon the breach which lookes towards *Dourlans*, their cheefe, and almost only defence: hee giues an assault with five or sixe hundred men, onely to vew the breach: and by the thunder of their Canons, which battered all along the breach, and into the Towne, they kill, or at the least hurt, about a third part of the defendants: those which were set to defend the breach, being forced to lie flat vpon their bellies. They discouer the breach, draw E seuen or eight ensignes more into the ditch, which diuided the great bastion from the Towne, (they had had no leysure but to make two Courtins of pipes full of earth, to defend the way, which went from the bottome of the Trench into the Towne: they set fire to the props which supported the point of the Bastion that was vndermined: it sinks downe, and presently ouerthrows all them that defended this point, into their trenches: they giue the assault by that place, and are valiantly receiued by *la Sale*, and *Saint Aubin*. But during the assault, those which the enemy thrust into the trench, winne the curtine made of Pipes, force five and twentie, or thirtie shot that kept it, and enter the Towne pell mell with them: come behind them, (who performing as much, as valour and nature could doe, that defended the bastion, and cut in peeces all they encounter. F

Those which defended the breach, ignorant what passed on the other side, had alreadie endured a furious assault, when as behold, those which were entred by the port of the great bastion, come and charge them behind, and the greatest number surmount- ing

Atting the lesse, at the first charge they kill *Moyencourt*, and his brother *d'Yue*, they mas- taken in the furie of the fight, leauen score of the company of *Du Bellay*, and the most part of that of *Villebon*: *Villebon* and *Yuille* weretaken prisoners by *Tonnoire a Spanish* Captaine, *Du Bellay* and *Blerencourt* were saued by *Pose*, a *Germaine* Captaine. *La Pal- liere* forced in the Castell by the bulwarke which was not yet in defence, remayned prisoner: but the contention of some (euerie one maintayning that hee had giuen his faith vnto him) was the cause of his death. Finally sparing neyther men nor child: en, wifes nor maides, religious nor Nunnes, about foure thousand five hundred persons, they the pittifull chance of a horrible and cruell victorie, wherevnto they are commonly subiect, who against the Lawes of armes vndertake the defence of a place not defensible, or that is not readie to withstand the violent attempts of a mightie armie.

Saint Paul being burnt, the Castell and all the defences razed to the ground, the Imperials come before *Montreuil*. *Montreuil* was ill furnished: *Canaples* gouernout of the Towne, entred but three or foure dayes before, with a thousand foote and some two hundred horse of the bands of *Normandie*: but the Towne not being retrenched, it required at the least sixe thousand foote, and three hundred men at armes. So the Earle of *Bures* placeth a part of his Campe at the port of *Hedin*, one part at the Celestines, vpon the way of *Therouenne*, and a part at the gate of the great market towards *Abbeville*: hee plants his artillery in three places. makes a breach a- long a great courtin from the gate towards *Hedin* to the port of the great market, and then prepares for the assault. The breach was reasonable, but the trenches full of water made the access difficult. On the other side, the defendants were troubled with many disadvantages. Two batteries of the enemies kept them from comming to the breach: and being at their defence, they lay open vpon both the flanks, and had no meanes to couer themselves. besides their number was not sufficient to keepe the one halfe of the base Towne, so as the enemy comming to the assault, had the rest of the Towne at his discretion, the which is of a great circuit.

These considerations made *Canaples* demand Composition, and the Earle intending the conquest of *Therouenne*, to preuent the next victualing, which he did foresee, D he graunts the men of war to depart, in armes with bagge and baggage, and to the Inhabitants to carrie what goods they could about them. This done, the want of men, and powder, which he knowes to be in *Therouenne*, inuities him to this enterprize. *Francis of Montmorency* Lord of *Rochepot*, then Lieutenant generall for the King in *Picardie*, knowing the importance of *Therouenne* and the enemies desseine, besides three score men at armes, a hundred foote and some hundred dead paies which kept it, hee sent the Lord of *Cany*, Lieutenant to the Companie of the yong Duke of *Vendosme* (whom we shall see King of *Nauarre*, and father to our most Christian King nowe reigning) *Foudras*, Lieutenant to *Cany*, the sonne of *Dampierre* guidon to the *Daulphin*, leading foure score men at armes, and *Saint Brise* foure hundred foote. He comes before it, E makes his approaches, plants his Cannon in batterie, forceth our men to abandon the Castell, which had but two towers (the *English* *Talbot*, hauing taken the Towne in the year 1513. had razed the Castell) and makes a breach in the Towne wall, about two hundred paces long, but hardly to be forced: our *Frenchmen* retyring, had made a trench behinde them, and made the rampar in such fort, as the enemy winning, it should fall into a trench well flanked.

When as the Imperial army began to march, against *Saint Paul*, the King sought to redresse his army, hoping (according to the promises of the fortificators) it would hold out vntill that succors should come. Nowe the *Daulphin* accompanied with *Montmorency* Lord Steward, Commander of the army vnder the *Daulphin*, giues the rendezvous towards *Abbeville*, to the Earle of *Furstemberg*, and to *Nicholas of Ruffis*, newly arriued with foure thousand lowe *Germaines*, warlike, men and in good order. Whilest the *Daulphin* attends the rest of his troupes, the beleegged giue him notice that they had great neede of shot and powder, for the furnishing whereof, they choose

XXX

Annebaile

Saint Paul be-
leegged by the
Imperials.

Therouenne
beleegged.

1537. *Annebault*, generall of the light horse. With this desſeine, *Annebault* followed with an hundred men at armes, and ſixteene hundred light horse, made choiſe of ſix hundred harguebuziers, vnder the charge of *Bierdras*, euery one carrying a ſacke of lether bound about him, full of powder: many voluntary gentlemen deſirous of honour, (a braue ambition if we could temper the heat of youth) augment this troupe, reſolute to bee either taken, or defeated, rather then to faile of their enterpriſe.

Therouenne
vntoaled.

The Imperials hauing intelligence of this deſſeine, go to horse, to prevent the execution: And the *French* light horsemen, prickt forward by these yong Nebienens, desirous to trie their valour, giue them an alarm. Mischaunce is good for something. It was night, and the darknes hindring the enemies forward from showing their battaile, which came from an other side, to ioyne with them, they charge, and kill one another, whilst that our shot enter into *Therouenne*, without discouerie: being entered, they make a ſigne, whereby *Annebault* should make his retreat, and might haue done it without danger. Notwithstanding, aduertised that his light horse were in skirmish, he fought to retyre them. The enemy prevents him, and cuts off his way at the passage of a bridge.

Annebault de-
fected.

The Imperi-
als charged
and
beaten.

A truce for
three months.

Diuiſion a-
mong the
Italian com-
maunders.

Here begins the combat, and so violent, as the greatest checke falls vpon the Imperials. But in the end, all the horsemen arriue. *Annebault* is ouerthrowne, taken prisoner, and reere vnto him the Earle of *Villars*, the Lords of *Piennes*, *d'O*, and *Sansac*, Captaine *George Capussement*, *Francis Bernardin*, and almost all, but some which had before passed the bridge. Those (amongst the which was *Auffun*) retyre to *Hedin*, change their horses, post to the place of combat: find the Imperials in disorder, dreeming no more of any enemy: they charge them, defeat them, take a great number, and recouer many of their companies that were prisoners: and so cut off a great part of the glory, which they did challenge for such a victory. In the meane time, the *Daulphin*, and the Lord Steward, had gathered together about sixteene hundred men at armes, two thousand light horse, tenne thousand *Germanes*, and twelue thousand *French*, with the which they pretended to succour the beleegged, or to force the Imperials to fight with disadvantage: when as the treatie, which *Mary* Queene of *Hongarie*, sister to the Emperour, had made by the meanes of the Duke of *Asay*, for the procuring of a peace, or truce, caused a suspension of armes, for three monethes, betwixt the King, and the Emperours countries of the *Netherlanders*, vntill that matters being pacified, there might be a general peace concluded betwixt these two great Princes, and their allies. Let this truce now carrie vs beyond the *Alpes*, to see the estate of the forces in *Italie*.

The ordinary jealousies, diuisions, and partialities of Captaines, which thinke themselves equall in authoritie, and reputation, & of like vse for seruice, is commonly of dangerous consequence. The composition which *Caguin* of *Conſigne* made with the Imperials at *Carignan*, without the prauitie of *Guy* Earle of *Rangon*, Lieutenant generall for the King, on that side the *Alps*, had discontented the Earle, and on the other side, *Caguin* complained, that they had cassied some of his footmen, & in case *Cont Guy* should die, or leaue the place, the King had substituted *Cesar Fregeſe* his brother in law, without any respect of the ancient seruice of his house, and his breeding in the Kings seruice, from whom he had not fallen, as the Earle had done: although he had bene sought vnto, with many profitable conditions. These quarrels did so increase, that after many complaints, and reproches vpon the point of honour, *Guy* and *Cesar* banded ioyntly against *Caguin*, framed a challenge vpon some writings published to the disgrace of the said *Cesar*, vnder the name of *Aretin*, whereof they held *Caguin* to be the chief author. *William* of *Bellay* Lord of *Langey*, sent by the King to heare the griefs of either partie, hauing giuen *Cont Guy*, and *Cesar Fregeſe*, to vnderstand what preiudice their quarrell with *Caguin*, would be vnto his Maieſties seruice, and that by the articles of the Kings order, the Knights may not without the leaue of their superiour (which is the King) send nor accept of any challenge one against an other, *Caguin* offered not to wrong the Kings seruice, and to deferre the combat, vntill the seruice were ended, so as after the answer hee had made vnto the

the challenge, *Cesar* had not written or sayd any thing that should come vnto his knowledge, wherevnto he should be bound in honour to answer: and vnder colour to go to the bathe for his health, he obtrayned a passport to retire himselfe to his house, with promise that if it pleased the King to giue him an honorable charge, hee would returne with a troupe fit to do him seruice: And that howsoeuer, hee would neuer weare a read croſſe.

During these contentions the Imperiall army fortified daylie, and the Kings decreed, so as the Lord of *Humieres* sent by the King, for the affaires of *Piedmont*, could not be master of the field, without a bodie of foure or ſixe thousand Lanſquenets or *Suisse*, and some supply of men at armes. To this end the King causeth his light horsemen to march into *Piedmont*, after the conquests of *Hedin* and *Saint Paul*, and sent to *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who brought ten thousand Lanſquenets to passe the *Alpes*, and to ioyne with *Humieres*. But vpon the coming of the Imperials before *Saint Paul*, the King being forced (as wee haue seene) to countermand his light horse, he sent the Baron of *Curton*, *la Fayette*, *Brissac* and others, leading three or foure hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horse, *Laſigny* and *Allegre*, either of them commanding a thousand foote.

The Marquis of *Guaſt*, had at that time deliuered into the Marquis *Francis* hands, all the Marquisate of *Saluſſes*, except the Castells of *Verculo* & *Carmagnole*. Two hundred *Italians* held it for *Cont Guy*: the Marquis of *Guaſt* doth summon it, & vpon their refusal approach the artillery. *Francis* Marquis of *Saluſſes* (knowing the place) brings two Cannons on the right hand, going from the Towne to the Castell, breakes two houses to couer himselfe, in steed of gabions: himselfe plaies the gunner, & shoots two volles. A ſoldiar of the Castell discouers him (but knowes him not) and shoots him through the body starked dead with a musket. The Marquis of *Guaſt*, causeth him to be couered with a cloake, and then againe sends to summon the beleegged, promising them an honorable composition: they depart with bagge and baggage, and the Marquis seeing them passe, commended their good endeouours. But when hee came to demand what he was that had shot so well from one of the windowes ouer the port, the ſoldiar both ignorant of the Marquis intention, and of the effect of his shot, presents himselfe vnto the Marquis, who against the Capitulation caused him to be hanged at the same window. The King hauing afterwards reduced the Marquisate to his obedience, did inueſt *Gabriell* Bishop of *Aire* in *Gasconie*, who married the daughter of the Admirall of *Annebault*, and dying without heires left the sayd Marquisate to the Crowne. The coming of *Humieres* and the Lanſquenets had shut the Marquis of *Guaſt* with his troupes into *Aſt* and *Vercueil*, who by his retreat left *Pignerol*, *Chiuas*, *Montallier* and other places abandoned to these newe Conquerors. But at the first, want of the chiefe ſinewes of warre, makes the *Italian* bands to mutine, whereby our men loose ten or twelue dayes, during the which the Marquis had leſſe to hasten his Lanſquenets, leuiued by the elder brother of *William* Duke of *Furſtemburg*.

Humieres had no ſooner pacified the *Italians*, with a portion of their pay, but hee frames an enterpriſe vpon *Aſt*, where the Marquis had left his brother in lawe *Don Antonie* of *Arragon* Lieutenant for the Emperour, with two thousand foote and two hundred horse. The Lanſquenets require the charge to make the approaches, and take it from *Iohn Paul de Cere*, who had a meaning to discharge it well. About midnight *Humieres* comes speedily to see their lodging, and finds nothing done. Some exclaiming first would haue made their cause good. Others storme (their pay being nowe out) and protest, that if it bee not satisfied, they will wrappe vp their enſignes, and found a retreat. They had reason: it is an ordinary course, when as the chiefe for-
F of an army consists in a mercenary nation. *Humieres* searcheth all the purses in the campe, makes for euery Companie ſixe hundred Crownes, and with this boane did somewhat ſatiſſie their greedineſſe. But in the meane time the beleegged, giuing the alarme to the Campe, they bring in ſeauen companies of
Xxx 2 foote

1537

Francis Mar-
quis of *Saluſſes*
illaine.

A frontleſſe
attempt vpon
Aſt.

1534. foote, and three hundred horse to their succors. Thus the small likely hood to force the Towne, and lesse to famish it, seeing that for want of pay the strangers were no men of resolution, *Humieres* leaues the Towne of *Ast*, to surprize that of *Alba*. About eight hundred *Spaniards*, were parted from *Alexandria* to enter into it. *Iohn Paul de Cere*, meetes them, chargeth and defeats them, so as at the arrivall of the *French*, the Citizens of *Alba* vnfurnished of soldiars, yelding to the yoeke of obedience, gave occasion to them of *Quiers* to follow their example.

Alba and Quiers taken.

A dangerous attempt against Turin.

The Imperialls repulse at Turin.

This absence of the army made *Cesar* of *Naples*, gouernour of *Vulpien*, a man aduice and *Vigilant*, but vnfortunate in his enterprises, to attempt *Turin*. *Turin* had in it but two companies of foote vnder *de Wartis* and *d'Angart*, weake forces for a place of such importance, yet the Inhabitants were well affected to this Crowne. *Cesar* in-bornes a Corporal, a Gasco, to deliuer him the next day of his gard, a bulwake of the Towne right against our Ladies Church. Such base people should neuer knowe the day nor houre of their watch). The night being come, he brings ten ensignes of foote and some three hundred horse: the soldiars giues him notice by a signe, of the most convenient place to plant his ladders, he settes them vp, & before the alarme was in the Towne, he puts fise ensignes into the bulwake: two or three base soldiars whom the traytor had of purpose drawne in with him, faued themselves by flight. *Boutieres* gouernour of *Turin* hearing the alarme, goes into the streete, followed onely with the *Suisses* of his gard, and some gentlemen: hee finds the Townsmen armed, and resolute to do their duties, he marcheth directly into the bastion with no armes but a halberd, C shuts the gate by which they came from the sayd bastion into the Towne, (the darkness of night had hindred the enemy from seeing it open, the which preserved the Towne, for whilest that *Cesar* made fit his ladders to enter into the Towne, the alarme grew hot) *Wartis* arriues with two hundred shot, and forceth the enemy to abandon the bulwake, hauing lost seauen or eightscore men, at whose departure the soldiars payed for his offence with his life.

This attempt, the bad inclýnation of the forren forces, the quarrels betwixt *Cesar* *Fregese*, who led the forward, and *Iohn Paul de Cere*, Colonnell of the Italian foote: the controuerfies of *Brissac* with *Anniball* of *Gonsague*, Earle *Laniulolare*: six thousand *Spaniards* and twelue hundred horse, being entred into *Montcallier* and threatenng *Turin* D but weakly furnished with men: made *Humieres* to leaue *Julio Frsini* in *Alba*, with a thousand foote vnder his charge, and a thousand more vnder *Artigue-Dieu* and *Peter Strossy*: in *Quieras*, *Cesar* *Fregese* with the like number of men, such as he would chiole, & with the rest of the army, turnes head towards the enemy, to surprize him at *Montcallier*. The Marquis of *Guaft* aduertised of this descience, puts the rest of his troupe in to the sayd place. This enterprise prouing fruitlesse, and *Humieres* not able any longer to hold his strangers without pay, he sent *Francis* Earle of *Pontreme* with sufficient forces, to make good *Pignerol* against the Marquis, who threatned to surprize it, to take it of the *French* all meanes of retreat & succours in keeping the passage of *Suze*. Then hee supplied *Turin* with two thousand *French* foote, commanded by *Allegre* and *Lafigny*: E *Quiers* with a thousand men of the bands of *Aramont*, besides eight hundred which the Knight *Affall* gouernour of the place had: *Sauilian*, with a thousand *Italians* vnder the command of *Iohn* of *Turin*, leading the *Lansquenets* and the rest of the troupe in to the Marquitate of *Saluffes*, to attend newes and money from the King for their pay, for want whereof this army serued to small vse.

The Marquis of *Guaft* seeing *Humieres* retired into *Pignerol*, whether the violence of the *Lansquenets* had driuen him, there to attend their pay, he sent thirteene ensignes of foote, to *Siria* a small Towne vpon the mountaine, to keepe the valley of *Suze* in subiection, and by the taking of the Castells of *Riuole* and *Villane*, to take from them of *Turin* all meanes to heare newes out of *France*. So the way by the valley of *Suze* being cut off, and that of *Pignerol* by the meanes of *Montcallier*, *Carignan*, and *Carmagnole* F which the enemy enioyed: *Humieres* being ill obeyed by the *Lansquenets* (whome they forced to pay vpon their olde rowle, although their number of ten thousand were

1537. A were halfe decreased) and those of *Turin* prest with want of victuals, and money, which they could not endure after *Saint Andrews* day, the King was in danger to loose all *Piedmont*. *Piedmont* in danger to be lost, for want of money.

The Marquis hauing taken the Towne of *Quiers*, by assault, with *Albe* and *Quieras* by composition, was become master of the field, and held *Pignerol*, a great and vast Towne, so straightly begirt, as no victuals might enter, when as the King by a supply of fise and twentie thousand Crownes, which he sent to *Boutieres*, made an entrie for the Countymen to bring victuals to *Turin*, which before was shut vp, for want of payment for their wares: then he caused the the bands of the Earle of *Furslemberg*, and of *Nicholas de Rustis* to march to *Lions*, vnder the commaund of the *Daulphin* his son and of the Lord Steward, with ten thousand *French* foot, commaunded by *Mont-ican*, followed by fourteene hundred men at armes, and light horse, attending a leuie of fourteene, or fifteene thousand *Suisses*, which the Earle of *Tende* made for his Maiesties seruice: resolute to march after him'selfe in person. And not to leaue his realme vnfurnished, he left the gouernment of *Paris*, and the Lie of *France*, *Picardie*, *Normandie*, and other Countries about, to the Duke of *Orleans* his yonger sonne. hee sent backe the Duke of *Guise*, into *Bourgogne*, and *Champagne*: *Henry* King of *Nauarre* his brother in law, into *Guienne*, and *Languedoc*, and the Lord of *Chasteaubriant*, into *Brittanie*.

The *Daulphin* accompanied with *Anthonie* Duke of *Vendosme*, parts from *Lions* about the tenth of October, gathers together in *Daulphiné* some three thousand *Legionaries*, and the remainders of *Humieres* armie, which were come out of *Albe*, and *Quiers*: he forceth the passage of *Suze* against *Cesar* of *Naples*, who kept it with ten thousand men, chafeth them two miles, wins all their baggage, makes the Marquis to retire all his forces to *Riuole* and *Montcallier*, leauing *Pignerol* at libertie, opens a way by the taking of *Villane* from two hundred *Spaniards* which were cut in peeces, addes to his conquests *Riuole*, abandoned by the Marquis, turnes head to the enemy, incamped on this side the riuier of *Po*, right against *Montcallier*: but hauing the bridge to fauour him; to retire when he pleased, he begins the skirmish, with his light horsemen against theirs, kills many, takes some, and loofeth few, he chafeth all their troups beyond the bridge, who breaks it after them, but with the hazard of their liues, that remayned behind. Those of *Montcallier*, come with a great shew of affection, and repaire it: and then receiue into their Towne all the souldiars which the *Daulphin* had left to guard the riuier, whilest the armie passed at *Carignan*. The Marquis dislodging still, left in *Quiers* *Don Anthonie* of *Arragon* his brother in law, with foure thousand men and him'selfe recovered the Countrie of *Ast*.

Thus our men being at libertie on all sides, become masters of *Poirien*, *Riue de Quiers*, *Villencusue* & *Ast*, *Montafé*, *Antignan*, and of all other forts, vnto the gates of *Ast*, of *Quieras*, *Albe* and *Fossan*, whether they retired all the Corne of the Country, which did serue for the victualing of the Campe, and places of conquest. About thirte thousand sacks of corne, which the Marquis had gathered together, but had not leysure to bring from *Montcallier*, and much other munition found in diuers places, supplied *Turin* for a yeare. During these actions, the King comes accompanied with the Earle of *Saint Paul*, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and many other great personages. And as his Maiestie tooke counsell at *Carignan*, with the *Daulphin*, and the Lord Steward: newes comes vnto him, that the garrison of *Vulpien* kept the valley of *Suze*, and forthat *Riuole* nor *Villane* had any horsemen, to stay their incursions, they did wonderfully annoy those that followed the Campe. Hee presently sent away *Martin du Bellay*, and very happily. They had newly seized vpon six moyles laden with money for the payment of the armie, driuing the moyles, and the treasurers in the midst of them. *Du Bellay* passeth the riuier of *Douaire*, intercepts their way, and ouertakes them three miles from *Vulpien*, he makes them to leaue the moyles, and only with the losse of the Treasurers, which they carried away, brings them safe to *Riuole*.

The King comes into Piedmont.

The conclusion of this Councell was, to beseege *Quiers*, where the King would employ

1537.
Truce betwixt
the two Prin-
ces.

employ the first fruits of his last forces. But the great commander of battailes, meet him a more fauorable issue. The truce of *Picardie* had given libertie to the Queene of *Hongarie*, and likewise to the King, to send some gentlemen into *Spain*, to mediate a peace, or a generall truce: and the deputies had so well performed their charge, as a suspension of armes was concluded on either side, from the eighth and twentieth of Nouember vntill the two and twentieth of February following, whereby every one enioying that whereof hee should bee found seized at the time of the publication, the garrisons of *Turin*, *Verlin*, *Sauillan*, *Montdenis*, and other frontier places, were not slacke to enlarge their limits, as farre as they could, nor to put men in the Kings name into all the small places, and castles there about.

Three dayes after the truce was proclaymed, the Marquis of *Guast*, came to lifte the Kings hand, whome he received very graciously: and the king making the Lord of *Saint Montian* gouernour of *Piedmont*, he left *William of Bellay* his Lieutenant generall in *Turin*: *Francis* Earle of *Pontreme* at *Pignerol*, the Baron of *Castell* per *Sauillan*: *Charles* of *Dros* a *Piedmontois* at *Montdenis* (hee had surprised, and kept the place from the Imperials, when they were the strongest in field) *Lodowike* of *Angue*, at *Verlin*, and *Nicholas* of *Rustici* at *Carmagnole*: he dismissed his *Suisses*, and taking his way to *France*, he sent the Cardinall of *Lorraine* from *Lions*, with *Montmorency* the Lord Steward to *Locate*, where the Emperours deputies should meet, concerning a peace betwixt their Maiesties. The confusions had bin great, & their spleene not easily to bee pacified, which made them to prolong the truce for fixe months more. After all these toyles, and painfull endeuours, the loyall seruice of the most worthy deserued reward, which make the King being at *Molins*, to aduance *Anne* of *Montmorency* to bee Constable of *France*, the place being void by the reuok of the Duke of *Bourbon*: he gaue his place of Marshall to *Montian*: and that of the Marshall *la Marke* deceased, to *Claude* of *Annebaul*. It was now time to suppress the infernall furies, which had so long troubled the quiet of Christendome with such fatall combustions, and that the Pope (doing the office of a common father) should therein employ his authoritie. Hee procured an enteruew of these two great Princes at *Nice*, and himselfe assists, being about threelcore, and fiftene yeares of age, in the beginning of Iune. Their mutuall hatreds had taken too deepe roots in their hearts, and that fatall and bloudie checke, which his brother *Ferdinand* King of *Hongarie* had lately received from the *Turke*, had nothing mollified the Emperour. Time doth pacifie discontents. Ten yeares were sufficient, or neuer, to dispose both the one and the other to a generall peace. The Pope therefore seeing that by the full deciding of their quarrels, he could not confirme a finall peace, he propounded a truce for tenne yeares, the which they concluded betwixt their Countries, and subiects, and thenceuery one returned home. But *Charles* was borne to bee a perpetuall scourge to this realme, and many yeares shall not passe before he put vs in alarum with an vnworthy and base motiue of new confusions.

An enteruew
at Nice.

A truce for
ten yeares.

The Empe-
rours policy.

Let vs now see how he worketh like a foxe, to produce effects for his owne benefit. The *Gantois* being oppressed with many extraordinary tributes, had spoiled the Emperours officers: who growing desperate, and seeking to fortifie themselves against the reuenging wrath of *Charles*: they secretly offer obedience to the King, as to their Soueraine Lord. The King performing the dutie of a good brother, and faithfull friend, giues the Emperour intelligence thereof. The Emperour deuiseeth by some notable examples, to suppress the *Gantois* insolencies. But the passages thither were not very certaine. By *Germanie*, the protestants might somewhat hinder him. By sea, a storme might as well cast him vpon the coast of *England*, as vpon *Flanders*: the diuisions he had with the King of *England*, by reason of the diuorce of Queene *Katherine* his Aunt, would not suffer him to take any assurance from him: *France* was very comodious for him: to this end, he demaunds the Kings word for his safetie, & among other toyes, he promisseth, *In case he giues him an assured passage, to inuest him, or one of his children, in the Duchie of Milan*. But (oh notable policie): he desires not

A not to be profit to signe these promises, *To the end* (saith he) *it may not be spoken, that I haue done them by constraint to obtaine a passage*, and requires the King to take his word for assurance. This was to build a Castle vpon a quick sand.

Notwithstanding the King judgeth another mans heart and intentions by his owne: he grants his brother in lawe such assurance as he demands. Being sick, he parts from *Compigne*, to go to meet with him, sending his two sons to *Bayonne*, to receive him, and to accompany him to the place where the King and his might meete, of which was at *Chastelerand* giues him authoritie to make entrie, and to deliuer prisoners, in many Townes of the realme, as if he had bene in his owne countrie: feasts him in all places, causeth him to be conducted by his sayd children vnto *Valenciennes*, this first place of his owne territories, where hee is moued to confirme that which he had promised before his departure from *Spain*, but it was to no effect. The Emperour defers the matter, vntill he had conferred with his Counsell of the Lowe Countries. It may be hee would haue kept his promise, if hee had found the *Gantois* so desperately affected, as hee must needs haue vsed the ayde of *France*, to force them to obedience. But seeing themselves abandoned by the King, they sought and found mercy, vpon certaine conditions which hee prescribed them. And the Constable, who (relying vpon the word of such a Prince as the Emperour,) had giuen the King assurance, was for this cause in disgrace with his Maiestie, and retyred himselfe from Court to his house: from whence wee shall see him called and restored to his dignities.

Let vs obserue the craft and subtiltie of the *Spaniard*, to bring the King into dislike with his friends and allies. The *Venetians* were ill satisfied of the League they had made with the Emperour against the great *Turkes*: their treasure was wasted, and their estates (after that great and famous victorie in *Hongarie*,) were in danger. They were (for their owne safety) ready to enter into a treatie of peace, or of a long truce with the *Turke*. To breake this, the Emperour sollicites the King to enter into this common League, and the King perswaded thereto, sends (by his instigation) the Marshall of *Annebaul* (Lieutenant generall for his Maiestie in *Piedmont*, by the death of *Montian*, lately deceased,) to go in company with the Marquis of *Guast* to *Venice*, and the Lord of *Gré* to the Pope, as sollemne Ambassadors, and to giue them hope: That the King of *France* ioyning his forces to theirs, all ioynly together, would make an armie both by Sea and land, to extirpate the race of the *Ottomans* out of *Europe*.

The Emperour strooke three stroakes with one stone: he dissuaded the *Venetians* from all accord with the *Turke*. Hee bred a hatred and dislike betwixt the King and the *Turke*. And put the King of *England* in ielousie: who could not well like of this great alliance and fraternitie, which the Emperour did cunningly make shew to haue with the King. So as the *English* was perswaded, that the King had withdrawne his loue, grew strange, and began to assure himselfe of the Emperour. And which is more, all the Kings other confederates, seeing that honourable and respectiue entertainment giuen to the Emperour, and the Ambassadors of both their Maiesties, ioynly sent into *Italie*, they conceived many causes of distrust, blaming the King in leauing them at neede to the Emperours mercie: from whom they could not expect (if hee did vanquish them in warre) any better vsage then that of the *Gantois*.

This yeare *William Bude* Maister of Requests, dyed at *Paris*, a man of singular learning and godlinesse, to whom all men that loue learning are much bound, hauing by his learned and laborious writings, eased them of much paine: whose credit with the King, and the Cardinall *Du Bellays*, caused honest pensions, according to that age, to be giuen to those whom wee call the Kings readers, and professors, a fountain from whence are sprung so many great riuers, that in the end they are spread ouer all *Europe*. The extreame heate, and great drouths, did likewise make this season the more memorabile, by the name which it carries yet, of the yeare of Rashed Vines.

1541. The Emperour hauing by his dissembling disappointed the King of his hopes, it was now needfull to satisfie his friends and Allyes, touching the truth of things past: for (to incense all the Potentates of Christendome against our King) the Emperour had vnder hand giuen them to vnderstand, that the King treated with him of matters to their preiudice.

1541. To this end he sent *Cesar Fregose* to the Senate of *Venice*, and *Anthonie Rinson* a Gentleman of his chamber to the great Turke. The Marquis of *Guaft* hath some notice thereof, and to surpriſe these Ambassadors with their instructions and letters of credit (which notwithstanding were not found about them, the Lord of *Langey*, who could not dissuade them from the passage of *Po*, had so preuailed with them, as they sent their instructions vnto him, to conuey them vnto *Venice* an other way:) hee lets watches vpon all the passages, especially vpon the *Po*, knowing well that *Rinson*, a big fatte man, would rather passe by water then by land) and causeth them to be murdered in their barke, passing at *Cantalone*, three miles aboue the mouth of *Tesin*, putting all the Water-men into the dungeon of the Castle of *Pauia*, as well those which carried the *Spaniards*, that were the murderers, as the *French*: they were Souldiers of the garrison of *Milan*, and of the sayd Castle. An odious and reprochfull act. Some Packets coming from *Venice* to the King, and from the King to *Venice*, were surpris'd, and the carriers wounded by men attired after the Marquises deuise.

But see the notable pollicie of *Langey*, to discover the truth of a fact which the Marquis thought to haue managed so secretly, as it should neuer haue cometo light. Gifts (sayes an ancient) pacifie both Gods and men. *Langey* findes a means, by money, to file aunder the grates of the prison towards the Castle ditch, with secret Files: draws forth the Marriners, winnes some of the faction to the Kings seruice, learns from them the number, the names, and the nation of the murderers, the order, the manner, and the houre of the murder, and all other auailable circumstances, to incounter the dissembling of the Marquis, who making a good shew of a bad cause, seemed to enquire carefully of the crime, by the Captaine of the Iustice at *Milan*. The Emperour was then at the Diet at *Ratisbone*, where he granted an *Interim* to the Protestants, that is to say, vntill a Councell were held to determine all controuersies of religion, every one should peaceably enioy the beleefe and ceremonies whereof he then made profession: and in doing this, the restoring of the Duke of *Sauoy* to all his estates, was granted at the *Germanys* charge.

Soone after, *William of Roquendolfe* Lieutenant generall for *Ferdinand* King of *Hongarie*, was defeated before *Bude*, with the losse of twenty thousand *Germains*. It was a great shame for the Emperour, being neere to so mournfull and fatall a check, if hee should not employ his forces in his brothers fauour. He vndertakes againe the voyage of *Algier* in *Afrique*, with an intent (that if passing through *Italie*, he should finde the Kings affaires disordred, and his forces disperſed) to attempt some thing against him, making accompt that the King would not faile to be reuenged of the violence and wrong done vnto him, in the persons of his Ambassadors. But the good prouision which the King had made in *Prouence*, and in *Piedmont*, by *Langey* his Lieutenant generall, caused him to passe on without attempting any thing. Being at *Luques*, hee had conference with the Pope and the King, sent his Ambassador vnto them, to demand satisfaction for the crime: but he was put off with shifts. The enterprise of *Algier* was vnfürunate, the violence of the windes, the continuall raine, the stormes and haile, with all the iniuries of the ayre, had coniuired against him: breaking some of his shippes, hee was beaten backe with great danger of his person, and losse of his men.

Hetherto the Marquis had as couertly as he could, disguised the matter: but finding now that all men had discovered his deuises, that notwithstanding the death of the Ambassadors, he could not decipher the Kings desseine: that the King demanded as well from the Emperour, as from the Estates of the Empire, satisfaction for this foule fact: Now to make his cause seeme good, hee writes to the Estates which were assembled

1541. assembled againe at *Ratisbone*, for their common defence against the Turke, whereby he maintaines, that he committed no act that might touch him for breach of the truce, and in shew to iustifie himselfe of the crime wherewith he was charged: *There are* (saith he neither denying nor aduowing the fact) *two wayes of iustification, the one ciuill, the other Knightly. I offer to maintaine ciuilly, that there is no breach of truce growne by me, and to deliuer into our holy fathers hands (the protector of the truce,) both my selfe, and all these the King shall thinke culpable of this act, to the end the truth might be knowne: and if any Knight my equall will charge me with any such fact, and proue his saying by armes, I will maintaine that he hath spoken falsely, and as often as he shall charge me with the like, so often shall he speake falsely.* Wee do often shadow a lye with such good words, as it giues it a colour of trueth. But did he thinke by this brauado, to proue his innocencie? the retreat of those murderers to him, bringing them all prisoners that were left aliue within the boates, to the end there should be no meanes to discover this infamous murder: the detention hee made of the Water-men, whom hee afterwards transported into other prisons vnder his command: the penall Edicts hee did publish in places where the fact might be knowne, against them that should be found discourſing of this action: the ill vsage of them that had spoken of it: the fauours, honours, and aduancements, giuen to them that had bene the actors: the depositions of prisoners freed by *Langey*, were not all these sufficient witnessies, to crie vengeance against the Marquis: *Langey* answering to the pretended iustifications of the Marquis, was the Knight to make triall thereof, by the one or the other way. But the Marquis had no such meaning.

Wee haue heard how the King demanded of the Emperour (being in conference with the Pope at *Luques*) satisfaction of the murder, audaciously and against all diuine, naturall, and humane lawes, committed vpon the persons of two of his especial seruants, men of estate, and of reputation by their birthes, hauing by their merites deserved, the one an honourable degree amongst his chiefe Gentlemen: the other an especial place amongst the greatest Noblemen. They would haue satisfied him with friuolous reasons and excuses, perswading him to leaue the abolition of their blood, to the forgetfulness of time, which might haue bene an imputation to his Maiestie, eyther of want of witte and iudgement, or of valour or courage.

Profit vrged the King, honour prickt him forward, and necessitie constrained him, to vsethose meanes which the law of Nations did allow to him which doth acknowledge no other superiour: and three chiefe reasons did vrge him thereto. Vnder this colour of peace, the Emperour had a thousand practises vpon the frontiers of his realme: and the King had no sooner cut off one of this *Hydras* heads, but presently there riseth vp an other or many mo. Moreouer, this truce allowed the trafficke and conference of cythers subiects, by meanes whereof so many treasons were practised. Neyther could hee drawe his subiects from the commerce of the Lowe Countries, belonging to the Emperour, without expresse prohibitions, the which by consequence would argue hostilitie. But that which did most moue a noble and generous spirit: hee had good and certaine intelligence, that the Emperour (seeing warre proclaimed, in case hee did not within a certaine time make satisfaction for the aboue named murders) made his accompt, that vnder colour of zeale to the Common-weale of Christendome, (filling the eares of the whole world with a goodly and great enterprise, against the enemies of the faith): hee would raise great forces, and prouide great preparation, at the cost and charge of his most credulous subiects, lying most open and neere vnto the Turkes inuasion: and coniuire the most Christian King to assist him eyther with men or money.

It then the fumes of an *Affricane* or *Turkish* voyage, had bene proclaimed through the world, before that warre were denounced betwixt these two Princes, those

The Marquis
of *Guaft* iustified
himselfe.

The first reason
that moued the King
to warre.

The second,

The third.

An *Interim*
granted by
the Empe-
rour.

Ferdinand's
armie defeated
by the
Turke.

The Emperour
goes to *Algier*
without suc-
cesse.

1542. those which were not acquainted with the deuises of the one, would haue imputed the stay of so holy an enterprise to the other. Let vs adde, that howsoeuer, he maintaineth men both in *Italie*, and vpon the frontiers of *Languedoc* and *Prouence*, for that both a truce, and warre were of equall charge vnto him.

There were two meanes to beginne the warre: The one profitable and lesse honest. Many thrust him on, some with discontent, others with reuenge, some with couetousnes, some with desire of innouation, or some other priuate passions, offering to seize vpon diuers places for his Maiestie, the conquest whereof, might be a worthie reward for a long and doubtfull warre. The other was more honest, but of lesse profit, iust and not couetous. The Duchie of *Luxembourg*, and the Countie of *Roussillon* were worthy motiues in generall, besides the priuate interest of inuasion, which

The causes of a new warre. the King had against his enemy. The Emperour did possesse them both, without any lawfull title. *Luxembourg*, by the succession of *Charles* and *Philippe* Dukes of *Bourgoigne*, his great grandfather, and his father, who had by force dispossessed the true and lawfull Lords of the said house, who had substituted our *Francis*, by a new grant into their rights and actions, besides the ancient rights, which the Kings of *France* haue euer pretended thereunto: and especially, since the purchase which *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, brother to King *Charles* the sixth made. Besides that the Lords of *la Marke* had of late transported their pretensions vnto him, of the said Duchie. *Roussillon* by the two scrupulous restitution of *Charles* the eighth: being abused, and deceived (saith the origginal) by friar *Oliuer Maillard*, his confessor, a man in shew holy, but in effect an Hypocrite, and corrupted with money by the King of *Arragon*, to sell and deceive his maister. King *Charles* hauing no power to make this alienation, in prejudice of the Crowne, neither the King of *Arragon*, nor his successors, accomplishing the conditions annexed to the Contract, *Charles* now Emperour, was but an usurper, and a violent possessor.

The situation of *Luxembourg* was commodious to receiue the *Germaines* that came vnto the King: but more, by this approach, to fauour the Duke of *Cleues*, whome the Emperour did threaten to make the poorest man in Christendome. So the King sent *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, his yongest sonne, accompanied with six hundred men at armes, six thousand *French*, and tenne thousand *Lansquenets*, and *Claude* Duke of *Guise* commanding the armie vnder him: *Francis* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Anguien*, brother to *Anthony* Duke of *Vendosme*, the Earle of *Aumale*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Guise*, the Lords of *Sedan*, *Jamets*, *Roche du Maine*, *la Guiche* and many others, men of resolution, valour, and experience. And for the enterprise of *Roussillon*, *Henry* his eldest sonne *Dauphin* of *Viennois*, assisted by the Marshall of *Annebault*, for the chief conduct of the warre: and for an assistant in those militarie toyles, the Lord of *Montpensat*, Lieutenant for his Maiestie in *Languedoc*. *Parpignan* is the chiefe Citie of this Countie: the onely barre, and bulwarke of *Spaine* towards the South: the Conquest whereof drew after it not onely the losse of that which the Emperour possessed on this side the mountaines, but laied open all the Prouince beyond it: and the King conceiued, that assailing it, (being vnturnished of many necessaries, for the maintayning of a great seerge,) either honour, or feare of losse, would draw the Emperour to fight, and with this hope, he prepared the rest of his forces to march in person. But this was but a great shew, without any effects.

The Duke of *Orleans* hauing assembled his troupes, betwixt *Verdon* and *Danle Chasseau*, he beleeged, battered, and tooke *Danuilier*, a place of *Luxembourg*: where there came to ioyne with him the Baron of *Hedeq* sometimes Lieutenant to the Earle of *Furslemberg*, the Earles of *Manssfeld*, and *Piquelin*, and the Colonel *Reichbroe*, with their regiments of *Lansquenets*, making about ten thousand men. Then came *Comte Reingrane* to the Kings seruice, a yong Nobleman, and well resolved, who promised in his person, many good parts, as we shall hereafter see. *Danuilier* being burnt, as not defensible, had opened the way to *Luxembourg*: but news comes, that a part of the wall was false at *Turye*: the Duke turns the head of his armie thither, makes his approaches,

A approaches, plants three Cannons and a halfe vpon the brinke of the trench, but vndirectly, without gabions, without trenches (this was to contemne the enemy too much) and without any couering for them that garded the artillery. The garrison sallies forth in the open day, in vewe of the army, and tie roopes vnto the ordinance, but the weight of them was the let they could not drawe them into the trenches, wherevpon they burnt their carriages and dismount them. They make trenches, and batter it towards *Ardenes*: they make a reasonable breach, but it was not assailed. In the midst of the breach, the beleeged had a Casemate in the bottome of their trench, the which could not bee taken from them without great slaughter of them that should attempt it.

B They drawe from *Sedan*, *Mouzon* and other neere Townes a supplie of artillery and munition: and make a newe battery, the beleeged (being amazed) demand a parle. The bastard of *Sombret*, the Lord of *Noyelles*, *Hannuyer*, Capitaine *Famas*, *Gyles de Leuant* and others vnto the number of two thousand men, defended the place, the which could not be assaulted without hazard and losse of men. So it was concluded, they should depart with their baggage, and to carrie with them six faucons with munition to discharge them sixe times a peece. Then *William* Duke of *Cleues* fortified the Kings armie with ten thousand *Lansquenets*, and sixteene hundred horse, led by *Martin de Rossan* Marshall of *Guelares*. *William* had lately espoused (but without any consummation of marriage, by reason of the Infants base age) *Ioan* Daughter to *Henry* of *Albret* and of *Marquise* the Kings sister, whome hereafter we may see by the nullitie of this contract, to marrie with *Anthony* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Vendosme*, and of their mariage was borne *Henry* the fourth King of *France* and of *Nauarre*, nowely iuing and reigning vnder the fauour of heauen, for the happie presentation of this monarchie. *Luxy*, (which men held the strongest place in the Countie, & best furnished with men artillery and munition) by their yeelding, caused *Arlon* to open her gates at the first summons. *Luxembourg* seemed of a harder issue. It was kept by three thousand foote and foure hundred horse. But the trenches, the approaches and a breach made, although not reasonable to giue an assault (considering the trench was very deepe cut out of the rocke) did so amaze the beleeged, as they yeilded to depart with their baggage. The Earles of *Manssfeld* and *Piquelin* promised to defend it against all men: but wee shall shortly see how they will discharge their duties.

Montmedy a small place situate vpon a mountaine, so as they could not approach but on the one side, mooued with this happie successe, yeilded at the first vewe of the Cannon. To conclude, such was the successe in this expedition, that onely *Tionuille* remained in the Emperours hands of all the Duchie of *Luxembourg*. But the great fire the Duke of *Orleans* had to bee at the battell, which, in shewe, was to bee giuen before *Parpignan*, drew him to *Montpellier*, where the King remayned attending the progresse of the sayd seerge of *Parpignan*, to be readie to receiue the Emperour, if hee came to succour it.

E The Duke had no sooner dismissed his army, and turned his backe to *Luxembourg*, leauing the Duke of *Guise* as Lieutenant generall for the King, but the Imperialls presented themselves before the Towne, and receiued it very easily of the Earles of *Manssfeld* and *Piquelin*: and by the recouerie of *Montmedy* did wonderfully endamage all the *French* troupes at *Stenay*, and along the *Meuse*, if the Duke (assembling what hee could of those companies, hee had dismissed) had not chased them from *Montmedy*, before they had any time to bethinke them selues. A stratageme which did pacifie the Kings wrath, for the dismissing of so gallant and braue an army, in the heate of their most honourable and happie successe.

It is commonly sayd, That youth can do what age doth knowe but cannot do. What did this youthfull escape of the Duke of *Orleans* benefit, preferring a desire of vaine glorie, before the fruits of an assured Conquest? No increase of his reputation: small assistance vnto the Kings troupes, if hee had bene vpon the pointe

1542. point of battaile, and a great prejudice to his Maiesties affaires. for this voyage of *Roussillon*, being wonderfull sumptuous, and of no profit, he might with great honour haue continued his victories, the which he had so happily begun.

Attempt of
Roussillon
frustrate.

Let vs now obserue the successe of this enterprile. *Annebault* hauing brought vnto the *Daulphin*, being at *Auignon*, eight thousand *Swisses*, six thousand *French* foote, of the old bands, whereof *Charles of Cofé*, Lord of *Brissac* was Colonel: six thousand *Italians*, foure hundred men at armes, and sixteene hundred light horse, whereof the Lord of *Termes* was generall; and *Montpesat* hauing ioyned with him at *Narbonne*, with his legion of *Languedoc*, and part of that of *Guienne*, sixe thousand *Lansquenets*, and a great number of *Swisses*, newly leuied, who being ioyned with their Countrymen, made about fouretee thousand, so as the whole armie was esteemed fortie thousand men of all nations, two thousand men at armes, and two thousand light horse. The rough entertainment the Imperials gaue them at the Castle of *Sausles*, with their Canon and Culuerin, made them to coniecture, that the intelligences which *Montpesat* the first fire-brand of this attempt, pretended to haue, were vncertaine.

And what successe could *Parpignan* promise them, finding it very well fortified with platformes, well manned, and well furnished with Artillerie, and munition? what assurance could the assailants haue in a plaine field, behind gabions which they could not fill but with sand. The long time which was spent in assembling so many sundrie nations, and the fruitlesse stay of *Annebault*, six or seuen weekes in *Piedmont*, had giuen the defendants time to preuent their enemies desseins. Moreover winter approached, and the Emperour might well keepe the place without hazarding of his person or trying the chance of battaile, wherevnto the King sought by all meanes to drawe him. This was the meanes to take cold, and to consume himselfe in vaine. Vpon the first raine there had bene no meanes to retire this armie, by reason of the floods which runne on all sides from the mountaines, the which the neerenesse of the Sea makes to ouerflow the champion Countrie that lyes neere it, so as being shutt vpon betwixt two Seas, and the mountaine, the enemy would easily haue preuailed. The King foreseeing these dangers, retyred the *Daulphin* and his armie, knowing but too late, that he had bene ill serued. These flourishing troupes, fresh and resolute, might haue bene most profitably employed in the estate of *Milan*. But the assurance they gaue the King, to take *Parpignan* at the first, of two parties made him chose the worst. Moreover, in an armie there is alwayes some one of those that are of the Conncell, (being iealous, and enuying that any other should doe better,) loue rather to crosse and frustrate desseins, then to aduance them.

In Picardie.

In the meane time, *Anthony Duke of Vendosme*, Gouvernour and Lieutenant for the King in *Picardie*, suffered not his armes to rust: The enemy lurkt in diuers places, which did greatly annoy *Ardres*, and the countrie about *Bologne*: namely *Monture* and *Tournehan*, the first being strong of situation, vpon a little hill, at the entrie of the Countie of *Oye*, discouering all that come out of *Ardres*. The other vpon the edge of the Countie of *Eologne*, going from *Ardres* to *S. Omers*, belonging to the Countie of *Fures*, one of the strongest places of the countrie. The taking and razing of these two, was the destruction of many others which held for them, and yet the enemy being the stronger in men, made some shew to trie his forces.

In Piedmont.

But on the other side, the countrie of *Piedmont*, was left in prey to the enemy, by reason that *Annebault* had carryed away the troupes for the enterprile of *Parpignan*. The Marquis of *Guast* embracing this occasion, assembled his forces at the bridge of *Essars*, a fit place to haue the riuers at commandement, and where soeuer he pleased, on this or the other side of *Po*, to assaile *Piedmont*. *Langey* Lieutenant for the King in *Piedmont*, to crosse the Marquis, drawes a company of foote out of euery Towne, makes an enterprile vpon *Cony*, *Quieras*, and *Albe*, being ill furnished with Souldiers. The undertakers for *Cony* and *Albe*, wander in the night, and the daye approaching, made their voyage fruitlesse. *Aussun* Gouvernour of *Sauslan*, and *Centall* of *Riez*, appointed for *Quieras*, planted their Ladders, notwithstanding the day breaking had giuen the

1542. A the alarm in the *Loyat*: they forced it, and the Castle hauing but one horse, and two Jacks of meale in it, yeelded, after they had fasted 36. houres. *Centall* being made gouernour, manned it with two thousand Souldiers, which he leuied, as well vpon his owne hands, as elsewhere.

The Marquis posted to succour them, but the distance of the places required three dayes iourney. He tooke his reuenge vpon *Villeneuve* of *Aix*, *Pizings*, & *Emilian*, (small places not fortified, & sutable to, passe the *Po*, and to campe at *Maldinham*, to take from the French all the plaine countrie, and to furnish *Turin* and *Pignerol*, with the other places, which they held on this side, & to take from them all commodities of the Marquillate of *Salusses*. Thus thousand foote, with some few men at armes, and light horse men, which *Langey* might oppose against the Marquis, who lead fiftie thousand foote, and two thousand five hundred horse, were not sufficient to stoppe his passage. But the industrie of a well aduised commander, doth often that which force cannot effect.

A gallant stratagem of *Langey*.

Hee comes first to lodge at *Carignan*, fortifies himselfe speedily, and with continuall skirmishes, keeps the Marquis from forcing of the passage. The waters were lowe (it was in the moneth of *May*.) they might easily wade through both aboue and beneath *Carignan*: these two armies had already camped fiftie dayes one against another, and the weakest in number was almost tyred. *Langey* himselfe with his exceeding toile, was growne lame, yet hauing his tongue and his spirits free, he winnes from the Imperiall armie, sixe thousand *Italians*: so as weakening his enemy, hee fortifies himselfe. The Marquis amazed, and fearing lest these should suborne the rest of his troupes, retires to *Villedeskelon* and *Quiers*. It was a goodly thing to pursue them, and the *Swisses* had accepted of this proposition: but instead of passing the *Po*, being mutined by the persuasions of some, they turne their Ensignes directly to *Pignerol*, and *Boutieres* with them. *Langey* seeing himselfe abandoned, diuides his last come *Italians* into *Caselles* and *Sirja*, betwixt *Turin* and *Vulpian*, leaues about fiftie Souldiers in the Castle of *Carignan*, and causeth himselfe to bee carryed to *Turin*.

The Marquis hearing of this sodaine departure, sends to summon the place, and threatens the Souldiers with death, if they attend the Canon. They yeeld at the summon. It was likely the Marquis would finish the Forte which *Langey* had begunne. Hee therefore sends his Brother *Martin du Bellay*, Gouvernour of *Turin* thither. *Du Bellay* sends before him Captaine *Maruille*, and the Earle *Maxime*, *Anthony de Sesse*, his two Lieutenants, with about fiftie horse, to obserue the enemies countenance. The Earle leaues his companion in garde, and by a Trumpet, demands to speake with the Captaine of *Carignan*. This Captaine goes forth vnder his assurance, (the Earle knew him well: hee had sometimes serued him:) the Earle tels him, they are sent to inuest him, attending the troupes, and the Artillerie, and assures him, that if hee makes any delay, it will not bee in his power to saue his life. So the Captaine terrified by this Stragem, deliues the Castle to the Gouvernour of *Turin*, who tooke order, the like inconuenience should not happen.

Then the Marquis, after two assaults giuen in vaine to *Chinas*, and repulsed by *Terosme* of *Drague*, hee stayed at *Cazal*: and *Cesar* of *Naples*, to open the way from *Vulpian* to *Turin*, hoping to recouer againe the *Italians*, late fallen from him, came to assaile *Cazelles*. *Langey* discouering this desseine, appointed the Cheualier *Villaignon* to command them, who sent backe his enemy with the losse of about foure score men, leauing his Ladders in the trenches, for a pawne of his vaine enterprile. *Barges* stoppt the passage from *Pignerol* to *Ranel*, and did then greatly annoy the places which obeyed the French, being in the midst of them. The Marquis retired from *Cazal* could not succour it in many dayes. And therefore not to suffer the *Swisses* to growe dull, for want of exercise, *Boutieres* by the commandement of *Langey*, parts from *Pignerol* with sixe Canons, findes a Conuent fortified, ioyning to the

Barges taken.

Yyy

the

1542. the Castle, without the taking whereof the Castle might not be attempted: he makes a breach, takes it by assault in foure and twenty houres, and puts three hundred Spaniards which had the garde thereof, to the sword. Then hee approcheth the Castle, makes a breach, and compounds with the besieged, That if within six dayes the Marquis, or some for him, came not strong enough to raise the siege, they should depart with their lives. The Marquis aduertised of this composition, posts to succour them; and *Boutteret* being too weake to attend so great a power, retires to *Pignerol*.

In recompence whereof, *Langey* takes from him the Castle of *Montauban* and some other places in *Monferrat*, being hard to be recovered in winter. And to pull forth some a shorne out of his foote, he causeth *Vassé*, gouverneur of *Pignerol*, to practise *Paul Monnet* Capitaine of *Barges*, and then with some bands newly come from *France*, hee marcheth with speed to the sayd place, plants foure Canons in batterie, and by meanes of a hole which hee made in the Tower, although not reasonable for a breach, he receiues both the place and Capitaine to the Kings seruice. The time fixed well for the warre, and the King being loth to loose the opportunitie, and to imploy some part of the forces that were retired from *Rarpignan*, sent the Lord of *Annebault*, with the regiment of *Reichroc*, into *Piedmont*, with the old Italian bands, and the French, all the light horse, and foure hundred men at armes. This new armie, might in shew (whilest the Marquis of *Guaft* was at *Carmagnole*, doubtfull wheate they would make their first attempt) haue surprised *Casal*, and other places where *Langey* had intelligence. With this desseigne, he secretly kept boates vpon the riner of *Po* within foure and twentie houres they might go downe by water: and the Marquis could not come to succour them in lesse then foure dayes marche. Moreouer, a friend (whom he entertained neere vnto the Marquis,) assured him to deliner ouer vnto the French three thousand Lansquenets, and a thousand Spaniards, the which he himselfe should lead, and cause them to be surprised at a passage neere to *Villedeslon*, where they had no meanes to escape: so as passing the *Po* by night, they had sent some foure hundred horse, betwixt *Carmagnole*, and *Villedeslon*, and opposed the armie betwixt *Villedeslon* and *Quiers*. Without doubt *Langey* being lame of his limmes, employed all his wittes, to discover the Imperials purposes, and still to gette from the enemy. But Enuie hath alwayes sworne the ruine of Vertue. Some enuious persons breake off these two desseignes, and dissuaded *Annebault* from these great enterprises.

Langey seeing his proiect crost by his enemies, he parted from *Turin* with the Kings good leaue, to acquaint him with many things touching his Maiesties seruice, which hee could not commit to any mans report: but death preuented him at *Saint Sapharin*, vpon the Mountaine of *Tarare*. The Marquis dislodging from *Carmagnole*, had left so few men in *Cony*, as a sodaine assault had carryed it at the first. To this ende *Annebault* parts with foure Canons, and causeth *Riuoles* to come with the Regiment of *Reichroc*. The bridges of *Carignan* and *Montcallier* were broken, so as the Lansquenets must passe at *Turin*. *Du Bellay* Gouverneur of the Towne, and Lieutenant for the King on this side *Po*, prepares their lodging, to imploy them as they passe. The Tower of *Saint Bony*, *Chastillon*, *Saint Raphael*, and other small places, vpon the Mountaine of *Monferrat*, did wonderfully annoy *Turin*: They could not go to the places of *Monferrat*, whence the victuals (especially Wine) came in great abundance, without being discovered.

He mounts foure Canons, departs with some troupes of horse, three Ensignes of French men of his garrison, and the said *Germanes*, plants his artillery before *S. Bony*, makes a hole: the Lansquenets giue the assault, force it, and put all they finde armed to the sword, except the Capitaine, who was hanged by the lawe of armes, for that he had endured the Canon in so weake a place. *Chastillon* could not be battered but from an other mountaine opposite, and the horses could not draw vp the artillery. The Lansquenets sleight with the prey of *Saint Bony*, force it vp by maine strength: and

A and the besieged, being foure hundred good men of warre, terrified with the vfrage of *Saint Bony*, yeeld to depart with their baggage. Those of *Saint Raphael*, and some other places, send to demand a composition, & retreat. Only *Chastillon* was defensible, and commodious for the gard of the passage, all the rest were razed.

The Lansquenets hauing ioyned with *Annebault*, he beseegeth *Cony*, ouerthrowes a peece of the wall, and giues an assault, but it was the place which was best fortified: a great rampar behind the breach, stayes our men: the which after an howres fight they are forced to abandon, with the losse of many men of seruice: and the night following, two hundred horse, and eight hundred foot being entred, made the Admirall to found the retreat: eight Canons diuided into two batteries, had so troubled the defendants, as not able to answere the diuers assaults, the Towne in shew had beene wonne. But errours are knowne after they are committed. Vpon the retreat, the Earle *Maxime Anthoine Maruille*, and *Theode Bedaine* an *Albanois*, encounter two hundred Imperiall horses, neere to *Bra*, they charge them, defeate, and take the most part of them, and the enemy hauing abandoned many small peeces, the Admirall reduceth to the Kings obedience *Villeneufue* of *Ast*, *Poring*, *Cambian*, and *Rue de Quers*.

Winter did cut off all meanes of more happie success. So dismissing his armie, and sending the Lansquenets of *Colonnel Reichroc* into *France*, he took his way to *Mont-Cenis*: *Mont-Cenis* is subiect to tempests, as well as the sea. The way is straight, C restrained by two mountaines: when any storme ariseth, the gusts of wind do gather together balls of snow, vpon the tops of the hills, which growing great as they roule downe, ouerthrow all they meet, and they to whome the straight is knowne, (for oft times, the guides are lost) runne many times into caues full of snow. *Annebault* was in this danger: most part of them that did accompanie him, found their graues vnder the snow: some loose their eyes, other die with cold: some returne benumbed of their feet, others of their armes, and hands, and few of this whole troupe inioyed his perfect health: himselfe was neere vnto a fatall end, if some men attending the end of the storme, in little caues, had not preserued him from the iniurie thereof.

D At that time, the King determined a reuenge against the inhabitants of *Rochelle*, & the neighbour Ilands which were mutined against the Kings officers, for the custome of salt. Being arriued at *Rochell*, they assembled all in the gardein, where his Majesty did lie, confessed their rebellion publicly, and most humbly craued pardon for their offence. The furie of a King (saith the wise man) is the messenger of death: but a wise man will pacifie it. And the cheerefull countenance of a King is life, his fauour is like vnto a cloud, bringing raine in due season. The King mooued with the pittifull noyle of this people, crying for mercy, with their hands lift vppe, kneeling on the ground, and teares in their eyes: did graciously remit their offence, freed the prisoners for this offence, deliuered their armes, and the keyes of the Towne, commanded the garrisons both of foot and horse, to retyre: receiued them into grace, and restored their liberties, and priuileges: without doubt, A King maintains his throne by clemencie. In the meane time, many practises, and enterprises, are made against *Turin*.

The Marquis of *Guaft*, did at sundry times send vnto the Iudge of *Turin*, being borne at *Quiers*, a number of carts laden with wine: and within the vessels which were as long as the carts, many armes, harguebutes, pertuisans, and corselets, to arme fourescore men, the which he should receiue into his house, disguised like cottimen, bringing victuals to the market: who at the first tumult they should heare at the Towne gate, should issue forth armed, and seise vpon the Court of gard, in the market place, whilest that other souldiars armed with Iacks, and shirts of maile, morians, swords, daggers, and targets, brought in fiue carts of haye, sixe in euery one, (the haye being so cunningly layed, as cutting a cord within the bundels, would fall downe,) should fight with the gard at the port, and fauour the entrie of eight hundred

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horse, and five thousand foote, which should be ready at the alarm. But the enterprise being discovered, made the Judge to loose his head.

The enemy notwithstanding, lets not to proceed to the execution of his carts of haye, in the absence of *Bellay*, whome his priuat affayres had called into *France*, after the death of his brother: and the twelfth of February, *Boutieres*, Lieutenant for the King at *Turin*, was well aduertised of some carts which were preparing at *Lignis*, (an imperiall Towne nere vnto *Vulpian*) but not of the maner of the former enterprise. They hazard their haye. *Raimont* commanding at the gate, causeth *Perichon* his Lieutenant to thrust a pike through the first cart: he drawes it out all bloudie: the souldiers leape forth, and the first thrusts *Raymonet* through the bodie, with his sword. *Raimonet* takes him by the throat, and stabs him: his companions likewise come forth, force the gard, seife vpon the armes that hang vp, and become maisters of the port. Valiantly without doubt, but somewhat too soone for them, their succours were a mile or more from the first bridge.

Captaine *Saluadeur d'Aguerre* (who deserues to be named, hauing a great share in the preservation of the Towne) who had then the gard of the place, hearing the alarme at the gate, and crying *Sauoye*, turnes head with his troupe, repulseth the five that were slipt out off the first cart, and goes directly to the gate. A well aduised Smith, who dwelt nere the gate, goes vp, and with a great hammer breakes the chaine, and lets downe the *Portcullis*, so as the Imperials could not enter. *Boutieres* and *Moreins* arriue, they shut the gates, kill some of the souldiers that were betwixt the gate and the *Portcullis*, the rest creepe vnder the *Portcullis* being too thort: and *Cesar of Naples* (who not many dayes before, had left three of his souldiers hanged at *Turin*, being executed for an other conspiracie, against the Towne) seeing his enterprise made frustrate, retyred without the losse of any, but of his Lieutenant, who was slaine with the Canon.

On the other side, the Duke of *Cleues* made warre in *Erabant*, and had wonne some places from the Emperour. So as the *Bourguignons* turning all their forces against him, giue the Duke of *Vendosme* meanes to victuall. *Therouenne*, to take it. *liers* by composition, being a strong place, betwixt *Aire* and *Betune*, at the entrie of the marsh: to burne the Towne, beat downe the gates, and to make it and many other places about *Therouenne*, *Saint Omer*, *Aire*, *Betune*, altogether vnprofitable for the enemy. And to the Earle of *Aumale* eldest son to the Duke of *Guise*, accompanied with the Lords of *Laul*, *Saint Andre*, *Escar*, *Dampiere*, *Chastaigneray*, *Esguilly*, and a great number of other yong gentlemens occasion, to quicken the enemy with continuall skirmishes, and assaults, most commonly carrying away the advantage.

The happie successe, and the fauorable season, inuited the King, in the beginning of Iune, to go to field with all his forces, with an intent to assaile *Auennes*, being vnfurnished of men. To this end he sends the admiral of *Annebault*, newly aduanced to that office, by the death of the Admirall of *Brion*, that attending his commaund, he should inuest the Towne: and sent to the Duke of *Vendosme*, to come to him to *Cateau Cambresis*, which was the rendezvous for all the armie. So the King had the Admirals armie, as a foreward on his right hand, that of the Duke on his left, and his Maiestie in the midst. *Longueual* and *Langey*, with their companies of men at armes, and *la Lande* with a thousand foot, go before by the Admirals commaundement, they take the fort by assault, which the enemies had built vpon the bridge of the riuer of *Estruel*: and before the Towne had any knowledge thereof, they put to the sword three hundred men, that had the gard thereof. In this annoyment, if they had furiously assailed the Towne, in shew, it had bene foreseeable. Notwithstanding *Landrecy*, the Castle of *Emery*, and some other places taken & fortified, gaue entrie into the Country of *Hainault*. *Landrecy* is situat vpon *Sembre*, a small riuer, but deepe and strong vpon the banks, which issuing out of *Oise*, in the Duchie of *Guise*,

Exploits in
Picardie.

Landrecy and
other places
taken by the
French.

Auaise, runs by *Chastillon*, *Landrecy*, *Marolles*, *Emery*, and *Mauberge*: then it runnes into the *Meuse* nere to *Namur*. Beyond *Sambre*, is the Forrest of *Mormant*, *Langey* foreseeing that the garrison might vie the same stratageme, they had done in the yeare 1521. had placed a hundred horse betwixt the Forrest and the Towne: that being fortified by the Admiralls comming, they might cut off the retreat to them that were assailed.

But as we haue said else where: Enuy doth gladly crosse braue desseines. The Admirall in steed of fauouring the enterprise, calls back them that were on the other side of the riuer, being ready to performe a worthy exploit. And the enemy seeing the way open, retires into the Forrest, and at their dislodging, consumes the whole towne to ashes: and not able to saue anything but the Church, they burne withall, their victualls and munition, which was sufficient to feede the Garrison of the Towne a whole yeare. To repaire and make it defensible, the King gaue the gouernement thereof to *La Lande*, who by a counter trench couered it from a mountaine on the Forrest side, which lookes into the towne: he made three great bulwarkes, and filled the castle with earth to make a platforme, seruing as a flanke to the bulwarkes.

Let vs make an other fault, no lesse remarkeable. The Duke of *Vendosme*, marching by the high countrie of *Artois* to the *Rendezvous*, had suddenly reduced *Bapaume* to his obedience. *Auchmont*, with the souldiers and Citizens of all sexes, being retired into the Castle, had but one well, which dried vp in twodayes, would haue brought them to the Dukes mercie, when as he receiues a second charge from the King. That vpon paine of disobedience, and to incurre his disgrace, hee should come the same day to him to *Cateau Cambresis*: so as he left the beleeged at liberty.

The King hauing his forces vnited, he found the number to be about eighteene hundred men at armes, whereof the commaunders were, the *Daulphin*, the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Vendosme*, and *Guise*, the Earles of *S. Paul*, *Aumale*, and *Brissac*, the Marshall of *Bretagne*, the Admirall *Dampiere*, *Maugeron*, *Boissy*, *Longueual*, *Ronneual*, and many others whose names should be tedious: eighteene hundred light horse vnder *Brissac* their Colouel: twelue thousand Legionaries, *Picards*, *Normands*, and *Champinois*, and twelue thousand low *Germaines*.

The Castle of *Emery* might be fortified, and serue to second *Landrecy*. To that end the King sent the *Daulphin*, with part of the army, and some artillery. The Lord of the place, was at the warres in *Guelldres*, and they which kept it, yielded vpon the first approaches. *Langey* with his company of men at armes, and an ensieigne of the legion of *Picardie*, was left for the defence and fortification of the place. The taking of *Barlemont*, an other castle vpon the same riuer opened the passage vnto *Bains*, and to the gates of *Monts in Hainault*. *Mauberge* was the enemies storehouse, when as he made any attempt against this Realme: and the Towne being vnfurnished of men, able to attend the Canon, the inhabitants yielded to the *Daulphin*: who (leauing *Heyley* Captaine of a thousand men, of the legion of *Picardie*, and *S. Yve* with five hundred) he retyred to the enemy.

The armie camped ten leagues from *Bains*: and *Bains* was the ordinary retreat of the Imperials returning from the warre in *Guellderland*, who for the distance of the French campe, did lodge confidently in the suburbes and villages about: considering that there were no horsemen at *Mauberge*, *Langey* giues intelligence to *Maugeron*, that they had meanes to do a braue exploit with honour and proffit. He comes with his company of men at armes, and fourescore of the Admiralls: and parting by night, they take (in passage by *S. Yve*) *sitie* *Harguebuziers* on horsebacke, of the Garrison of *Mauberge*: they lay an Ambush half a league on this side *Bains*, within a wood, and send *La Motte Goudrin* Lieutenant to *Maugeron* who remained sicke at *Mauberge*, to enter the suburbes of *Monts*, and by the firing of some howses to take from them of the Towne the knowledge of the enterprise of *Bains*: and then to retire themselves into the ambush, in case they were charged: and they send *Mauville* Lieutenant to *Langey* (who commaunded the ambush) the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, *la Rocheguyon*, and the

The Imperial-
all surprised
at Bains.

1543. the Harguebuziers on horsebacke, to surpris the Imperials in their suburbs, A
at the breake of day. Euery thing was executed accordingly. About fixe score
horse, arriving the night before, slept at their ease: they awake them somewhat
rudely, and carry them away prisoners, spoile the Villages about, and returne to divide
their rich booty at *Maubeuge*. At the same time the Earle of *Aumale* tormented the
garrisons of *Auennes* with continually skirmishes: but still with the decrease of their
men, and no lesse of his.

The prisoners of *Bains* had assured the King, that the towne was unfurnished of
men of defence. He therefore sends the *Dauphin* and the Admirall to subdue it
to his obedience. But at the first approach they found themselves abused. The Im-
perials had the next day after the alarm, put fifteene hundred *Lansquenets* into B
the towne. Moreover, for want of well viewing the fort, they had indiscreetly
planted the Cannon against the strongest part: the battery did small harme: many
died there, and many returned wounded. *Alegre* among others, a young man, who
for his age had made good prooffe of his person, lost his life. *Gaspard of Coligny* Lord of
Chailillon (he shall hereafter play many parts vpon the Theater of this history,) for
one of the first exploits of his armes, had a shot in the throat. So the great number
of *Germanes* which entered into *Bains*, the want of munition and victuals (the *Dau-*
phin having brought but for two dayes) the enemies which assembled at *Monts*, and
at *Quefnoy le Comte*, the daunger the King did foresee, in keeping his troupes divided,
the feare that going in person to ioyne with his sonne (with whom were his chiefe C
forces, he should be constrained to leaue the fortifications of *Landrecy* imperfect: his
Majesty draws the *Dauphin* vnto him, he causeth him to beate downe the defences
of *Maubeuge* in his passage: and (for that the Emperour was wont to assemble his
forces there that came out off *Germany* and the Low Countries) to fire the Towne.

Trelon and *Glavon*, places betwixt *Auennes* and *Simay*, did greatly annoy the fron-
tiers of *Tierasse* and *Champagne*, *Bonneuall*, and *Stenay*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *An-*
gouen (who was in *Prouence*, as we shall shortly see) had commission to prevent it. Bee-
ing come to *Trelon*, with two thousand *French*, and foure thousand *Lansquenets*, stoode
within at the first sight of the Cannon yielded to haue their liues saued. *Glavon* alter-
wards submitted with the like facility. Both being burnt, but their fortifications not
ruined, shall serue againe to lodge the Imperials.

Emery remained still whole, but it might not be made fit to endure the attempts of
a mighty army in twelue dayes. Moreover it must bee furnished with victuals. Two
rivers not to be waded through, betwixt *Landrecy*, and *Emery*, made the victualing dif-
ficult. *Auennes* did cut it off, and the Commissaries of the victuals reported, that to
put victuals into *Emery*, were in time to famish the armie: & to take away the means
to victual *Landrecy*, for the want of carriage, which was greatly hindered by a continu-
all raine, three weekes together. And that which did most import, newes comes to
that the Emperour arriues, and approached neere the countries of the Duke of *Cleues*, E
whom he might not abandon to the pawes of a roaring Lion, who had long time
vowed his ruine. So the Towers of the Dungeon of *Emery*, and the portall of the walls
flying into the ayre by myne, and other meanes, serued to fill vp the trenches.

Hitherto we haue made warre with small resistance: hereafter wee shall haue a
stronger party, and by consequence more glory to crosse the Emperours attempts,
whilest that the famine, and the winter drives him from before *Landrecy*. In the end of
Iuly, *Landrecy* was in such estate, as without any support of an army, the fortifications
might well be continued, leauing some troupes at *Guise*, and the Duke of *Cleues*, a-
gainst whom the Empe: our banded all his power, appealed to the King for succours.
The King therefore to diuert the Emperours forces, to draw him to battell, and to
trye if he were accompanied with the like happinesse, leading his forces, in per-
son, as hee had beene by his officers, or at the least by the taking of *Luxem-*
bourg, to make the way easie to succour his ally: he sent the Duke of *Vendosme* to en-
counter the enemies attempts, vpon the frontiers of base *Picardy*, and to fauour the
necessary

A necessary victualing of *Landrecy*: and for the execution of his enterprize, he appointed
the Duke of *Orleans*, vnder the conduct of the Admirall of *Annebault*. The Prince of
Melphes, whom the King had left in *Guise*, with three hundred men at armes, and
Brissac, Collonell of fifteene hundred light horse, assembled to go and ioyne with him
about *Rheims*. And the Earles of *Reux* and *Roquendolfe*, with the forces of the Lowe
Country, came from a skirmish at *Landrecy*, which they did hope to surpris, being va-
furnished of victuals.

As they trouped together, with a dessein to attempt the Castle of *Bohain*, newes
comes, that *La Hunaudaye* and *Theaude Bedaigne* an *Albanois*, (either of them, being
Capitaine of two hundred horse) were lodged neere vnto the Castle of *Bouhourie*, ma-
king account to dislodge so earely, as they might come in time, to part with the Gene-
rall. To surprisethem, the Lord of *Liques*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Ascots* compa-
nie, drawes eight hundred choise *Bourguignon* horses, out of the Imperial troupes,
two hundred *Englishmen*, (the King of *England* being then fauoured by the Emperour,
pretended to invade vs, as we shall see hereafter) and foure enseignes of footemen.
But least he should come too late, he leaues them behind him, and marcheth before
with his horsemen. At the first, they charge *Bedaignes* lodging, who whilest the ene-
my was breaking open the gate, had leysure to put on his Cuirasse: he goes to horse-
backe with his launce in his hand, forceth furiously through them, ouerthrowes them,
he meetes, and ioynes his troupe with *La Hunaudaye*, who was likewise on horseback.
C *Ache*, and *Bertrand of Foissy*, Lord of *Crené*, Capitaines of two hundred harguebuziers
on horsebacke, being lodged at the same Abby, post to their succours: they force the
bridge, which the Imperials kept, and ioyntly with the light horsemen repulse the
enemy.

The alarm is giuen at *Guise*. *Theaude Manes*, arriues with his two hundred light
horse, to second his companions: and *Brissac*, borrowing about threescore horse of
the Prince of *Melphes* (his troupes had already taken the way to *Marle*) goes to their
aide: he is aduertised by *Bedaigne*, that the enemy (feareing to haue the whole armie vp-
on them) began to wauer: all the troupes ioyne, and charge them sodainly: they ouer-
throwe their horsemen vpon their foote, which aduanced, put them to rout: they pur-
sue them speedily, leaue three hundred dead vpon the place, carry away six hundred
prisoners, and winne foure Enseignes on foote, and two Cornets on horse. The rest of
the Imperiall armie, going to assaile *Bohain*, hearing of this defeat, and doubting they
should be forced to fight with the whole army, grew amazed, & retired to *Quefnoy le*
Comte. The Duke of *Orleans*, hauing already by the taking of *S. Mary* (for *Montmedy* &
Tuzy, were vnder the Kings obedience, since the first conquest made by the said Duke)
Launulliers, *Vireton*, *Ailen*, and other places, made his approches to *Luxembourg*: hee
erect with two batteries at a corner of the high towne, towards *France*, the one crof-
sing the other: the one was committed to the Duke of *Aumale*, the other to *Peter Strossy*
a *Florentine*, kinsman to Pope *Clement* deceased: who (being lately come out off *Italy*)
E had brought three hundred *Tuscan* souldiers, all men of note, and commandement:
two parts armed with Pikes, the third with Harguebuziers, all with gilt coiflets. The
Towne was defended by foure hundred horse well appointed, & three thousand five
hundred foote well armed, vnder the command of *Giles de Leuant*, a man well este-
emed by the Imperials, and *Iohn de Heu* one of the Lords of *Metz*. Yet at the fift or six
volle of the Canon, hauing demanded coposition, they departed with their baggage.

Longueuil entered as gouernor, with his company of men at armes. *Anglure* with
a thousand of the Legion of *Champagne*: *Hurancourt* a *Lorraine*, and the *Vicomte* of
Riure, commanding either of them five hundred men: and *Ierom Marin* a *Boule-*
nois fixe score *Italians*. The King hauing passed the feast of Saint Michell there, and
performed the ceremonies of the order, he disposed of the fortifications of the towne:
then he prepared himselfe to succour *Landrecy*, which the Imperials besieged, leauing
the legionaries of *Champagne*, & the *Normandy* vnder the Comte *Burienné*, to fauour the
victualing of his new conquest, the which he had committed to the Prince of *Melphes*,
being

1543. being assisted with the companies of men at armes of the Lords of *Sedan*, *Jamez*, *br. A*
enne, *Langey*, *Eslauges*, *la Mailleray*: two thousand *Lansquenets*, led by *Fresnay*, and ten
 thousand Legionaries.

The munition was prepared at *Stenay* and *Mouzon*: and for want of carriages,
 which they had purposely stayed on at sides, the campe was so oppressed with lamene,
 as the Captaines themselves had no bread to eate. So the souldiers becing impatient
 and ill affected: disdainning moreouer to see themselves disappointed of the sacke and
 spoile of *Luxembourg*, whereof they were in hope, they mutine and returne home to
 their houses: so as of ten thousand about three hundred remained vnder their ensignes
 and Captaine *Taurinier* (whom the Duke of *Orleans* had left in *Arlon*) hauing spoiled
 the Towne, tooke the same way with his companye. Without doubt these poore
 townsmen newly conquered, shewed themselves more faithfull then this wretch, who
 was appointed to defend them. They giue notice, that they had shut their gates against
 the Imperials, that were come to seaze on their towne: and that hauing taken their
 oath of fidelity vnto the King, they were resolu'd to keepe their faith, so as they might
 be releued. Ten or twelue thousand *Lansquenets* were assembled vpon *Mozell* to hin-
 der this victualing. Notwithstanding through the helpe of the men at armes, and the
Lansquenets of *Fresnay*, *Luxembourg* was victualled for three months, in despite of the
 enemy, and *Arlon* supplied with six hundred men, and such a quantity of munition
 as the time would permit. The taking of *Luxembourg* had giuen the King meane,
 to send the Admirall with foure hundred men at armes, and ten thousand foote, to suc-
 cour the Duke of *Cleues*, in whose fauour this warre was chiefly attempted. But the
 Duke, after the taking of the towne of *Dure*, hauing no meane to auoide the storme
 which threatened him with apparant iune, nor long to withstand so great a power,
 made his peace with the Emperour, yeelded vnto him the Duchie of *Geldris*, the
 Countie of *Rutphen*, and the torts of *Heusberg* and *Sittart*, to dispose thereof at his
 pleasure.

At the same time *Don Fernand* of *Conzague*, Lieutenant generall for the Emperour,
 beseege'd *Cuse*: but being aduertised of the Kings arrivall at *Coney*, who marched with
 great speed to encounter the Emperour, he resolu'd to make his retreat to *Landrecy*.
 To arrive at their dislodging *Brissie* with a number of men at armes, and haugb-
 uiers on horseback, lies in ambushe in a wood, and sends *Theau de Bedaigne* with his band,
 to enter skirmish with the Imperiall light horsemen, and to draw them (if it were pos-
 sible) into the ambushe. But *Bedaigne* not able by skirmish to make them abandon the
 body of their army, which marched towards *Landrecy*, *Brissie* puts forth five hundred
 horse, to giue a furious charge, and he followes with his whole troupe to second them.
 Our men making a gallant charge, ouerthrow all they encounter: they kill and take
 prisoners, amongst others *Don Francis* of *Esle*, brother to the Duke of *Ferrara*, Cap-
 taine Generall of all the Imperiall horsemen: and they presse on the rest so
 hotly, as *Conzague* gathering together all his battalions, is forced to turne
 head to saue therest. So *Brissie* suffered himselfe to go on his pretended way,
 to ioyne with the Earle of *Reux*, who had long time before possessed the Fort of
Landrecy.

Now are all the Imperiall forces before *Landrecy*, eightene thousand *Germans*,
 ten thousand *Spaniards* of the old band, six thousand *Walons*, ten thousand *Englishe*,
 thirteene thousand horse, of the ordinarie of the Lowe Countie, *Cleues* and high
Germans. The Campe being lodged, and the artillery planted, the Emperour makes
 three batteries of five and forty peeces, against the Bulwarke of *Orleans*, against
 the Castle, and against the Bulwarke of *Vendosme*: and to keepe the defendants from
 making of any rampar, or comming to the defences, the bulwarkes and Curtins be-
 ing not yett ha'e finished, they plant a long Couluerin vpon a little hill towards
 the Forrest of *Normault*. This peece did wonderfully annoy them, and they had
 no meane to charge the *Lansquenets*, which did gard it on the one side. There-
 after that passed by the trench of the base Towne, which they had abandoned,

A ranne betwixt them. *Ricartulle* with fortie horse, and *Saint Simon* with thirtie foote
 and some prisoners, vnder take to seize vpon this peece. They passe the water, surpriseth
 the *Lansquenets*, put them to route, draw the Couluerin by maine strength to the bulwarke
 of *Orleans*, turne the mouth of it against the enemy, & hit the rampar kill many *Bour-
 guignons* with their small shot, being come to the trench to rescue it. The King set for-
 ward: but the Emperour (to do some notable exploit before his arrivall) onerthrowe
 a great part of the wall, making it very easie to assaile and to take from the beseege'd
 all meane to defend this breach, he put men into a portale of the base Towne which
 was abandoned: and about it he plants certaine field peeces, which commanded the
 breach.

The soldiars were nowe brought to halfe a loose of progiant bread a day, and to
 drinke faire water. So whilest they were well affected, and had some courage (for
 men ill fedde, and tyred with continuall labour faint soone) they must take this lodg-
 ing from the Imperials. Thre hundred men appointed by *la Lande* and *Esse*, assaile
 them one morning at the breake of day, and before they could come from the Campe
 to succour them, they dislodge them. The breach invites them to the assault: but the
 Emperour considering the valour of the defendants, foreseeing that he should hardly
 take it by force, without the losse of many of his men, he makes his accompt that fa-
 mine, and the continuall toyle of warre would in the end vanquish them.

The want of victualies, the weakenesse of the place, and the insupportable trauell
 which they must necessarily endure day and night, made the beseege'd to hazard
Yulea Normand, Captaine of five hundred men in *Landrecy*, to aduertise the King,
 that extreame necessitie would soone constraime them to yeeld, but no force whilest
 they had a man lyuing. The King assembles his campe at *la Fere* vpon *Oise*: and kno-
 wing the resolution of these braue men, he went to lodge at *Cusean Cambresys*, holding
 it more honorable to turne head to the enemy, then by delays to make them thinke
 he would not fight: hee gaue charge to *Langey* to gather together all the fat Cattell,
 all the meale, and all the horses of labour he could, that whilest the King should feede
 the Emperour with the hope of a bataille, they might refresh the beseege'd. The
 29. of October hee had drawn into *Capelle*, twelue hundred sheepe, nine score
 cattell, six hundred sacks of meale, with so many horses and men, euery one carrying a
 sacke vpon his horse. The enemy roade vp and downe with a thousand or twelue
 hundred horse. Notwithstanding *Langey* hauing ioynd with *Sansacs* troupe, being re-
 solute to passe on, or to sell their lues deere, he causeth his peasants to march in bar-
 taile, like to men of warre, to the end the enemy discovering them a far off, should hold
 them to be men of an other quality. Thus they brought their victuals safely to *Land-
 recy*, and then retyring a contrary way, to that where the Imperials attend them, they
 returned safely to *la Capelle*. Our men are now victualled for fiftene daies, but they
 haue neede of rest, and the place to be refreshed with men.

The Emperour finding the King to approach, retyred on this side the water, gathe-
 ring together all his forces, which were before diuided: and his maiesty embracing this
 occasion, sends the Earle of *Saint Paul* and the Admirall of *Annebault*, to retire them
 out of *Landrecy*, who had suffered much for his seruice, & to supplie the place with fresh
 soldiers. They left the Lord of *Veruein* for the Kings Lieutenant, commanding a thou-
 sand men of the Legion of *Picardie*, and *Rochebaron* five hundred. *la Lande* and *la Cha-
 pelle Ranquin*, in recompence of their good seruices, were made stewards of the Kings
 house: and *Esse* a gentleman of his chamber. The Dukes of *Neuers* and *Amale*, the
 two brothers of *Rochebrouault*, the Lords of *Andelot*, *Bresle*, *Creuecoeur*, *Bonniuet* his bro-
 ther, *S. Laurent* of *Brittany*, *Mouy*, *S. Phale* and many other yong gentlemen, (who, to
 winne honor by some worthy exploits, had voluntarily entred into it,) were rewarded
 according to their qualities. The soldiars were made gentlemen during their
 lues, and such as had offended the Lawe pardoned. The King had nowe put in
 execution one of his chiefe desseins, in vewe of a great Emperour. Winter was com-
 ming, the continuall raine had made frustrat all their attemptes of warre: and the

1543. long aboard of the armies, had broken the wayes six leagues about. The Emperour camped high with aduantage, hauing a valey and a small brooke not easie to be passed betwixt both the armies. There was no reason to passe the water, and mounting to fight with the enemy. The Emperour likewise would not passe, to give the first charge. So his Maiestie giuing the enemy hope by fires and great noise, that he would fight, made his retreat towards *Guisse*. The Emperour aduertised in the morning that the armie was dislodged, he commanded *Fernand of Gonfagne* to follow, (who the better to discouer them) intended to put some men into a wood, where they must passe, but it was too late: the wood was full of French Harguebuziers, who receiued these aduenturers so gallantly, as few escaped to carry newes vnto their companions, of the manner of their retreat.

A braue retreat made by the French.

The Emperour followed with the rest of his forces, whilest the skirmish was maintained in the wood. *Gonfagne* seeing himselfe seconded by his chiefe Commander, drew forth a thousand or twelue hundred horse, with a good number of thotte, and English light horsemen, on the right hand towards *Bohain*. But all in vaine, the Canon and baggage (hauing passed the wood) followed the King in safety, who marched before, and the *Dauphin* holding the middle, with eight hundred men at armes, and foureteene thousand *Suisses*, hauing left *Brissac* with his light horsemen, and three hundred men at armes to second him: moreouer the *Suisses* were behinde in battaile, and himselfe on the wing to support them, with an intent to fight with the Emperour if hee passed the wood: but hee forced the enemy to retire, not daring any more to appeare: many of his men were slaine, many taken, and fewe of ours.

The season was not fitt to Campe. So the King, to refresh his armie, sent the Marshall of *Biez* to *Saint Quentin*, with foure hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foote, to oppose against the Emperours desseins vpon that frontier. The Lansquenets to *Crecy*, vnder *Cere*, the *Suisses* to *Affy*: and hee lodged the rest of his armie along the riuer of *Oise*. And the Emperour seeing that hee had lost his labour before *Landrecy*: and that hee had with losse and dishonour followed the French armie retreated to *Cambray*, winning much more with the Foxes skinne, then hee had done with the Lions: for by meanes of their Bishop, who was of the house of *Croy*, perswading the light beleaguering Citizens, that the King meant to seize vpon their Towne, to spoile them of that ancient right of neutralitie, and to incorporate them to the Crowne, he made them yeeld to the building of a Cittadell, by the which of free men, they are now become slaues, & this Cittadell shall hereafter serue as a buckler against *Landrecy*. We haue heere omitted, to describe the exploits of the Duke of *Anguien* in *Prouence*. The King had sent him to receiue the armie by sea, which *Barberousse* brought to his succour. Being at *Marseilles*, *Grignan* gouernour of the Towne, did acquaint him with an intelligence which hee had with three souldiars of the garrison of the Castle of *Nice*, who promised to deliuer him the sayd Castle. The Duke well informed of the Kings pleasure, being loth to commit himselfe rashly to the discretion of traitors, who might as well sell the stranger, as their owne countrie, armed foure Gallies, and sent them before, vnder the command of Captaine *Magdelon*, brother to the Baron of *Saprenquart*, himselfe with eleuen other Gallies, tooke the Sea, and the aduantage of the winde, either to second his men, or to retire at need. When as *Magdelon* approached to *Nice*, six Gallies issue forth to meet him, and fiftene more lead by *Ianetins* force, chase him vnto the port of *Antibe*. *Magdelon* hurt with a Canon thotte, dyed there after: the Gallies being abandoned, were a prey for *Ianetins*: and the Duke observing by Moone-light, that *Ianetins* came to surprize him, retired speedily to *Toulon* without any losse.

Herevpon *Barberousse* arriues at *Marseilles*, with a hundred and ten Gallies. The King F pretends *Nice* to be his, and heretofore engaged by the Earles of *Prouence*, to the Duke of *Suoy*, for a summe of money. They assaile it, and within few dayes bring it to composition. But without the Castle, this victory was fruitlesse: the Castle seated vpon a high

A high and hard rocke is hard to batter, and more difficult to vndermine. So *Barberousse* seeing the time spent in vaine, and winter approaching, retyred his Gallies to *Toulon*, and the Duke vpon hope of a battaile, came to the King to *Cambray*.

The taking of *Nice*, drew the *Marquis of Guast* to the Castle: but aduertised of their libertie, hee employed his forces elsewhere. *Montdenis* was the first place of the Kings obediencie in *Piedmont*, opposed in his retorne vnder *Boutieres*, hauing few French foot to man it, he was forced to put in *Suisses*. The *Suisses* are more fit for the field, yet are they comended to haue done their duetie. But after many assautes, and toyles, want of victuals, and the sparce of succours, made them enter into capitulation, on the which was all obferued by the *Spaniards*, who they were dript, and many put to the sword. A wound which shall proue bloudie to the *Spaniards*, at the battaile of *Serrisoles*.

Montdenis yielded.

The Capitulation broken

This victory caused the *Marquis* to passe the *Ro*, and so take from our men the commoditie of all the plaine of *Piedmont*, on this side the water, (for that which they held on the other side, as *Sauillan*, *Beine*, *Roque de Bau* and *Cental*, were without hope of succour) hee turnes head towards *Carignan*, whether the Lord of *Assan*, and *Francis Bernardin of Fimarcat* (hauing no forces to make head against eighteen thousand men, and to take from the enemy all meanes to make use thereof) they raised the fortifications, which were made the year before, by *Langcy*. But they had no meanes to furnish their enterprise, nor leyure to recouer *Moncallier*, for the enemy meeting them, at the passage of a riuer, slew many, and tooke the greatest part of them prisoners.

This losse was readie to bee seconded by that of *Luxembourg*, which the Earle of *Luxembourg* *Furstemberg* (a man variable in his parties) beleeged in the Emperours name, with twelue thousand Lansquenets, and a good number of horse. The beleeged wanted victuals, and the winter had not beene so violent in twentie yeares. They diuided the prouant wine with hatchets, and it was sold by waight, and then the souldiars carried it way in baskets. The King being loth to loose any part of his conquests, sent the Prince of *Melphe*, with about foure hundred men at armes, *Brissac* Colonnell of the light horse, and some foot. The Earle seeing, that the extreame frosts did kinde the courage of the commanders, and souldiars, who marched with an intent to fight with him, rayled his Campe, and tooke his way to *Germanie*. The Prince retyred, *Langueval*, and his troupes, hauing beene long kept in, to inioy the libertie of the fields, leauing the Vicot of *Eufsauges*, surnamed *Anglure*, with his company of men at armes, & fiftene hundred foot in it: then he disperited his armie into Garrisons in *Champagne* & *Picardie*, to make head against the enemy, the rest of the winter, and to preserve the last conquests. On the other side, his Maiestie knowing, that the Imperials armie was master of the field, he supplied *Boutieres* his Lieutenant in *Piedmont*, with foure thousand French foot, leuiued by the Lord of *Tais*, in *Prouence*, *Dauphiné*, and therabouts, and five thousand *Gruyers* (to ioyne with the five thousand *Suisses*, entertayned in *Piedmont*) with some three hundred men at armes. With this supply hee recovered the field which he had long before lost, tooke many small places betwixt *Vercell* and *Yurce*, forced *Saint Germain* (a Towne vpon the way from *Chinas* to *Vercell*, where the counterscarpe of the trenches is as high as the wal, so as the Canon cannon bear at the foot thereof) to plant the ensignes of France, and then hee marched before *Turce*, and beleeged it on all parts. But hee had small credit with the souldiars: and the King was discontent with him, for that hee had so lightly suffred the souldiars to fortifie at *Carignan*, and to victual it without any resistance. Hee therefore sends *Francis of Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguien* in *Boutieres* place, to bee Lieutenant generall in *Piedmont*.

The Kings armie in *Piedmont*.

The Duke of *Anguien* made *Liaute* name in *Piedmont*.

The Duke hauing taking charge of the army, he marched down the *Po*, & at the first subdued *Palexol*, *Crescentin*, *Defanne*, & other places thereabouts, to make the way easie to *Carignan*, the which kept all the plaine of *Piedmont* in subiection: and the King desired infinitely to haue it in his power. But the meanes to force it? It is a place in a plaine

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plaine Country, it was fortified with five goodly bastions of earth, courtaynes, and a great trench, defended by foure thousand, the best soldiars of all the Imperiall army, so as their onely hope to recover it, was to famish them. To this end hee burnt the bridge they had upon the *Po*, whereby they might dayly haue refreshment from *Quiers*, *Asl* and other places vnder their commandes: and to cut off the victualles they had on this side the *Po*, hee went to campe at *Vimenz*, two miles beneath *Carignan*. They receiued also many commodities from *Pauillier* vpon the river: this fort built vpon the sayd way a quarter of a mile from *Carignan*, cuts off *Asl*: and to enioy the river of *Po* freely, hee builds a bridge of boats two miles beneath *Carignan*, with a fort at either end, manned with foure ensignes of *Italians*. Then passing the water, hee went to campe at *Villedeselon* betwixt *Carignan* and *Quiers*.

Hee seeks to
famish Carig-
nan.

The Marquis made haft to assemble his forces to succor the besieged, and came to lodge at *Carmagnole*. Holding his lodging he might fortifie himselfe, and suffering our mento die for hunger in a Country already wasted on that side *Po*, he found the Marquisate of *Salusses* full of all commodities; wherewith he might without danger refresh *Carignan*. The Duke preuented him, and lodging at *Carmagnole*, driues the besieged to that extremity; as within fewe weekes they were drawne to the Kings obedience. *Carignan* was the chiefe trophie of the Marquis victories: he was loath to loose it without some blowes, and the Duke as loath to loose a prey which was readie to fall into his hands.

So the Court filled with the hope of an approaching battaile, that gallant Nobility which had alwayes so willingly gone to horse-back at the first brunt of a battaile, would now haue bene loath to haue lost the sport. All post thither, some with leaue, others without. *Gaspar* Lord of *Chastillon*, *Francis* of *Vendosme* *Vidame* of *Chartres*: the Lords of *Saint André*, *Dampierre* of the house of *Clermont*, in *Dauphiné* *Larnac*, the three brothers of *Bonnivet*, *Bourdillon*, *Escars*, the two bretheren of *Genly*, *Astier* master of the ordinance, *la Hurauday* the onely sonne of the Admirall *Annebauld*, *Richafort*, *Lusarche*, *Vartis*, *Lafigny*: to conclude the Court was left in a manner naked, namely of those, which as the Sunne rising, followed the *Dauphin*, and hee was not held an honest man that would not haue his part therein.

A happie arrivall: they were all men of account, they had by this voyage emptied their owne or their Fathers cofers, and the Dukes treasor was so wasted, as both hee, his treasurers and all the rest of the campe had emptied their purses, and for want of money the soldiars would haue bene lesse couragious in this occasion that was offered. But what would not these braue Noblemen do, for the Kings seruice, and the authority of so gallant a Prince that commanded? With their voluntary lendings, the Duke contents his troupes, attending fortie thousand Crowns which *Langey* brought. This was the forth part of that, which was owing to the strangers: but they must seeke it else where. The Emperour leuied a mightie army in *Germanie*, to invade the frontiers: moreover a great storme threatned vs from beyond the seas, which soone after fell vpon *Boulen* and *Montrueil*.

They had no meanes to content the soldiars, if they had not presently found out the want of their numbers: they therefore resolute on Easter euen the seauenth of April, to make a priuat muster of euery companie apart, and giue them hope to receiue money the next day. But they did foresee, that Easter day would not passe (the armies being so neere without some blowes), and by consequence the enemies presence and the necessity of fighting would easily make them deferre the soldiars pay. And so it proued. The Marquis set forward, with an intent to passe on this side the river of *Po*, to keepe our men on that side the water, without victuals and without money, and to recouer the Marquisate of *Salusses*: being assured to finde Corne and meale there to victuall his Campe and the Towne besieged, forcing the *French* army in the ende to seeke their retreat. Without doubt this had bene their ruine, for the soldiars being vn timerly, what meanes was there to keepe the field? and retyring into Townes the Marquis would haue spoiled *Piedmont*, burnt the Country, driuen away their cattell and

The Imperialls
designe.

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and ruined the Contryman. This was his dessein, and to receiue ten thousand men at *Yuree*, which the Earle of *Challan* brought, and with this supply to passe by the valley of *Acoust*, into *Sauoye* and *Bresse*, whilst the Emperour should make some great attempt vpon the frontiers of *Champagne*.

But he reckoned without his host. The Duke takes counsell, and resolues to fight with him on the way before he should recouer a Country of strength, and to that end giues the forward to *Boutieres*, who vpon the newes of this battaile was returned from his house: takes the battaile to himselfe, and commits the reuerward to *Dampierre*. On Easter day euery man is vnder his enseigne, they discover the Imperialls marching from *Serifolles* to *Sammerue*, and the Duke to diuert them, sends forth *Aussan* with his troupe and some shot vnto a high ground of aduantage, who placing his harguebuziers in a litle groue, seeks to drawe the enemy by skirmishes into the ambush. But the Marquis dares not charge home: he feares some disorder before he had discovered his aduersarie. The Duke marcheth with about three hundred horse, and the rest of his shot, and going to the hill, puts all his horse in battaile vpon the side, and in the midst plants three mynyons, which shooting against a battayllon of the enemies, standing in the valley, kills some men, and giues a shew of battaile. So the Marquis fearing to be fought withall as he lodged, retired to *Serifolles* from whence he parted. Night approached, and the Duke seeing the Marquis returne to *Serifolles*, retired to *Carmagnole*, leauing two hundred horse to obserue the enemies countenance in the night, then an houre after midnight he goes to field.

The French
prepare to
fight.

The Marquis seeing this retreat, perswaded himselfe, the *French* would passe on the other side of *Po*, and leaue him the passage: so as changing his dessein, hee parts an houre before day, to ouertake him before hee should passe the river. To returne to the fort which they had left, had bene (by some signe of flight) to daunt our men, and to giue courage to the enemy, necessity therefore presseth both the one and the other to fight.

The Imperialls had ten thousand men more, and the aduantage of the place: they had recouered that high ground, from whence our men were parted the night before: they should haue kept it, seeing their meaning was to returne. On the right hand of our men marcht the Prince of *Salerno*, with ten thousand *Italians*, seconded by eight hundred horse sent by the Duke of *Ferrare*, to succor the Imperialls. In the midst *Ailspand* of *Madruce* with many other *German* Colonells and Captaines, who commanded ten thousand *Lansquenets*, all in white armour: and on the left, right against our *Gruyens*, *Don Raimond* of *Cardone* with a battalion of six thousand menold soldiars, halfe *Spaniards*, the rest *German*: betwixt these two nations the Marquis of *Guast* with the like number of horse: on the other side of the *Spaniards* the Prince of *Sulmone*, sonne to the deceased *Don Charles de Lannoy* Viceroy of *Naples*, Colonell of all the horse, with the like number of horse: ten peeces of Cannons by the *German*s, and as many by the *Spaniards*, placed with such aduantage as our *French* could not march against them, but they shot into the midst of their battalions.

The forme of
two armies.

Thus they marched in forme of three great battalions of foote, eyther hauing a wing of horsemen. Their order being vewed, the Duke rangeth his armie in the like fort: on the right hand a battalion of the old *French* bands, being about three thousand besides the shot, led by the Lord of *Tais* their generall, hauing on the right hand the light horse men vnder the Lord of *Termes*: on the left hand *Boutieres* with foure score men at armes: then on his left hand a battalion of *Swisses*, of about three thousand men, supported on their left hand by the Duke of *Anguien* with a great troupe of horse: and on the Dukes left hand foure thousand *Italians*, and *Gruyens* hauing on their left *Dampierre*, with all the Gaidons and archers of the men at armes.

The troupes thus disposed and ordred, hee sent forth before the battalies about eight hundred shotte, for a forelorne hope, led by Capitaine *Montluc*: eight peeces

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peeces

1544. peeces of artillery before the battaillon of the *Suisses*, and the like number before the *Gruyens*.

The bat-
tall of *Servil-
les*.

At the sunne rising the two armies stand, one against an other: the skirmish begins, and whilest that either army seekes to get the flanke of his enemy, they continue vntill eleuen of the clocke. In the ende, the enemy finding himself too strong by a diuid part, he comes to the charge. *Tais*, aduanceth to fight with the Prince of *Salerno*, but he was commanded by the Marquis, not to stirre before he gaue him charge. So *Tais* seeing the Prince make no shewe to march, & that our *Suisses* being weake in number could not withstand the shoocke of the Imperiall Lanquenets, which came to charge them: hee turns the head of his battaillon, and comes neere to the *Suisses*, *boutieres* being betwixt both. The Imperialls likewise change their destine, and of their great Squadron make two, one against the *Suisses*, the other against the *French*.

At the same instant the horsemen of *Ferrare* approched, to charge the *French* battaillon in flanke when as the armies should ioyne. *Termes* with his light horsemen being loath to attend this hazard, chargeth them furiously, breakes and overthrowes them vpon the Prince of *Salerno*: and thinking to be well followed chargeth into the midst of the Princes battaillon: but his horle was slaine and himselfe taken. A happie charge, for without it, it was likely the Prince of *Salerno* had marched vpon the flanks of the *French* battaillon, and whilest that hee was couered with the *Ferrarois* that were driuen vpon him, the *French* and *Suisses* had leysure to deale with their *C* Lanquenets: Who falling vpon the *Suisses* and *French*, fought long with like armes and a doubtfull euent, till that by the aide of the *Frenchmen* at armes, led by *Boutieres*, all the Imperiall *Germanes* were broken. The Marquis seeing his *Germanes* in route, vpon whome hee had ankored his chiefe hope: retires apart without striking stroake, and by this means makes the victorie easie for *Dampierre* vpon the enemies horsemen who supported the *Spaniards*. But this olde battaillon of *Spaniards* and *Germanes*, incounter our *Italians* and *Gruyens* with great aduantage: at the first charge they are surprised with feare, and all but the Captaines which fought in the foremost ranks flee.

Without doubt it was wisely aduised of the Duke, to leaue the *Suisses*, whome *D* he promised to assist, to second these poore amazed foules, for without him not one had escaped. He suddenly chargeth these olde soldiars, and taking one corner of their battaillon, forceth through them, and leaues not any enseigne of the whole battaillon standing. Yet not without great slaughter of his men. The Lord of *Assier*, the Baron of *Oym* Lieutenant to the Earle of *Montruel*, *Montsaillais* enseigne to the Baron of *Chrysell*, *de Glaine*, gouernour of *Cahors Courruille* and the Dukes two Squiers ended their dayes there. Saint *Amand* (otherwise called *Rochechaart*) and *Fernaques* were found among the dead carcases languishing of their wounds: yet they were afterwards cured: many others were slaine or hurt, whereof foureteeen or fiftene were Captaines or men of account, but hee that feares the leates must not go into the wood.

But this is not all, for the front of the *Spaniards* (who, by the voluntarie route of our men that ranne away, had no footemen to incounter them) come furiously and charge the Duke, who hauing no footemen to second him, looeth more at this second charge then at the first: and to increase the danger (which had beene sufficient to daunt a minde inclining to feare) hee had no newes of his *Frenchmen*, nor *Suisses*: a little hill kept them from the knowledge one of an other. But hee had rather die then retire.

The Duke of
Anguén in
great danger.

Hee chargeth and rechargeth, and still a number of the enemies shot pelwell with him, and a battaillon of their pikes followe him without breaking their ranks, and his troupe being greatly wasted, was not now about a hundred men: an vnequal force to fight with foure thousand men.

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A We may truly say, he is well kept whome God keeps. The Duke was readie to be swallowed vp, when as retiring on the right hand, to free himselfe from the Imperialls shot, which compassed him in on all sides, the *Spaniards* had newes of the defeat of the rest of their men. They see at the same instant some troupes rallie themselves vnder the Cornet of their enemies generall. So their first heat grewe reasonable colde, and they begin their retreat, but they had no time to finish it. The Duke appoints *Aussun* with about fiftie horse to charge them vpon the flank, and himselfe with those that came vnto him, followed them in the tayle. All giue way, all flee, every man seekes to saue himselfe, some in the wood, some in cottages: they beate downe and kill, all are taken or slaine, fewe escape.

He wins the
bataille.

B The *French* pursuyng the victory a mile, and especially the *Suisses*, incensed with the foule warre the Imperialls had made at *Montdeuis*, and crying in reuenge of that day *Montdeuis*, put all they incountred to the sword, without mercie. In the meane time the Prince of *Salerno*, seeing the whole defeat of the *Germanes* and of their horsemen, made his retreat without any great losse. And the Marquis of *Guaft* posted away to *Ast*: but at his departure hee had sayd vnto the Cittizens: That if hee returned not a Conquerour, they should shut their gates against him.

C They take him nowe at his worde. Without the cowardise of the *Gruyens*, the battaillon of *Spaniards* had in shewe bene defeated at the first charge: the Duke of *Anguén* had not receiued so fatall a checke in his troupe, the retreat of the Prince of *Salerno* had not bene so easie: and pursuing the Marquis, they might haue overtaken him, before hee had recouered *Milan* or any place of safetie. But the necessitie this braue Duke had to bee succored at neede, made this happie victorie vpperfet in that respect. There were slaine of the enemies, about fiftene thousand, of all nations, in lesse then a quarter of an houre.

Number of
the dead and
prisoners.

D Of *Germane* prysoners there were two thousand, five hundred and twenty: *Alisprand* of *Madruce* their Colonnell, was found among the dead bodies mayned in many parts of his bodie: *Spaniards*, sixe hundred and thirtie, amongst them: *Don Raymond* of *Cardone* and *Mendosa*, with seauen or eight other *Spanish* Captaines. *Don Charles* of *Gonsague* and many other *Italians*. The spoile was great and rich, a hundred thousand Crownes in money and plate, fiftene peeces of artillery, all the bridges they had brought to passe the *Po*, much munition, meale, and other victualles wherewith they presumed to releue *Carignan*, about eight thousand corselets of *Milan*, and mouables of diuers sorts of great value. Of the *French*, two hundred slaine and of men of name, besides the aboue mentioned the enseigne bearer to *Aussun* and his Nephewe: *Charles* of *Dros* gouernour of *Montdeuis*, *Desero* of the Countie of *Nice*, Colonnell of sixe enseignes of *Italians*, the Colonnell of the *Gruyens*, a *Daulphinois*, in the absence of their Earle: *la Molle* a *Prouençal*, Captaine, *Panassin* a *Daulphinois*: *Barberan* and *Montault Gascous*, and fewe others: of the *Suisses*, the Baron of *Saxe* was hurt in the throat with a pike and none else of account.

E If the Duke of *Anguén* arriual had bene pleasing to the army, far greater had bin the reputation hee had gotten by this famous victorie with all the nations of Europe, and the credit hee purchased with men of warre, commending his wisdom in so young yeares, admiring his valour, and louing his courtesie and bountie, vertues worthe of a great Prince and generall of an armie. This bloudie victorie had terrified the whole Country, and amazed *Milan*.

The Marquis of *Guaft* strooke vp the drumme: and twentie dayes were spent before that any man came to his colours. Moreouer the King had made a newe leue of sixe thousand *Grisons*: the Duke of *Somme*, the Earles of *Petillane*, *Mirandola*, *Martinengue*, *Peter Stroffs*, *Valere Vrsin*, *Robert Malateste* and many others leuiued an army to ioyne with the Duke of *Anguén*.

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There was some likelihood after so furious a battaile, to deprive the Emperour of the Estate of *Milan*. But he armed upon the *Rhin*, his troupes were readie to invade the frontier. The *English* were at sea, and the King had rather neede to drawe forces out of *Italie*, then to supplie them. The Duke therefore to drawe them speedily to the Kings deuotion, sends the Lord of *Tais* with the *French* bands, two hundred men at armes fixe great Cannons with some other peeces, to force some places vnder the Emperours obedience.

Effects following the victory.

Saint *Damian* a place of *Montferrat*, had not planted the *French* nor the *Spanish* Ensignes: notwithstanding beeing without hope of succors, they yelded to the Yoake, vpon condition that they should haue none but a *French* garrison. *Montcallier* followed, being a strong place: *Vigon*, *Pont d'Esture*, *Saint Saluador*, *Fresenet* of *Paw*: to conclude all *Montferrat*, except *Casal*, *Trin* and *Albe* yelded their neckes to the *French* obedience. And the Duke going to campe at *Carignan*, did by many forts forrestraine the sallies of the besegged, and the entrie of victualls, as extreame necessitie hauing forced them to demand composition, they departed with their armes, onely without ensignes or drums, taking an oath not to carrie armes of fixe monethes against the King nor his allies. This done, the Duke sent vnto the King, fixe thousand *French* soldiers of the olde bands, and sixethousand *Italians* to oppose against the Emperours inuasions.

Carignan yielded.

On the other side the Duke of *Somme*, with the other of the *French* faction, hauing leuied ten thousand foote, but fewe or no horse, came to ioyne with the Duke of *Anguien*. and the Princes of *Salerne*, and *Sulmona*, attended with a number of horse and foote, to fight with them at the passage of a riuer. They send to the Lord of *Tais*, to demand a Conuoie of horse. Hee promiseth, but performs nothing. And they (not able to retire without shame) charge the foote which were farre from their horsemen, and put them in route: But they consider not, that leuieing a place of strength, they giue the enemy the aduantage they had of them. The horsemen come and charge them in flanke, as they had broken their ranks, thinking to haue gotten the victorie, and put them to flight, they take many prisoners of qualitie: kill fewe, and no man of marke except *Valerius Vrsine*, the rest saued themselves at *Quieras* and *Carignan*. Wee commonly say, that a small ayde doth a great good. The footemen being overcome, a hundred men at armes had made the victorie absolute.

The Italians of the French partie defeated.

This checke doth not daunt them. The Duke of *Somme* beeing newly deliuered from prison, (the Prince of *Salerne* his Kinsman had freed him, fearing least the Emperour should do him some disgrace) and *Peter Strossy*, gathering together fixe thousand men of this shipwracke at *Miaandole*, meaning to ioyne with the Duke of *Anguien* at what price soeuer, hee being vnfurnished of forces, for besides the twelue thousand men hee had sent vnto the King, all his *Suisses*, (except two thousand) had bene for want of pay dismissed. They giue ouer the playne, and passe out of *Parmisan* with much toyle, by the mountaines of *Genes*.

The Marquis aduertised of this newe assembly, gathers together what forces he could of horse and foote, drawes forth his garrisons, and to stoppe to their passage attends them at the foore of the mountaines. They aduertise the Duke. Who hauing no men, but for the gard of his places, resolves notwithstanding to effect two things at once, and both to surprise *Alba* where they had left no men but for the gards of the gates, and to succour *Strossy*, and finding meanes to aduertise him, that hee should march towards *Alba*, whereof the enemy was left in doubt. The Duke comes thither on the one side, and *Strossy* on the other: hee makes a hoale in the gate towards the mountaine, on the other side of the water, about ten foote long: prepares to giue an assault, and *Strossy* the scalado, which the besegged seeing, they growe so amazed, as they yeld the place, and depart without carrying away of any thing.

Alba taken.

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A The Marquis makes hast to succour them, but knowing the Towne to be lost, frustrate of his hope, he retired, and the Duke hauing taken many places about, returned to *Carmagnole*. Within fewe daies after the Marquis practised a suspension of armes, which beeing confirmed by their two maiesties, there followed a truce for three monethes. Let vs now see the enemies attempt inuading the realme. The Emperour had no sooner found the King of *Englands* discontent, (whereof the marriage of the King of *Scotland* had bene the chiefe motiue) but forgetting, or rather dissembling the injuries he had receiued, he winnes him to his deuotion, although he had assured the Pope neuer to treat any alliance with him, vntill he had repayed the offence done vnto the sea of *Rome*, intitling himselfe supreme head vnder God of the Church of *England*, and punishing them which maintayned the authority of the Pope and the Church of *Rome*.

Truce in Piedmont.

Thus two grey-hounds tearing one another in peeces, lay aside their choller to name after the wolfe their common enemy. And for that, during the warre of the Dukes of *Wirtemberg*, by the bond of the Princes of *Germanie* with the King, the Emperours desseins had bene greatly crost, nowe perswading them (and aboue all the Protestants) that he hath done more then his dutie to the King of *France*, for the calling of a Councell, to call backe them that were strayed from the vnion of the Church, and to reforme the Pope and his ministers: but the King only had hndred this assembly, to giue him prouision of men and money, and ioyntly to bande with him to the destruction of this realme.

So hee sends the Earle of *Furstemberg* with an army before *Luxemburg*, which hauing mayntained the feege to the extremity, for want of victualls, the *Viconte* of *Estu- Picardie*. ges was forced to capitulate, and to depart with baggage. *Commercy* was the second triumphe of his victories. *Ligny* in *Barrois* the third, beeing the way for victualls which came to him from *Metz* & *Lorraine*. The Castell is commanded by two or three mountaines, and the besegged not able to stand to their defences, came to parle, when as the Imperials entering behind, compassed them in that were come to the breach, attending the assault: and take them prisoners with small slaughter. Without doubt the place was not to withstand the force of an Emperour, beeing in person: neyther was it so contemptible, but it deserued an honest composition. But the Earle of *Brienne*, Lord of the place, and *Rouffy* his brother, *Eschenais* & *Gonzolles*, who commanded about a hundred men at armes, and fiftene hundred foote, wonne small reputation. Doubtlesse the Earle of *Sancerre* wil winne farre more honor in the defence of *Saint Disser*, a place ill flanked, ill rampared, and vnworthy to oppose against an Imperiall army. Whilest the King assembled his forces, being ten thousand *Suisses*, six thousand *Grisons*, sixe thousand *Lanquenets* (whereof the Duke of *Neuers* was generall) and the twelue thousand men which came out of *Piedmont*, hee sent the Earle of *Sancerre*, to *Saint Disser* (whether the Emperour turned the head of his victorious army, without con- tradition) with the Duke of *Orleans* companie of a hundred men at armes, whereof he was Lieutenant, and some other troupes of horse: *la Lande* and the *Viconte* of *Riniere* eyther of them with a thousand foote. The Emperour being come before the towne, hastens his approches and trenches, makes two batteries, and plants fixe great culuerines towards the Castell, to beate into the Towne and to hinder their ordinarie sallies: he turned the water out of the ditch, and brought them to the vse of three wells onely, which hardly could furnish the soldiers: and by a continuall battery, doth exercise their care to repaire it. *La Lande* was tired with this toyle, & retrying at night to his lodging to refresh himselfe, a Cannon shot passing by the breach through the Towne, takes of his head, whose losse was much lamented being a valiant gentleman, and a good soldiier. In exchange, about the same time the Prince of *Orange* going to visit the Emperour in the trenches, a Culuerin shot into a heape of stonnes, hurt him in such sort as hee died, to the great greefe of the Emperour and his whole army.

The death of the Prince of Orange.

The breach was reasonable, and they come to the assault. Eightene enseignes of

1544. of *Spaniards* goe to it, and fight hand to hand, with them which were beseegeed, for an houres space.

A furious assault at Saint Disier.

The Emperour causeth nine or tenne thousand *Germaines*, to aduance speedily to succour them: but if the assault was fierce, the defence was no lesse valiant. Our men ouerthrew the *Spaniards*, from the breach into the ditch, by maine force. The Emperour sends about night, a hundred men with velvet cassocks, bourgunnets on their heads: they turne them likewise downe. Eight ensieigns of *Germaines* renew the assault with many smal barrells of powder, lances, & artificial fires. They are likewise repulged, with such shame and losse, as all their engins and deuises remaine in the ditches at the defendants discreuion: (and very happily, for they wanted powder) and seuen or eight hundred slayne in three assaults, gaue a certaine testimonie of the valour of the beseegeed. A Canon shot did miraculously take away the Earles sword which hee held in his hand, without hurting him, but lightly in the face.

This braue defence made the Emperour thinke, that the beseegeed would accept of an honorable composition. He sends a trompet to trie their minds. But he had no audience. So the Emperour ceaseth his batterie, to come to the vndermine. The beseegeed discouer it, and in the night send forth *Linieres*, a *Norman* Captaine, who force the *Spaniards*, to abandon the trenches, which they had brought to the bulwarke of victorie: they bring some pioners into the Towne to tell newes, and cuts the rest in peeces. Moreouer, the Duke of *Aumale* being at *Stenay* vpon *Meuze*, did greatly annoy the Imperials campe, and cut off their victuals from *Bar-le-Duke*. They must therefore seeke to winne by pollicie, what they could not get by force.

The Lord of *Grannelle* had surpris'd a pacquet, wherein he found the Alphabet of the Ciphre, whereby the Duke of *Guise* did communicate with the Earle of *Sancerre*. By this meanes, hee counterfeits a letter in the Dukes name, and makes an vknowne man to giue it secretly to a *French* dromme, returning from the enemies armie, for some prisoners, that hee should deliuer it to the Earle. The contents were: that the King knowing, in what want of victuals and powder they were readie to fall, commaunded them to make so fauourable a composition, as their men might be saued, hauing yet no meanes to succour them. They had indured fixe weekes secege, their victuals, and munition grew short, and their powder was not sufficient, to indure another assault. So they obteyne twelue dayes truce, during the which, they should vnderstand from the King, if he had meanes to succour them: or if he would be pleased, that for want of succours within the time, the horsemen should depart with their armes, & horses, their Cornets displayed, and casques on their heads: the footmen with their armes marching in battaile, ensieigns displayed, & drums sounding, carrying with them all their iewels, and foure peeces of artillerie, furnished at the choise of the beseegeed. This treatie pleased the King, and they departed according to the Capitulation. As honorable a Composition as euer was read off, for men beseegeed by so great an Emperour, with all the forces of the westerne Empire, in a bad place which had no better effect, then a Countie Towne.

Saint Disier yielded.

But what was the motiue of this easie accord? The Emperour was not ignorant of the small hope they had of succours, and that within few dayes famine would bring them to his subiection. But hee would take from the King of *England*, (who camped before *Boulen* and *Montrueil*) all colour of excuse, and to let him know that the fault was not in him, if the treatie were not fulfilled, according to the which, without any stay elsewhere, they should ioyn their forces nere vnto *Paris*, (the which vnited together, would haue made threescore and tenne, or foure score thousand foote, and eightene or twentie thousand horse) and to force the King to fight with disadvantage, or to suffer his countie and subiects to bee ruined before his face. Moreouer, hee did foresee, that the *Dauphin* camping vpon the riuer of *Marne*, with the bands come out of *Piedmont* in good order, and well armed, would make him consume his armie, whilest the King made a body of fortie thousand men, the which confronting him, being fresh, iustie, and

A and resolute, might cause him more losse and shame, then hee had receiued in *Trouence*. 1544.

And therefore the Emperour, to proceed in his conquests and desseignes, which he had with *Henry* King of *England*, came to lodge at *Vitry* in *Parthois*. Here hee learns that the King of *England* is not resolute to passe on, before hee had reduced *Boulen* and *Montrueil* to his obedience: the first dislike which shall soone draw the Emperour to *Bruxelles*. Hee considers, that the trauels past at *Saint Disier*, and want, had great leuasted his Souldiars: that to proceede, were to ingage both his men and his person, in a Laborinth, from whence hee should not easily free himselfe with honour: that hauing in front a mightie armie, still prospering, hungar, besides the Kings power, was sufficient to force him to make a shamfull retreat: that if the *English* take *Doulen* and *Montrueil*, he will impart nothing to him of his conquests, that being strong on this side the Sea, hee will bee more obstinate when there shall be any question to treat with him. So as hee begins to taste of some proposition of peace, moued before *Saint Disier*, by the Lord of *Grannelle* and his Confessor, a *Spanish* Monke, of the order of *Saint Dominike*, and of the house of *Gusmans*. A day is appointed for the meeting of the Deputies at *La Chaussee*, betwixt *Challons* and *Vitry*. For the King there came the Admirall of *Annebault*, and *Chemans*, Keeper of the Scale of *France*: for the Emperour, *Fernand* of *Gonzague*: and to know if the King of *England* would enter into it, they sent the Cardinall of *Bellay*, *Raymond* chiefe President of *Roman*, and *Cadepine* Secreterie of the State, and Treasurer.

The Emperour it understood of his retreat.

A treatie of peace.

As the Emperour camped towards the riuer of *Marne*, a league beneath *Challons*, and within two leagues of the *French* armie, a riuer being betwixt both, *William* Earle of *Fursenberg*, parted about midnight with a guide onely, to view a foard which hee had in former times passed, when as he came into *France* for the Kings seruice. Being come to the foard, he leaues his guide vpon a banke: sounds it, findes it easie, and passeth the riuer. But hee discouered not some Gentlemen of the Kings house, and part of the Admiralls company, who had the gard that night, who without giuing any alarm, but themselves betwixt the riuer & him, take him without resistance, lead him to the Campe, know him, and send him to the Bastille at *Paris*, from whence he shall not depart, vntill he hath payed thirtie thousand Crownes for his ransome. In the meane time the Emperour sees his armie ready to breake for hungar: they cutt off his victuals behinde, and on either side. And if that goodly Captaine whom the *Dauphin* had sent to draw into *Espernay* the victuals thereabouts, to breake the bridge vpon the riuer, and to spoile the Corne, Wine, and other prouisions, which could not be saued, had carefully executed his commission: the Emperour (disappointed of the munition and victuals which hee found in *Espernay*, and hauing no meanes to passe the riuer) had not in the end enioyed those commodities, which hee found in *Chasteau Thierry*, another Storehouse of the *French* campe, whereby his troupes languishing for hungar, recovered some strength.

In the end the *Dauphin* being come to campe at *La Ferté* vpon *Touarne*, and hauing sent a good number of men to *Meaux*, to hinder the Emperours passage, who deuising to make his retreat by *Soissons*, he takes his way by *Villiers-coste-Retz*, & vnder hand resumes the proposition of peace with the King. The King knowing that a battaile could not be giuen in the heart of his realme, so nere vnto his capitall Citie, without a veltie doubtful and dangerous consequence, and the losse of men, and in case he should vanquish the King of *England*, and the Earle of *Bures* would encounter him with as mightie an armie, as his owne: that by the losse of one, and perchance two battailes, his realme were in danger: that winning them, hee should get little, especially vpon *England* being an Island. Moreouer the Marshall of *Biez*, was almost forced to yeeld vnto *Montrueil*, to the *English*, for want of victuals and succours: the sufficiencie of the Lord of *Percein* gouernour of *Boyllan*, as we shall shortly see, was not without cause suspected: and without a conclusion with the Emperour, hardly could these two important Townes be recovered.

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A peace concluded.

The King therefore sent the Admirall of *Annebault* againe to the Emperour, being in the Abbie of *S. Iohn des Vignes*, in the suburges of *Soissons*, where in the end was concluded: That Charles Duke of Orleans, should within two yeares after, marry with the Emperours daughter, or his neece, daughter to *Ferdinand King of Romaines*, and at the consummation of the said marriage, the Emperour should inuest the said Duke of Orleans in the Duchie of Milan, or in the Earldome of Flanders, as the Low Countries, at the choice of the said Emperour. And in exchange, this done, the King promised to renounce all his rights pretended to the said Duchie, and the Kingdome of Naples, and to restore the Duke of Savoy to the possession of his Countries, when as the Duke his sonne should deny the said Duchie of Milan or the Earldome of Flanders: and all things during the terme of two yeares, as well on this, as the other side the Alpes, should remaine in the same estate, as they were at the truce made at Nice. So the Emperour deliuered vnto the King on this side the mountaines, *Saint Desier, Ugray, Commercy*: and the King *Tuoy, Montmedy and Landrecy*. *Strasbourg* was deliuered into the Duke of *Lorraines* hands, and the fortifications razed. On the other side the Alpes, the Emperour had nothing to yeeld but *Montdenis*: and the King, *Alba, Quieras, Antignan, Saint Damian, Palezol, Cresentin, Verrue, Montcal, Barges, Pont d'Esure, Lans, Vigon, Saint Saluador, Saint Germaine*, and many other places which he possessed.

These treaties thus concluded, and proclaimed beyond the Alpes, the Duke of *Anguien* returned into France, with as great glory and honour, as a wife and valiant Prince could enioy. and the Emperour retired his armie (which the Earles of *Reux* & *Bures* lead ioyntly with that of *England*): he dismissed his owne, and parting from *Soissons*, tooke his way to *Bruxelles*, accompanied beyond the frontiers by the Duke of Orleans, the Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Mendon*, the Earle of *Laval*, *la Humauday* & others. The Emperour is now out of the realme: let vs also seeke to send the King of *England* beyond the seas. *Henry the 8. King of England*, according to the League he had with the Emperour, landing at *Calais*, with an armie of thirty thousand men, fortified with ten thousand *Lansquenets*, and three thousand *Reislres*, which the Earle of *Bures* lead, and the troupes of the Earle of *Reux*, chiefe of the army of the Low countries for the Emperour, he found *Picardie* very much vnfurnished of men: the King had withdrawne his forces towards *Champagne*, to oppose them against the Emperour: and the Duke of *Vendosme* being weake in men, had fiew places of importance to furnish, *Arde, Boullen, Therouenne, Montrueil, Hedin*, all equally opposed to the inuasion of the *Engliss*.

The King of England besiegeth Boullen & Montrueil.

Henry therefore seeing no armie to withstand him, making his account to carrie a legge or an arme of the body of this realme, sent the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Earles of *Reux* and *Bures* to besiege *Montrueil*: and himselfe went and camped before *Boullen*. The Marshall of *Biez* was gouernour. But when hee saw the enemy tume the point of his armie towards *Montrueil*, he left the Lord of *Veruein* his sonne in law, to command in *Boullen*: from which he was dissuaded by some, to whom his sufficiencye was well knowne) assisted by *Philip Corse* a Captaine very well experienced in armes, the Lords of *Lignon* and *Aix*, otherwise called *Renty*, young, and without experience, with their regiments, and halfe the company of a hundred men at armes, of the sayd Marshall: and he put himselfe into *Montrueil*, with the Constables companie of a hundred men at armes, lead by *la Guiche* his Lieutenant (a man of great experience in the Arte of warre:) *Genly*, Captaine of foure Ensignes of *French* foote, the Earle *Berenger* and *Francis of Chiaramont*, *Neapolitans*, eyther commanding a thousand men.

At the beginning of the siege of *Montrueil*, the Duke of *Vendosme* aduertised of a Conuoy of victuals, which came from *Aire* and *S. Omer* to the enemies campe, guarded by eight hundred horse, and twelue hundred *Lansquenets*, with foure meane Culuerins, to fortifie themselves, if they were charged: he sent the Lords of *Villebon, Espre, and Eguilly*, with their companies of men at armes, to busie the enemy, vntill that hee might come with his company of a hundred men at armes. *Chastaigneray*, with fifty of the

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A *Daulphins*, and *Senerpont* with the like charge, who arming in troupe, charged the enemy, brake them, put them in rout, and besides the dead, carrie eight hundred prisoners to *Therouenne*, win two Culuerines, (the other two remayning, for that their carriages were broken) and foure enseignes of *Lansquenets*.

On the other side, the Kings presence before *Boullen*, kindled the courage of the besiegers, and daunted *Veruein*, the head of the defendants, a man of no worth. The first approch of the Cannon killed his heart: and amazed with the furious batterie of the enemy, after hee had endured a kind of an assault, (but whilst that *Philippe Corse* stood by him, who being slaine with a Canon shot) hee sends presently to sound the intent of the King of *England*, and yeelds him the Towne by composition: That the men of warre, and Citizens, should depart with their baggage: deliuered him the place, with all the artillerie, munition, and victuals, whereof there was great store. The inhabitants refuse this bad composition: the Maior offers, with the Townsmen, and those that were well affected, to keepe the Towne. A shew of loue very commendable in this people, but in such an action he should haue proceeded farther, and haue lodged the Captaine, where he might haue yeilded a good account to the King, and by the effect, haue performed what was offered. Without doubt, his Maiestie would haue allowed the enterprife, as done for the good of his seruice. for the Capitulation was no sooner concluded, and hostages not yet giuen, but a horrible tempest of wind and raine, ouerthrowes all the enemies tents, and leaues not one standing, and the soyle being fatt and slipperie, they had no meanes to mount to the assault. An vndoubted signe of the present assistance, of heauen. Moreover the *Daulphin* marched with speed to succour them: who by his approch, had made the King of *England* to change his dessein. But, sayd *Veruein*, I will not breake my word with the King of *England*. A foolish, and impertinent scruple, to continue constant in a treacherous promise to the enemy, and to make no conscience to breake his faith to his naturall and Soueraigne Prince. A scruple which shall soone make him iustly to loose his head on a scaffold at *Paris*.

This peace with the Emperour, had greatly impayred the King of *Englands* forces: Seege of *Montrueil*. To surprise their campe before *Montrueil*, and to take *Boullen* from them, before they had fortified it, the King causeth his armie to march with speed. But the Duke of *Norfolke*, fearing least the *French* armie would come betwixt *Boullen* and him, and cut off his retreat, he rayled his campe, and went to ioyne with the King of *England*: who knowing his forces, being diuided from the Emperours, would be vnable to encounter the Kings armie, he imbarcad a part of his great artillerie for *England*, and leauing the Duke of *Somerfet* for the gard of his new Conquest, hee retyred to *Calais*.

The haste he had to dislodge, caused him to leaue part of his artillerie, victuals, and munition, in base *Boullen*, being fortified only with some small trenches: for the surprising whereof, the *Daulphin* sent in the night, two troupes, led by *Fouquessolles*, and *Tais*, and to second them, he leaues six thousand *Grifons* in a valley. *Fouquessolles* and *Tais* enter the place, cut all in peeces they meet, winne both the artillerie, and munition, and thinke to haue gotten an absolute victorie: but for want of making a stand, oftne or twelue enseignes betwixt base *Boullen*, and the high Towne, to hinder their sallies, and to leaue some troupe in battaile in the market place of the base Towne: fiew or six enseignes issue forth from the high Towne, and finding souldiars in disorder, busied at the spoyle, they put them in rout. *Fouquessolles* was slaine, *Tais* hurt, and no persuasions of the Capitaines could euer stay the rest, but they cast themselves confused, yamong the *Grifons*, to saue their liues: yet were they (saith the Original) as good souldiars, as any were that day in *Europe*: but in matter of enterprises, if all accidents bee not foreseene, it is too late to repaire them, when the disorder is happened.

The Day being come, and the rayne falling in such abundance, as the most part of our shot had no fire: the victuals by reason of the bad way could not followe, all the Countrie of *Boullenois* was wasted, spoyled, and burnt, euen vnto *Montrueil*, and

1545. and from *Montrueil* to *Abbeville*, (which were seenteene Leagues) no grasse, nor forage for their horses. So the *Daulphin* hauing receiued newes from the King, dismissed his *Suisses* and *Grisons*, leauing the Marshal of *Biez* in *Montrueil*, with the *French* and *Italian* bands, come out of *Piedmont*, and retyred to the King his father, at *Saint Germain* in *Laye*.

Then dyed *James* King of *Scotland*, leauing by his death, his realme in prey to his neereſt neighbour. To ſaue it from oppreſſion, and keepe the people in the obedience of the Queene *Dowager*, (he had taken to his ſecond wiſe the daughter of the Duke of *Guise*) the King ſent (with a good number of men, and money,) the Earle of *Lenox* of the houſe of *Steward*, Nephew to the deceaſed Marshal of *Aubigny*. The Earle being yong, and ill aduiſed, hauing in his vaine and riotous expences implored the Kings money,, and fearing to be accuſed of theſt, retyred to the King of *England*, who deſiring to vie his ſeruiſe, and to tie him by ſome notable bond, cauſed him to marry a Neece of his, daughter to his ſiſter, mother to the deceaſed King of *Scots*. The King aduertified of this reuolt, ſent *la Broche*, a gentleman of *Bourbonnois*, wiſe and well aduiſed, to giue counſell and comfort to the widowe, and ſoone after, the Lord of *Lorges* Earle of *Montgomery*, to croſſe the King of *Englands* attempts againſt the *Scots*.

Boullen beſe-
ged by the
King.

But in caring for the affaires of another, ſhould hee neglect his owne? *Boullen* poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, was too great a beame in his eye: it was an open port for the enemy to take footing daily, and to fortiſie himſelfe within the realme. They therefore make great preparations by ſea and land, to diſlodge them. By ſea hee ſends Cap- taine *Paulin* (hereafter Baron of the *Garde*) into *Prouence*, to bring ſiue and twentie gal- lies out off the Eaſt ſeas, into the *Ocean*, by the ſtraight of *Gibraltar*, and eight, or tenne Carracks of *Genoa*: but they came ſo late, as they ſerued to no uſe: moſt part of them periſhed at the mouth of *Seine*, for want of expert Pilots. By land hee raiſed a mightie armie, vnder the commaund of the Maſhal of *Biez*, to campe before *Boul- len*, the riuier betwixt both, attending his armie by ſea, and there building a good fort vpon the point of the Tower of *Ordre*, to keepe the enemy within their wall's with the Canon, and to cut off all meanes for the ſhipps to enter into the hauen, to ſuccour the Towne: making account to goe afterwards in perſon, to beſeege *Guines*, & there to fortiſie: to keepe *Calais*, and the land of *Oye* in ſubiection, and by that meanes to ſa- uer the *Boullen*. But man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth: wee ſhall ſee both *Boullen* and *Calais*, by other meanes, and at diuers ſeaſons, reduced to the obedience of this Crowne.

The King of
France his ſer-
uice, giueth
England.

According to theſe deſſeines, the King ſent Cont *Reingrand*, the Colonells *Re- chro* and *Lodowike* to fill vp their regiments of Lanſquenets, to the number of foure or ſiue thouſand a peece, and to ioine with tenne thouſand men, which he leued in *Gasconie* and *Languedoc*. This done, his Maieſtie tooke his way to *Normandie*, to em- baik his armie at *Newhauen*, and being at *Touques* about Midſomer, he diſcouered his armie out of the *Leuant* ſeas: then vpon the aſſurance which the Maſhal of *Biez* (hauing receiued the Lanſquenets, and ſixe or ſeuene thouſand pioners) gaue him, that by the miſdeed of Auguſt the fort of *Boullen* would bee in defence, he cauſed his Na- uie to ſet ſayle, wherein the Admirall of *Annebault* commaunded. But beheld a pit- tiful beginning. As they come to weigh anchor in the *Carragon* (which was the good- lieſt ſhip of the weſterne ſea, and the beſt ſayler being of eight hundred tunns bur- then, in the which the Admirall ſhould fight) fire takes the gunners roome, and con- ſumes it to aſhes. Many, to auoyd the fury of the fire, leaped into the ſea: the galleies ſaued many, and many were caſt away: the fire takes the artillery, (there were a hun- dred great peecees of braſſe) which ſinking all that was before them, behind on the ſide, forced the other ſhips to giue roome. A hundred and ſiftie great ſhips, three- ſcore baiks, and ſiue and twentie galleyes ſet ſayle, the 6. of Iuly, and bore their courſe towards the Ile of *Wight*, and the hauen of *Portsmouth* in *England*, where the *Engliſh* had threeſcore ſhips, well appointed for warre.

The

1544.

A The Admirall reſolued to fight with them, made choiſe of thirtie ſhips, to accom- panie that wherein he would fight: *Boutieres* coaſting this Squadron on the right wing, with thirtie ſixe ſhippes, and the baron of *Curton* on the left, with the like number: The aduantage of the place where the enemy lay, defended on the one ſide by ſome ſores, and on the other with rocks, banks and ſands couered with water, which lie in the miſdeed of the way: and make a narrowe and crooked entrie, diſſwaded him.

To draw them to ſea, the gallies aduance, ſkirmiſhing with their Canon, and fight- ing, they retyre toward's their ſquadrons. The calmnes of the ſea, without any wind, or great current, ſhewed it ſelfe fauourable to our men, for the ſpace of a whole houre in the morning, hauing meanes to gouerne their gallies at pleaſure, and annoy the ene- mie, who for want of winde lay open to the *French* artillery. So the *Mary-roſe* one of the beſt ſhips of their fleet, was ſonke with the Canon, and of ſiue or ſix hundred men, onely ſiue and thirtie eſcaped: the great *Henry* which carried their Admirall had made the like end, if the neere ſhips had not ſuccoured it. And greater loſſes threatned them, when as the wind changed, and became good for them, preſerued them from perill, and ſerued them to charge our ſhips with full ſayles: which change was ſo for- dane, as the *Engliſh* ſhips purſuing our gallies, were readie to ouerturne them, if by a great aſſurance of the Commanders, and experience of the ſaylers, and rowers, hauing no Canon in their poupe, they had not ſpeedily turned their prowes, who being without the reach of the Canon, ſlacke their courſe, ſeeking to draw the enemy out of the rocks and bankes, as they had bene directed.

Some *Engliſh* pinaces (theſe be ſhippes more long in forme then round, more narrow then our gallies, ſwift, and eaſie to gouerne, and which better command the currants in that ſea) followed with an incredible ſwiftneſs, and with their artillery, did wonder- fully annoy our gallies: when as the *Prior* of *Capua*, brother to *Peter Stroſſy*, impatient of this brauadoe, turnes his gallie againſt a Pinace, which ſurpaſſeth his companions, was readie to grapple with one of our gallies in poupe, and forceth him to retire to the bodie of their battaile. And our Admirall hauing now put his ſhips in order, and readie to giue the ſigne of battaile, he ſees the enemy retire from the chaſe, and returne to their hold. In this conſiſt, they looſe ſome ſlaues, few ſouldiars, and no men of account.

They muſt now prepare an other baite. The King of *England* was at *Portſmoth*, and the Admirall (burning his Countrie, and killing his men in his ſight) imagined that the indignation of this wrong, the compaſſion of his ſubiects blood ſpilt, the ſacke and burning of his Countrie, would force him to ſend forth his ſhips, to ſuccour them, (being not about two Canon ſhot off,) or elſe the ſubiects wrongs, being no way re- leued by the preſence of their Prince, would breed ſome ſedition, and mutinie in the Countrie. He therefore makes three ſundrie landings, to diuide the enemies forces. The one by *Stroſſay*, vpon a little fort, furniſhed with artillery, which did beat our gal- lies in ſtanke, and manned by the Countymen, who ſeeing the reſolution of our men, a- bandon their fort, and ſlie to a wood neere by, ſome behind were ſlaine, and the hou- ſes about it burnt. The Lord of *Tais*, and the Baron of *la Garde* both Generals, the fiſt of the foot: the other of the gallies, land in another place: they encounter ſome ſqua- dons of foot, who by covert wayes in the woods, were gathered together, to fight at their aduantage: they make head againſt our men, and hurt ſome, but the reſt of the troups marching in battaile, make them abandon the place, and ſlie to recouer their ſtraights, where they could not follow but in diſorder.

Maſſy and *Pierrebou* Captaines of galleis, were hurt in their landing, at an incur- ter of the *Engliſh*, but to draw them in groſſe to fight, it was not poſſible, and leſſe meanes to charge them on their owne ground. Neither Captaines nor ſouldiars wan- ted will: but the danger was too apparent. They muſt ſlip downe a narrow chan- nell, where but foure ſhips could go in front, and the like number of the enemies ſhips might eaſily defend it. They could not enter, but with the tide and wind, and the foure fiſt ſhips repulſed, had fallen backe vpon the reſt of the fleet, and diſordred them.

They

1545.

They must of necessitie fight neere vnto their land: and fauoured by their Fortes and Canon, had they not meanes to hinder the approach, to the great preiudice of our fleet: and our ships bording and grappling, the force of the current had driuen them on ground one vpon another. There was as litle reason to fight at anchor, the Cable might be cutt: and this inconuenience auoided, the danger was not lesse, for the nature of the current is to turne the prow; so as our ships in steed of the prow or the broad side, must haue presented their poupe to the enemy. Moreouer, their anchors not able to stay the ships sodenly, by reason of the violent turning of the streame, eyther the Anchor or Cable might breake, and by consequence cast the ships on ground.

The French
consult to
take the Ile
of Wight &
to fortifie it.

They therefore propound two things in counsell, either to saile into *Picardie*, to fortifie the Kings armie, and to cut off all succours from *Boullen*, or to fortifie the Ile of *Wight*. Many reasons perswaded the most part to the last opinion: for hauing the Ile at their deuotion, they might easily become Lords of *Portsmouth*, one of the goodliest ports of *England*: and forcing the enemy to maintaine a continuall armie both by land and sea, to crosse the Conquerours desseins, it would consume them in exceeding expences. Moreouer, they kept the passage of *Spaine* and *Flanders*: and might in time till the Island, and make it yeeld victuals sufficient to maintaine men for the garde thereof.

Without doubt this was an oportunitie which hath not since happened, to oppose a strong barre betwixt both the realmes. But let vs say, that he which holds both land and Sea, within the palme of his hand, would leaue this Island in the power of her ancient and lawfull Lord. But howsoeuer, the Admirall might easily haue left foure thousand men, and foure thousand Pioners, for the defence of the Island, as he did to fortifie the Kings armie before *Boullen*, after the ouerthrow of the Cheualier d' *Aux*, a Prouensall and Captaine of the Gallies of *Normandie*, leauing his Fleet well manned. As the Admirall lay at Anchor before *Boullen*, a Westerne winde ariseth, and makes him to seeke harbour vpon the coast of *England*. Being at the *Perris*, and there kept by force of winde, and a swolne sea, the *English* fleet thinking to haue the aduantage, imbarke speedily, being a hundred good ships, and come with full sailes against our men, hauing the winde in powpe. The violence of the windes, & the greatnesse of the seas, which might haue taken from our men the vse and seruice of their gallies, D gaue them hope of victorie. On the other side, the Admirall feared that the tempest would driue him to shoare, or force him to weigh Anchor in disorder (for that the bad wether would not suffer them to keepe together) and with great danger to passe the strait at *Calais*, or else to take his course towards *Flanders*, and so they might stop his passage in his returne: moreouer soule wether might stay him so long, as he should want victuals, and in the meane time, the enemy (who to attend him at the passage, would come to *Boullen*,) would disturbe the Kings Fortes that hee pretended to make, the which he desired by all meanes to preuent.

And therefore following the aduice of his Captaines, hee attends at Anchor the change of the tide. The next day the winde and tide fauours him, so as he desired to E encounter the enemy. The night passeth, and at the breake of day, the *English* armie appeares. Hee follows them, but was so becalmed, as he could not aduance but with the tide. Eyther seeke to gette the winde, and coasting neere, salute one another with the Canon. Some ships are sunke, and some men perish in the sea. In the end, the enemy seeing our men to haue gotte the winde, set saile, and take their course to the Ile of *Wight*, hauing both winde and tide, which carried them without disorder to their Port, and the night approaching ended the combat. The enemy hauing recovered a safe Port, the Admirall tooke his course towards *New-hauen*, to refresh his Armie, and to land many sicke men languishing in the shippes. This was about the middest of August.

In the middest of August, the King meant to execute his enterprife vpon *Guines*, whereof we haue spoken. His armie was of twelue thousand *French*, twelue thousand *Lanquenets*, sixe thousand *Italians*, and foure thousand *Legionaries*, a thousand or F

A hundred men at armes, and seuen or eight hundred light horse. But the fort before *Boullen* was no more defensible then eight dayes after it was begun: First not built I 5 + 5. vpon the point, as it was appointed, right against the Tower of *Ordre*, but against base *Foullen*, so as it could no way stoppe the entrie of the ships into the hauen. The Marshall of *Biez* excused himselfe, that they had giuen him to vnderstand he should find no water there, and that the soldiars could not lodge, for the violence of the winds. Secondly, hee relyed vpon his Ingeneur, *Anthoine Mellon* an *Italian* Captaine, who was held to be a man of experience, and a good souldiar, who being ignorant of his measures, made the worke fruitles for two moneths.

The Marshall notwithstanding assures the King, that within eight dayes, the fort B would be defensible, but it was no more forward, then at the first day. And to couer this defect, he lets the Captaines vnderstand, that he is aduertised, how the enemy assembled at *Calis*, to come and succour *Boullen* by land, holding it in danger to be furnished: he was therefore resolved to passe the riuer, and to abandon the fort. And without imparting of any thing to the Lord of *Estrue*, Marshall of the Campe, who contradicted this desseine, hee leaues three or foure thousand men in the fort, and goes to lodge at *Mont-Lambert*, within Canon shot of the Towne, to make head against the enemy, and to fight with him, if he came to succour the Towne. But what likelihood was there, that the *English* being weaker in force and numbers, would hazard a battaile, and by land (seeing that one shippe would carrie more victuals then a C thousand carts) come and victuall a Towne, which daily he might refresh by sea, without danger, in sight of the enemy. But in effect, it was a great honour for the Marshall of *Biez*, to see so many yong Princes subiect to his command: and if *Boullen* had bene recovered, he had lost the authoritie to command so goodly, and mightie an armie. The hope of a battaile made all the youth in Court post to *Mont Lambert*, the Dukes of *Anguien*, *Neuers*, *Aumale*, *Thouars* Lord of *Tremouille*: the Earle of *Caual* and others, who by continuall skirmishes, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse, did trie their valours with the besieged. And the King relying vpon the assurance he had of the Marshall of *Biez*, aduanced, hoping that the Bulwarks, and the Courtynes of the fort, had bene in such defence, as he might haue employed his armie elsewhere. D But there are two reasons which diuert him: The one priuate, which was the death of the Duke of *Orleans* his yongest sonne, who supprised with a *Quotidian* feuer, which they held to be pestilentious, died the eight of September, in the Abby of *Forest-mon* tier, betwixt *Abbeville* and *Montrueil*, being three and twentie yeares old, leauing a second greefe to the father, to haue lost two sonnes at such times as they grew capable to ease his decaying age: and without doubt, the the waywardnes which made this Prince melancholike and difficult, will hasten the course of his life, to bring him to his graue. The other was publike: the Prince of *Melphe* being sent to visit the fort, hauing considered the time of the foundation, and the terme it required to come to the perfection, reported, that winter would bee well passed, before it should bee made fit E for seruice, without the assistance of an armie.

So the King seeing his hopes lost, and the season spent, for the effecting of his desseins, hee retired towards *Amiens*, to the Abby of *Saint Fuscien*. In the meane time the neernes of the Kings Campe at *Mont-Lambert*, did inuite both nations, daily to make great skirmishes. One day amongst the rest, the Duke of *Aumale*, seeing our men withstand a charge of the enemies but faintly, and were readie to be ouerthrowne: making a count hee should bee seconded by his troupe, hee fals vpon a company of *English*, which went to charge our *French* vpon the flanke, & at the first approach stayes them, but being stroken with a launce, betwixt the nose and the eye, it breaks in peeces, and lest the tronchion halfe a foot within his head: without doubt, we may admire the generositie of this yong Nobleman, who for so rough a charge, lost neither stirops, nor vnderstanding, to free himselfe from those which had compassed him in, and his admirable patience in induring the paine, when they came to draw forth the three square head, as constantly, as if they had pulled but a haire from his head.

A a a

Winter

Death of the
Duke of Or-
leans.

Skirmishes
before Boullen

1545. Winter approached, and the King considering that his enterprise vpon *Guines* was frustrate: aduertised moreover, that the *English* made a new leaue in *Germanie* of ten thousand Lanquenets, and foure thousand horse, with this supply to come and raise the siege at *Boullen*, he fortified all the approches in the countrie of *Tierache*, and about *Aubenton*, *Verucin* and *Guise*, to stop their passage. He sent the Marshall of *Biez* to invade, ruine and burne, the land of *Oye*, (for that *Calais*, *Guines* and *Hames*, which the *English* held vpon the maine land, had no other reliefe but out of that Countie;) and to dispose of the affaires as occasion should serue, he marched towards *la Fere* vpon *Oise*.

Description
and lack of
the land of
Oye.

The land of *Oye* containes about foure leagues in length, and three in breadth: a marish very fertill in pastures, hauing on the one side the sea, and at the one end towards the sea *Calais*: at the other end *Grauelin*, of the land of *Flanders*: towards the land, and alongst the bankes of the Marish, is the Towne of *Guines*, and the Caste of *Hames*, and at the end towards *Arthois* stands *Ardes*. For the safetie of this land, the *English* had made great trenches towards the firme land, the which were commonly full of water, and fortified with Rampars: and to flanke them, fortes and bastions well manned to defend the entrie into the countie. The affection which euery one bare vnto the Kings seruice, made them to passe the channels which flowed into the countie, directly against the fortes. They assaile them, force them, and put all to the sword they finde. Two thousand *English* come to their succours, the *French* men at armes, charge and defeate them, and kill the most part: the rest cast themselves into the trenches, where the horsemen could not follow: foure score or a hundred of our horse, with manie men at armes, testified by their deaths or wounds, the furie of this encounter. The *English* were strong, both in high and base *Boullen*, and in the Tower of *Ordre* (this Tower was built by *Iulius Caesar*, the second time he passed into *England*, to haue a Lampe vpon the top of it, to direct his ships, if they should be diuided by any storme at Sea, as in his first voyage) and the retiring of our troupes, made them to enterprise vpon our forte, which was made on the other side of the water, right against base *Boullen*. Scuen or eight thousand choise men, come an houre before day, and mount suddenly to the top of the rampar, where they might easily enter in many places without any ladders. *Thibault Rouhault* Lord of *Rion*, Lieutenant for the King within the fort, finding his succours farre off, (saies the originall) watched in the night, and rested the day. If the enemy charged furiously, he repels him with no lesse assurance, kills all them that mounted, ouerthrowes the rest, & puts them in route, so as by this gallant repulse, he was afterwards freed from the attempts of the *English*.

A leaue of
Lanquenets
for the *English*
made
inuidele.

We must now plant strong barres against the Lanquenets, which come to succour the King of *England*. They were lodged at *Fleurines*, a great village in the countie of *Liege*, ten leagues from *Mezieres*. *Mezieres* was of great importance, if the enemy had surprised it. And the Emperor fearing that this great swarme of men, finding his countie vnsupplied of souldiars, would doe some harme, had hindered their passage through his territories. This refusal might haue made the *Germanes* to haue sought a passage by force through the realme. So the King to crosse them, sent *Langey* into *Mezieres* with a thousand foot, and the horsemen of *Bourgongne*, and part of *Champagne*: he sent *Longueval* his Lieutenant into *Champagne*, to muster the Legion of the countie, & manned the passages where he thought the enemy would attempt. He sent the Duke of *Angien* into *Guise* with three hundred men at armes, and a number of horse. In the end the Lanquenets hauing staid 3. weekes at *Fleurines*, doubtfull where they should make their passage: the day of their pay being come, and the money yet in *England*, they turne their enuies, & returne home the same way, leading with them the King of *England*'s Treasurers for assurance of their entertainment. Our *Francis* is now freed of a great care. By the death of the Duke of *Orleans*, the chiefe conditions of peace made with the Emperour were void: so (to enter into new treaties, his Maiesie sent from *Folambray* neere to *Couffy*, the Admirall *Annebault*, and the Chanceller *Oruer*. The Emperour was at *Bruges*, and determined to send an armie against the Protestants and commonalties of *Germanie*, who yeelded him no such obedience as he required of his subiects, and with this dessein he went to *Antwerp*, to receiue money by im-

1546. imposition and borrowing. This voyage is a cloake to delay our Ambassadors. But in effect he ment to know the minds of the of *Antwerp*, that according to the courtes of affaires, he might be more milde or sharpe in his answers. And the sayd Ambassadors discouraging his ordinarie delaies and dissimulations, in the end tooke their leaue, returning with no other assurance, but if the King began no warre against him, hee was not reioiced to make any.

A word serues to a man of Iudgement. What might the King conceiue of this cold entertainment? but that the Emperour sought an oportunitie to begin a new war with advantage: and if he had forced them to obedience whom hee threatened in *Germanie*, he would bring al forces, both Catholiks & Protestants, ioyntly against the frontiers of this realme. To auoide a sodaine surpris, hee giues the gouernment of *Languedoc* to the Duke of *Angien*: that of *Piedmont* to the Prince of *Melpe*, lately created Marshall of *France*: he sent to fortifie the weak places of *Picardie*, hee made a fort about *Asanbert-Fontaine*, seauen leagues from *Verucin*, and siue from *Mezieres*, at the going out of the wood, and for that the frontier of *Champagne*, lay most open to the *Germanes*, hee fortified *Meziers* and *Mouzon*, built a fort vpon *Meuze* on this side the riuier within the realme, betwixt *Stenay* and *Dunle Chasteau*, the which hee called *Villefranche*. He fortified the Castell of *Saint Menchoult*, *Saint Desier*, *Chaumont* in *Bassigny*, *Couffy*, and *Ligny*: and made *Bourg* in *Bresse* able to make head against a mighty army. Thus the King provided for his frontiers and places subiect to the enemies inuasions. But the plague had so diminished the number of soldiars that were in the fort, right against *Boullen*, as of twentie ensigns not above eight or nine hundred men escaped this mortalitie. The soldiars notwithstanding are commended for their fidelity, constancie and patience in the gard thereof. The raine, snowe, and other iniuries of the aire, the moistnes of their lodgings (being but hoales in the ground, couered with a pentise of strawe, and when a whole househo'd was dead, the ruines serued to bury their carcasses,) had bred these diseases. But the spring time hauing tempered the season, and stayed the plague, the Lords of *Esse* and *Rion*, being refreshed and supplied with men, returned to their ordinary skirmishes, to the enemies losse. The fort wanted victualls. *Senerpont* Lieutenant to the Marshall of *Biez*, was appointed for this execution. Three hundred *English* horse come to hinder this victualing. He meetes them the day after Easter day neere to the bridge of bricke, beneath mount *S. Stephen*: the skirmish begins on eyther side: the Lord of *Tais* and the Conte *Reingraue* arise either of them, with fixe or seauen score gentlemen, the alarum comes to *Boullen*: & the *English* supplie their men with seauen hundred horse, and foure hundred harguebuziers. *Senerpont* chargeth the horsemen before they had ioyned with their shot: the *Reingraue* is hurt at the first charge and ouerthrowen, and on the other side the Marshall of *Calais*, being chiefe of the enterprise is slaine with a hundred or fixscore *English*, about two hundred horse on eyther side, and threescore and fiftene *English* prisoners, all in cassaks of vellet garnished with gold and siluer.

A great
plague in the
fort before
Boullen.

A while after the Marshall of *Biez* parted from his campe, for the same effect accompanied with fiftie men at armes, the *Reingraue* with his regiment of foure thousand Lanquenets, and two hundred *French* shot, he encountered the Earle of *Surrey* followed by six thousand *English* men, with an intent to take from our men the meanes to refresh the fort with victualls, and necessarie munition. Here the combate was long and furious: in the ende the *English* ouerthrowen, retire to a little fort, where they force them. Seauen or eight hundred of their men are slaine. *Surrey* saues himselfe by flight, and leaues seauen or eight score prisoners.

Boullen was but a Church-yard for the *English*, & a wastling for their treasor. The King of *England* considering how obstinate the King was in the recouerie of his Towne, that moreover the Emperour (what league foueuer they had together) had his priuate desires, and regarded nothing but his owne interest: he lettes the King vnderstand, That he is reioiced to haue him for his friend, and to ende all controuersies. So the Deputies for their maisters meete betwixt *Ardes* and *Guynes*. For the King came, the Admirall

1546. *Annebault*, and *Raymond*, the first President of *Rouan*: for the *English*, *Dudley*, *Aernold*, *A* of *England*, (and afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*) and finally, after many negotiations, a peace was made with these conditions: *That the King within eight daies should pay eight hundred thousand Crownes, to the King of England, as well for the arrerages of his pension, as for many other expences made by the said King in the fortification of Boullen, & of the Countrey: And in regard of the said sum, the King of England should deliver unto the King, Boullen, and all the Countrey belonging unto it, with the ancient places, or newly raised by him, Mont-Lambert, the Tower of Ordre, Ambletuicil, Blacquenay, and others, with all the artillerie, victuals, and munition in the said places.*

The death of
the Duke of
Anguien.

This year is famous by the death of *Anguien*. In the moneth of February, the snow was very great, and the Court being at *Roche-guion*, some yong Noblemen attending the *Daulphin*, made a challeng, some to defend a house, others to assaile it with snow bals: But this pastime ended soone, with a pittifull, and fatall spectacle. As the Duke came out of this house, a cofer full of linnen, cast out of the window, falls upon his head, and within few houres, sends him to rest in the graue, with his ancestors, leaving a suspicion of some great men, being eniuous, and ielous of his vertue, reputation, and fauour, which he had gotten with the King, the people, and men of warre, of whom he was more then any other of his age esteemed, beloued, and respected.

The death of
the King of
England.

The beginning is likewise remarkable, by the decease of *Henry* the eight King of *England*, leaving for his successor his sonne *Edward*, eight yeares of age. This death bred a great alteration and change, in the health of our *Francis*: they were almost of one age, conformable in coplections. And our King taking this for a preface, or foretelling, that his turne should soone follow after, grew then more melancholy, and silemt then before. He fals sicke of a fever, for the auoyding wherof, hauing passed many places fit for the pleasure of hunting, *la Muette*, *S. Germain* in *Laye*, *Villepreux*, *Dampierre*, neere vnto *Cheureuse*, *Limours*, and *Rochefort*, he came to lodge at *Rambouillet*, and as the pleasure he tooke both in hunting, and hauking, stayed him there sometime, his fever increased, and grew to a *Quotidian*.

The death of
Francis the 1.

So finding his houre come, he disposed of his conscience, and of his house: he greatly recommended his subiects and seruants to the *Daulphin* his successor: and the last day of March, in the yeare 1547. being sitie and three yeares old, hee changed the painfull, and continuall toyles of this mortall life, with the eternall rest, which the happy inioy for euer. A Prince wonderfully lamented, both of his subiects, and strangers, whose vertues, deserue to bee placed among the most famous, valiant, Courteous, bountifull, iudicious, of a great spirit, and an excellent memorie. A lover of learning, and men of merit, to whom arts and sciences owe the perfections they haue gotten at this day, hauing by his bringing vp of youth, founded Colleges in *Paris*, in the *Hebrew*, *Greeke*, and *Latine* tongues, assembled from all parts of the world, learned men, and of good life, and by this meane cleered the darknes of Ignorance, wherewith the world had bene so obicured, by the malice of time, and negligence of former ages. A Prince, fauoured with many good, yet crost with as many bad, and sinister fortunes. E Happie notwithstanding, that no aduersitie could euer make him degenerate from a noble and royall mind, nor from the true beleefe of a good and faithfull Christian. Happie and blessed in his end, to haue pacified all forraine confusions, which had so long troubled his estates, and his subiects quiet. But without doubt, hee had bene far more happie, if he could haue left his realme free from those fatall diuisions,

which euen in his raigne had so miserably diuided his subiects, and shall cause hereafter strange combustions: the first consideration whereof, makes my haire to stand vpright, and my heart to tremble at that which is to come.

HENRY

HENRY the second, 59. King of France.



Ature, his age, and the good education he had receiued vnder his father, in the gouernment of the Estate, did countenance him in this succession, the which he receiued on the same day that he was borne, and confirmed it in *Saint Germain* in *Laye*, by the restitution of the Constable of *Montmorencie*: by the publication of many goodly ordinances, for the reformation of apparell, ordering of the Treasurie: prouiding for the poore, suppression of new erected offices: gouernment of the riuers and forrests: maintenance of Iustice, and releueing of his subiects: but aboute all that necessarie lawe against blasphemers, as we may see in the Originall. Doubtlesse this was a commendable beginning, and worthy the homage he did owe to the Soueraign Lord, as an acknowledgment of the fee, whereof he tooke possession, if he had not polluted it with the mournfull spectacle of that bloudie and fatall combate, betwixt *Jarnac* and *Chastaigneray*, whereof he would be an eye witnesse: and behold the later bloud shed, contrarie to all mens opinion, by *Jarnac*, being the weaker, and newly recovered from sicknesse. So shall we see in the end of this raigne, that Gods diuine Iustice doth suffer, That the man which did thirst after an others bloud, shall finde some one to drinke his owne.

The restoring of the Constable, disappointed the Cardinall of *Tournon*, and the Admirall of *Annebault*, touching the chiefe gouernment of the State: and the Lords of *Longueval*, *Esars*, *Boncour*, *Framezelles*, *Antibe*, *Grignan*, the Baron of *la Garde*, the General *Bayard*, and many others, accused some for theft, some for other disorders in their charges, did somewhat trouble the Court. It was an olde saying: That he which eates the Kings Goose, will cast vp the feathers a hundred yeares after: but since they haue turned this saying into a Prouerbe; He that steales a hundred thousand crownes

A 223

from

1548. from the King, is quit if he restore ten thousand. So some pretained by this reason, others escaped rigorous punishments through favour.

Henry the 2.
crowned.

An armie in
Scotland.

1548. Francis at the end of his daies, had well foreseene the lenaie, which should breed new combustions with the Emperour. Henry must be heire to his quarel, as well as to his crowne, and knowing that the Pope had a fresh and iust cause of indignation for the murder of *Peter Lewis* Duke of *Parma* and *Plaisance*, his sonne, and for the invasion of *Plaisance*, by *Ferdinand of Gonsague*, Lieutenant for the Emperour in *Italy*, he sent *Charles of Lorraine*, lately honoured with a Cardinals Hat (this is he that shall minister so much matter to talke of him, vnder the successors of *Henry*,) to draw the Pope from the Emperours partie, to the Kings alliance: but death shall frustrate the Pope of his intended reuenge. Commonly men fish best in a troubled streame: & many knowing this new King to be of a mild spirit, addicted to the delights of Court, & little practised in affaires, they kindled a desire in his minde to reuenge the wrongs the Emperour had done to *France*, whereof they vrged for a testimonie the death of *Vogelsberg* beheaded in *Ausbourg*, at his returne from the *Scottish* warres for the Kings seruice. On the other side, the Emperour grew not a little zealous of the progresse the King made into *Beurgogne*, *Bresse*, *Sauoy*, and *Piedmont*, as if he had carried with him an alarm bell to stirre vp the people to the following warre. And it may be it had then been kindled, but an home-bred murinie staied it for a time. During the Kings voyage, the extortions of the tog-gatherers and farmers of Sale, caused the commons of *Guienne*, *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* to rebell. In few weekes forty thousand men go to field armed with all kind of weapons, the *Hlanders* ioyne with them, and with a common consent fall vpon the tog-gatherers. The people of *Gascogne* do presently follow this pernicious example. The commons of *Bourdeaux* rise, & finding *la Vergne*, *Esmonac*, *Maquanan*, and others, (Tribunes fit for their humors) they expell the customers, sack many good houses, vnder colour to seeke for their exactors: the commons enter to the towne, & massacre all that follow not their party. *Moneins*, lieutenant for the King within *Bourdeaux*, sends a number of shot out of the Castle of *Ila*, thinking to terrifie this enraged multitude. But all this increased their popular furie. They forced the Councillors of the Parliament, to lay aside their gowns, to put on Mariners caps, to carry pikes, & to follow their Ensignes, & the masters of *Saulx* bretheren, the one Capitaine of the towne, the other of *Castle Trompet*, to be their leaders, to assist at the sacking of many houses, and to see their friends & fellow citizens massacred before their eyes. They spoile the Towne-house, a goodly store-house for armes: & to increase their villanies, they murder *Monsieurs* most cruelly, being come amongst them, thinking with courteous words to pacifie the fury of these ruanes. Having wrought their wils, and being laden with booty, they disbanded some one way, some another: the parliament fortified with men of honor, and resuming their authority, punish by exemplary iustice *la Vergne*, one of the chiefe Tribunes of this rebellion, and some other of the most apparent. The King was no lesse ready to reuenge this outrageous and rashe rebellion, then the commons were active in the execution. The Constable had the commission for *Guienne*. *Francis of Lorraine* Duke of *Aumale* (whom we shall afterwards see Duke of *Guise*, so famous vnder *Francis*

Sedition for
the customers.

Cruelties com-
mitted in
Bourdeaux by
the rebels.

La Vergne
drawne with
four horres.

1548. as the 2. and *Charles the 9.*) that of *Xaintonge* with foure thousand *Lanquenets* & many *French* horse. This man seeking to win the reputation of a mild & mercifull Prince, pacified the Countrey without punishment of what had passed. The other marched after another manner, for ioyning both armies together, he entered into *Bourdeaux*, disarmed the people, tooke and burnt all the records, registers, rights & priuileges of the Citizens, & of all the country of *Bourdelois*: he caused the Court of Parliament to cease: beat downe their bells, forced 7. score of the chiefe to go vnto the *Carmes* (they had three daies after the mutiny, in the night take vp this poore dismembred carcase, lying filthily vpon the ground, with a gentleman of his named *Montclien*) to fetch the bodie of *Moneins*, and to conduct it in mournful sort vnto *S. Andrews Church*. & by the punishment of the two *Sauls*, *Esmonac* (an other Tribune who had seized vpon the *Castle Trompet*) & many others, he purged their offence. *Talemagne* and *Galissie* Colonells of the commons, were afterwards broken vpon the wheele, either of them carrying a Crowne of burning iron for a marke of the foweraignty, which they had vsurped. The end of this year was more comicall. *Anthony* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Endosme* married *Isane* of *Albret* daughter to *Henry* of *Albret* King of *Nauarre*, and of *Marguerit* sister to King *Francis the 1.* and the Duke of *Aumale* the daughter of *Heracles* of *Esle* Duke of *Ferrare* & of *Esle* of *France* Daughter to King *Lewis the 12.* And during these sports in Court, that extraordinary chamber, against them who they call *Lutherans*, was erected, who perswading constantly in the profession of their faith, suffered their bodies to be consumed to ashes. The birth of *Lewis* the Kings yonger son, the 3. of February, at *S. Germain* in *Laye*, his baptisme the 19. of May: the coronation of Queene *Katherine* at *S. Denis*, the next day, the stately entry of their Maiesties at *Paris* the 6. of the same moneth, and the great tourney at the *Tournells*, made in fauor of the Ladies, continued the sports in Court: which finished, the King sitting in his seat of Iustice the 2. of July, would giue sentence in his Court of Parliament at *Paris*, according to the ancient custome of his predecessors. The presence of the Prince giues authority to the Magistrate, and the eye of the king (saith the wise man) scatters ill counsells. At that time the nobility of *England* were at warre with the Commons. The people required restitution of religion. The nobles who by their change of religion enioyed the Clergy lyungs, would not yeeld. So the people rise, & the nobility takes armes. *Thomas Semer* Admirall of the realme, & Vncle to young King *Edward* the 6. by the mother, is accused to haue supported their party which followed the *Romish* church, & by consequence to haue conspired against the king: his vncle brother the Duke of *Somerset* caused his head to be publicly cut off. *Edward* ready by those forces, which he had prepared beyond the seas, against our *Henry*, *Clement*, *Guelbreis*, *Boutignons* and *Germanis*: a means to reconcile the Nobles with the Commons. During these tumults in *England*, the King sent *Paul* Lord of *Termes* to continue the war in *Scotland* and begon by *Esle*, who hauing lately defeated the *English* before *Healington*, and taken the Ile of *Hortles*, resigned his charge to his successor. In the moneth of Iune, *James* of *Coucy* Lord of *Veruein* was beheaded at *Paris*, & *Oudart* of *Esle* Marshall of *France* degraded, after a long imprisonment, the one for that he had considerably corrupted the gard of *Boullen* to his son in Law: the other for that he had lightly yeelded vp a strong and well fortified place vnto the enemy. Yet in the year 1575. the heire & son of *Veruein*, shall restore the memory of his father, & grand-father by the mother side, to their former honor, dignity, and renowne. There falls out another sere: since the year 1540. the Parliament of *Prouence*, had for matter of religion condemned 17. persons of *Merindol* to be burnt, the village to be razed, and the trees to be cut downe within 100. hundred paces. The Clergy pursued it: but some gentlemen and others lesse bloodily, staied the execution of this decree, and King *Francis* the moneth after sent a pardon to these *Paudois* of *Merindol*, & other places, vpon condition that within three monethes they should abjure their errors. They appeere in Court, & protest that they haue not maintainyed nor published any erroneous thing, of which they say by the word of God they can shew them any sounder doctrine: they crave execution of their faith in writing, with an answer to the reproches wherewith they were taxed, and require to be allowed, or iudicially heard in their defences.

1549. Foure yeares past away, during the which, being onely threatened with violence, subsist. But the President *Chassané* being dead, *John Menier* his successor, a violent man, became a mortall enemy to those of *Cabrieres*, and *Merindol*, amongst whom dwelt certain subjects of his of *Oppede*, whose lands he possessed, to ioinc the same. Through the persuasions of *Menier*, the Cardinall of *Tournon*, obtaines letters patent from King *Francis*, to the Court of Parliament, for the execution of the first sentence, according to the which, *Menier* terming himselfe Lieutenant of the Lord of *Grignan*, gouernour of *Prouence*, accompanied with the Baron of *la Garde*, and a great troupe of others, in the moneth of April 1545. fired many villages neere vnto *Merindol*, put many of the Countymen into the gallies, spoyled, razed, and burnt *Merindol* being vnpeopled, tooke *Cabrieres* by composition, and against his faith, in cold blood, hee cut in peeces fve and twentie or thirtie men, chosen at his pleasure, rauished viiues, and yong virgins, burnt about fortie in a barne, whereof the most part were with child: put about eight hundred to the sword, and carried away many prisoners to *Masfille*, *Aix*, and *Auignon*.

King Francis
touched in
conscience.

This did too farre exceed a decree giuen against seuentene persons, abusing the Kings authoritie, with too great violence: who in his latter age, toucht with a remorse of conscience, by reason of this horrible proceeding against his subjects, whom hee had too lightly abandoned to these butchers, grieved that hee could not before his death, punish the authors of these murders exemplarily: lying in the bed of death, he commanded *Henry* his sonne expressly, not to make his memory hatefull vnto strangers, nor subject to the wrath of God, in not punishing of this guilt. Euen so, that great King *Dauid*, amongst other dispositions of his last will: *Thou knowest* (said hee to him that should sit on the throne after him) *what Iobab the sonne of Tseruia hath done vnto me, and what he hath done to the two Commanders of the armies of Israel, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Iether, whom he hath slaine, hauing shed blood, in time of peace: Thou shalt not suffer his white haire to descend with peace into the graue.* But *Salomon* performed his fathers will more religiously. Yet one at the least must suffer for many: the chance fell vpon one that was least guiltie, named *Guerin*, an advocate by profession, who was hanged at *Paris*. The Cardinall of *Tournon*, *Grignan* and *la Garde* were in some trouble, but more feared then hurt. *Menier* escaped, but hee died after, being tragically possessed with a furie, and a secret fire which consumed his bowels.

Gods iust
iudgements
vpon murder.
The people of
Guienne re-
conciled to
the Kings fa-
uour.

The yeare ended with the death of two famous personages: Pope *Paul*, the ninth of Nouember, to whome succeeded Cardinall *John Maria* Bishop of *Mantua*: and the vertuous Princeesse *Marguerite* of *Valois*, sister to King *Francis* deceased, and wife to *Henry* of *Albret* King of *Nawarre*, the fourteenth of December. They say commonly, that for all offences there needes but one satisfaction. Seeing then, that by the punishment of the cheefe authors of the sedition in *Guienne*, the King had pardoned the commons, he was not so inexorable, but for a small satisfaction they were easily admitted to fauour: so as in October past, they of *Bordeaux* had obteyned a remission, binding themselves perpetually to his Maiestie: *To entertaine at sea for ever (as well they as their descendants) two ships furnished for the warre: to vistle the Castle of Trompet, and du Ha, and to renewe the victuals euery yeare.* By this meanes, their Parliament was restored in Ianuarie, and all things setled in their former estate. By their example the three estates of *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, *Perigort*, *Limosin* and *la Marche*, in the beginning of this yeare, obteyned abolition of the custome vpon salt in *Guienne*, paying foure hundred and fiftie thousand franks, and fve and twentie thousand for the satisfaction of the Kings officers of the said custome. Then sprong there many and sundrie fi brands of warre.

But before wee quarrell with the Emperour, the *English* must yeeld vs *Bouillon*. The fort which the Lord of *Chastillon* had built, in the yeere 1548, annoyed them much, and the recovery of the forts of *Selaque*, *Blacomet*, and *Bonlamberg*, and many men defeated by the surprise of them, gaue the Duke of *Summerfet* and the Earle of *Warwick* to vnderstand, that there was no thing but blowes to bee gotten in maintay-

na:ig

ning the warres of *Bouillon*: Moreover the diuisions of *England*, and the warre of *Scot-* 1550.
land, called home their troupes. So as for the summe before specified, payable at two termes, a peace was againe concluded with the *English*, and *Bouillon* restored to the King, into the which his Maiesty made his entrie, the 5. of May, and did his homage, wherevnto the Kings of *France* are bound by the institution of *Lewis* the x. as we haue elsewhere obserued.

Hereafter those small sparkles, which began to appeare, after the murder of *Peter Lewis*, sonne to Pope *Paul Farnese* deceased: slaine by his household seruants, by the persuasion of *Andrew Doria*, and *Ferdinand Gonzague*, with the priuie and consent of the Emperour, to seize vpon the City of *Plaisance*, with the more facility, haue kindled to great fires, as we shall see *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy* in combustion. *Paul* had giuen *Parma* to *Octavian Farnese*, sonne to the said *Peter Lewis*, whereof he had institution of *Julio* his successor. This *Peter Lewis* inclined much to the French party. He had giuen viij. galls and ayde to *Peter Straffy*, when as he came into the Countrie of *Plaisance* with some forces for the seruice of the most Christian King, and that which more incensed the Imperials, he was suspected to haue assisted the Cont of *Nieffue* in an enterprise made vpon *Genes*, for the kings seruice. the yeare 1547. in the which *Lancelotto* was slaine, and *Andrew Doria* expelled. This caused the death of *Peter Lewis Farnese*. *Octavian* his sonne had married the Emperours bastard daughter. But they say that charity begins by it selfe. The Emperour did labour him much: he would gladly ioyne *Parma* to *Plaisance*, & that by lawfull meanes, letting the Pope to vnderstand: That *Parma* being of the patrimony of the Church, the which was in his protection, he ought to be preferred before *Farnese*, seeing that *Farnese* could not keepe it, but with the men and money of his holmes.

The Pope, being of a base mettall, and fearing the touch, tempted with the Emperours practises: sends to Duke *Octavian*, That he could no more furnish the extraordinary charges, wherewith he had promised to assist him: and *Farnese* finding, that the Emperour laide this plot, to dispossesse him off his inheritance: he seeks a strong support in *France*, against his father-in-lawes practises. The king who had not renounced the ancient pretensions of the house of *Orleans*, to the Duchie of *Milan*, declares himselfe (but with the Popes good liking) protector of the patrimony of the Church, and of the *Farneses*. The Emperour is in a rage, who with his violent exclamations so terrifies the Pope, as he abandons his vassall *Octavian*.

The Pope on the other side, (nothing well affected to the French) grew bitter against the King: he commands him to renounce this protection: and for not obeying, hee threatens to curse both him & his realme. Thus *Julio* the 2. not able to satisfy his greedy desire, with the keys of *S. Peter*, he vn sheaths the sword of *S. Paul*, kindling by his madnesse these deadly diuisions throughout all Christendome, as if the Bishop carried the spirituall sword in his hand, to draw it for vnlawfull things, at the first impression of his fantasie.

To crosse the Pope, the King forbids expressly, to carry or send any gold or siluer to Rome, for any dispatches, Bulles, Annats, Dispensations, or any other thing: commanding the Metropolitaines of the Realme to prouide according to the ancient priuileges and liberties of the French Church. And for that *Gonzague* beleegged *Parma*, (to giue both the Emperour, and the Court of Rome a blowe) hee commanded *Charles* of *Coffe*, Marshall and Lord of *Brissac*, his Lieutenant generall in *Fredmont* by the death of the Prince of *Melphe*: to fortifye and furnish *Mirandol*. *Brissac* sends some Souldiars: *Gonzague* surpriseth them, and puts them secretly to death, and todaynly doth beleaguer *Mirandola*. Warre is nowe begunne on all sides, and for light occasions, hee that seeks a quarrell, wants no apparrent shewes to colour it. Both these Princes expected some worthy occasion. But let vs raise vp our thoughts, and say, That GOD had not powred out all his iudgements against Christendome; being full of excesse, and worthy of great punishment.

War in Italy.

The

1551. The King sends newe forces into *Piedmont*, and commands the Marshall to the Count *Parma*, and *Mirandola*. He effects it, and by the taking of *Quiers*, *S. Daman* and other places, he forceth *Gonzague* to abandon the country of *Parmesan*, to succour *Montferrat*, and to defend the estate of *Milan*.

On the other side, *Mary* Queene of *Hungary*, and *Gouvernesse* of the Lowe Countries, for the Emperour: armed in favour of her brother both by sea and land. And vnderstanding that for a greater confirmation of loue, the Marshall *S. Andre*, came in the Kings name the order of *France*, to young *Edward* King of *England*: she caused certaine ships to lie betwixt *Calais* and *Douer*, to seize on him in his passage. But to prevent her policy, the Marshall caused some *Flemish* ships to be stayed, which lay anchor in the road of *Diepe*, vntill they were assured of his arrivall in *England*. And *Mary* likewise seized vpon all the *French* ships, that were within her gouernement. Thus here burning grew on all sides, which burst out into open warre: euery one calls home his Ambassadors, and assures the places neere to the enemy: the King especially of *Lorraine*, hauing some ialousie of *Christienne* the Dowager, and neere allied to the Emperour: who to free her selfe from that imputation, did put her selfe with her son *Charles* into the Kings protection: who caused him to be brought vp, with the *Dauphin Francis*, and afterwards he married one of his Maiesties daughters.

Before we proceed to open acts of hostility, the King excused himselfe vnto the Pope by the Lord of *Termes*, for that which he did in fauour of *Ottavian Farnese*, and by the Abbot of *Bellofanne*, he protested against the decrees of the Assembly which was held at *Trent*: the which (considering the Popes and the Emperours spleene against *France*) he could not hold, to be a law full and holy generall Councell: Not that I pretend (said he) to withdraw my selfe from the obedience of the Church but chely, to avoid the surprises of such, as vnder colour of reformation seeke to disgrace both my person and realme. And in trueth he confirmed sufficiently this last clause, by the rigorous ordinances which he published against those which had their cause common with the Protestants of *Germany*, touching matters of religion, whereby fires were a new kindled against them, in many parts of the Realme: and yet the King treated priuately with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and generally with all the Electors and free Cities of the Empire: Who sawe their liberties and freedoms in a manner ruined, if they did not oppose some mighty aduersary against the Emperour, who by maine force might stay the course of his vnmeasured conetoufnesse.

A league betwixt the King and the Protestants of Germany.

The Emperour (contrary to his oath) detained *John* Duke of *Saxony* and *Philip Landgrane* of *Hesse* in miserable captivity. He had vanquished most of the other Princes in war, and fearing least the *French* should in the ende demaund the right vsurped in old time by the *Saxons*, ouer the heires of *Charlemaigne*, when the Empire was hereditary: he pretended to transport the Imperiall Crowne into his house for ever: and now he thought to haue a fit opportunity. He had suppressed his enemies in *Germany*: he had a Pope at his deuotion. he was armed. The most part of the Cardinals who assisted at the Councell, were either naturall *Spaniards*, or of the *Spanish* faction: and by consequence, might easily, by a decree of this councell, giue authority to what he intended. With this dessein he had caused his son Prince *Philip* to come out of *Spain*, (who died King of *Spain* in the yeare, 1598.) to haue him declared his successor, or at least his associate in the Empire: oppressing the people of *Germany*, by insolent and tyrannicall exactions.

The Electors, not accustomed to seruitude, and lesse to the slavery of *Spain*: notable with their own forces to shake off the yoke, which they see ready to be layd vpon them: they repaire vnto the King, shewe him the wrongs and outrages done vnto them: they pretended the ouerthrow of the holy Empire, and the abolishment of the rights, and priuileges of the Electors, Commonalties, and Lords of the same: they beseech him, that in regard of the ancient league, betwixt the Empire and the crowne of *France*, he would take their iust cause in hand, and maintaine the common liberty of *Germany*.

The

A The King resolues to enter into League with them, and grants the succours which they demanded. They giue him this honorable title: *Defender of the Germans, protector of the nation, and of the holy Empire*. He armes thirtie thousand men, and desires to countenance his forces with his owne presence, he appoints Queene *Katherine* his wife Regent in *France*: he makes many goodly Edicts for the gouernment of the state, for the ordering of his men at armes, and for the obseruation of military discipline: hee reformes the abuses of Commanders, suppresseth the insolencie of souldiars, (a commendable institution, in comparison of that which hath bene seene in the reignes of his children) and giues the *Rendezuons* for his armie at *Vitry*. Hee was accompanied with *Thomas* Duke of *Barrois*, (whom we shall shortly see King of *Nauarre*, by the decease of *Henry* of *Albrt* his father in Lawe) *John* Duke of *Angulen*, *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*, all bretheren: *Lewis* Duke of *Montpensier*, *Charles* Prince of *Roche-sur-yon*, all of the royall familie of *Bourbon*: the Dukes of *Neuers*, *Nemours*, *Guise*, *Aumale*, *Elbeuf*, the Lords of *Rohan*, *Rocheaucault*, *Chastillon*, d' *Andelot*, and others in great numbers, in very good order.

The Kings armie.

The Constable of *Montmorencie* was made generall of the armie (a house which shal hereafter be made a Duchie, and Peere of *France*) *Claude* of *Loiraine* Duke of *Aumale*, a younger brother of the house of *Guise*, was generall of the horse, consisting of fiftene hundred men at armes, euery one hauing two archers, two thousand light horse, and as many argoletiers, besides an infinite number of voluntary *French* Nobles, marching vnder the fauour of their Prince, and desirous to make their valor apparent, by good and faithfull seruices. *Gaspar* Lord of *Chastillon*, afterwards Admirall, was Colonel of the foot, consisting (besides the new, and the ordinary companies, which were twentie ensignes of the old bands of *Piedmont*, and fine and thirtie ensignes of *Gascons* and *Prouencals* (they note the two companies of the Lord of *Durais* to be compounded for the most part of gentlemen, and old souldiers, worthy of command) of tennethousand Lanquenets in two regiments, commanded by the *Reingraue*, and *Reichroce*. To these bands the Protestant Princes ioyned a battallion of horse, vnder the command of the Colonell *Chartell*. But let vs now see their exploits.

D The Cittie of *Thoul* at the first abord, puts it selfe into the Kings protection, but this was not the cheefe point of his dessein. The Emperour passing into *France*, had the passage of *Metz* at his deuotion, and had victuals and other necessaries out of that Countrey. The King now requires the like from them. They offer victuals for money, and consent to admit his Maiestie in their Cittie, with the Constable, followed with some Princes and Noblemen: but as for any passage of the armie, they excuse themselves, and pretend neutralitie. The Constable departs, and protests, that he will haue free passage, free entrie, and free issue at discretion, without any limitation, and partly by promises, partly by threats, he wins the Inhabitants. The Citizens had not foreseen this storme, and lesse provided any remedie to auoyd it. Thus being forced to bid their libertie adue, they agree with Lord of *Bourdillon* afterwards Marshall of *France*: That the Constable accompanied with some Princes and Noblemen, should enter with two companies of foot: the companies were fixe hundred men strong: they increase them with halfe as many more, all chosen men of account, the which being entred, repelled the people, become masters, and draw after them so long a traine, as the *Metzians* had no meanes to resist.

The Kings armie enters into the countie of Metz.

This was the tenth of Aprill on Palme Sunday nine dayes after the King made his entrie in armes, being followed with all his forces put in battaille: hee received the oath of the Citizens, and sware solemnly to them in the porch of *S. Stephens* Church. He sent *Gonner* brother to the Marshall of *Brissac* for Gouernour, and with him, the company of the Earle of *Nantueil*, two hundred light horse, two hundred harguebuffiers on horsebacke, and twelue ensignes of foot. Thus the famous Cittie of *Metz* was brought vnder the obedience of this Crowne: a portion of the ancient patrimonie of the Kings of *France*, and in former times vsurped by the Emperours.

The

1552. The Constable would gladly haue vsed the like stratageme to *Strasbourg*, but he found *Metz* yeelds more assurance and resolution then at *Metz*. They put a strong garrison into the Citie, and prepared for defence against any that should seeke to make them subiect. So as seeing that neyther reproches, threats nor bitter words, could drawe any thing from the Inhabitants, but victuals and necessities for the Campe, the army tooke the way of *Haguenau* and *Wisbourg*.

Here the deputies of the *Germane* Princes come to beseech the King to passe no farther; to stay the spoile of the Country, to harken to a peace with the Emperour, wherevnto he seemed to be inclined: and not to presse them to any priuie assistance, considering their bond vnto the Empire: and if it pleased him to be comprehended in this treatie, hee should make it knowne with what conditions he ment to compound with the Emperour. The King held good pawns for the charges of his voyage. By his forces he had drawne the Emperour to reason with the Princes his vassalls: this virago of *Hongarie* had already taken *Stenay* vpon *Meuse*: and to crosse the Kings attempts in *Germany*, with troubles in *France*: she threatened to enter the realme, burning, spoiling, and making the Countrey in her passage desolate. So the King leaving *Germanie*, brought backe his armie into *France*. At whose approach this swarme of enemies was disperfed, like a flying cloud, and leauing the Duchie of *Bourgonne* vnsurrounded of men, they inuited our *French* to the conquest of *Ros de Mars*, or *Mont Sainct Jean*, *Solieu*, *Danuilliers*, *Yuo*, *Montmedy*, *Lumes*, *Trelon* and *Glaion*: all which places, might sufficiently speake of our *French* forces, hauing made prooffe therof. But this last seizure was their ruine, when as the greatest part, through the furie of the warre were reduced into heapes of roanes and ashes.

They could no longer retaine the old bands without some prey. *Cymai* (a towne and castell belonging to the Duke of *Arscot*) was surprisid, but this was in a manner the ruine of the army, for some laden with spoiles, others seized on with sicknesse and wearied with continual toyle, began to slippe away in the end of Iuly. The most healthfull which remayned, were by the King put into garrisons, attending the Emperours desseins: hauing also giuen some troupes to the Marshall of *la Mark*, with the which he recovered the Duchie of *Boullen*, with the dependances. The Emperour had bene oppressed with a forraigne and domesticall enemy. To turne all this storme vpon *France*, and to make profit of the Protestants forces and money: he made his peace with them, and got a promise from the Princes and Commonalties, to succor him with men, money and artillerie, for the recovery of *Metz*, *Thoul* and *Verdun*.

Albert Marquis of *Brandebourg* had in the Kings name, made sharpe warre against the Bishops and Townes in *Germanie*, with two thousand horse and eight thousand foote: he nowe seekes to be reconciled to the Emperour as well as the rest, but he will insinuate him selfe by some notable seruice. He had written often vnto the King, holding him in hope to continue in his partie: but hauing roded vpon the marches of *Luxembourg*, *Lorraine*, and the Country of *Mosin*, he spoiles the Country after a strange manner: then hauing pressed *Metz*, for want of victuals, hee carries armes to the Emperour.

The Emperour marcheth against *Metz*, and sends the Duke of *Alua*, his Lieutenant generall, and the Marquis of *Marignan* from *Sarbruch*, with foureteeen thousand foote, four thousand horse, and sixe field peeces, to vewe the Citie, and to choose a conuenient place to lodge his army, attending his comming with the rest of his forces. The Duke of *Guise* Lieutenant generall for the King, sends forth some troupes to skirmish, where hee loofeth *Marigni* a gentlemen of *Picardie*, two Captaines and fiftie soldiers: and the enemy, about a hundred and fiftie men. But the Marquis of *Brandebourg* reuengeth this disgrace, vpon the Duke of *Aumale*, and by a second stratageme, he giues the King an assured testimonie of his defection, and to the Emperour, the effects of the seruice which he had vowed vnto him. The Duke coasted the Marquis his retreat, and cutts the heauiest of his troupes in peeces, when as the Marquis turning head) ouerthrowes a great troupe of seruants mustered together to make a show.

Metz besee-
ged by the
Emperour.

The Duke of
Aumale defea-
ted.

A shewe: and chargeth a squadron of light horse: who making but a weake resistance, leaue the place. So all fall vpon the men at armes: they were ill furnished to withstand the shocke of the *Reifers* pistoles. The Duke seeing his men at armes broken, and seeking to saue themselves, rallies a small troupe, and returnes to the charge. The multitude inuitions him, and doth oppress his best men: some are wounded, and others taken: two hundred Gentlemen, by their death, and the taking of many others, made the Marquis valour famous. The Duke being ouerthrowne, remayned as a pawne of an assured victorie, and shall not bee deliuered vntill the King hath payed fifty thousand Crownes for him. This chanced in the ende of October: but we shall see this losse recompensed with a happy successe against the Emperours attempts.

The Earle of *Reux*, entred *Picardy* at the same time, with the desolation thereof, and the burning of *Noyon*, *Nesle*, *Chauny*, *Roye*, *Folembray* and aboue eight hundred Villages: a testimony of the Emperours spleene. Then hauing beseeged *Hesdin*, and filled vp the trench, with the ruines of a wall, which they had vndermined: the Towne was very lightly yeelded, by the Lord of *Rasse*, who was in daunger to haue bene made a publike spectacle vpon a scaffold, if the Constables fauour had not protected him.

This second bunt, made them to apprehend a third. The Emperour incamped before *Metz*, and the King desirous to vnderstand in what estate the beseeged were, as the Duke of *Guise*, *John* and *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, the one was Duke of *Anguien*, the last was Prince of *Cande*, brethren to the Duke of *Vendosme*: *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Roche-sur-jon*, *Francis* and *René* of *Lorraine*, the first Grand Prior of *France*, the last Marquis of *Elbus*, brethren to the Duke of *Guise*: the Lords of *Roche-foucault*, and *Rindan* brethren: *Peter* *Stro*, *la Brosse*, *Brion*, *Gonnor*, *Parroy*, with an infinite number of others, who had voluntarily thrust themselves within the walles, to eternise the memory of so generous a preservation of their new conquest, against the Imperial forces. They all with one consent & resolution, free the king of this suspence, and the effects second their promises. They toyle the enemy with continual sallies both of horse & foote: they come vp to the canon, ouerthrow their tents, force their quarters, put the whole campe in alarum, and performe more then hath bene heard of in any former siege. The place did well deserue it, and their vertue was the more admirable, for that the time was so vnseasonable both for the one and the other, being in the cold of winter: But the constancie of the beseeged, and the obstinacy of the beseegers, encountered the rigour of raine, snowe, cold, and ice. The 26. of Nouember, they batter the wall, with forty Canons, without any intermission, but to coole them: and the beseeged both Princes, Noblemen, and souldiers, carry earth indifferently to rampar vp the breach, making the Imperials admire their diligence and valour. The King resting assured, leaues the Duke of *Neuers*, to command his army in *Lorraine*, and gaue commission to the Lord of *Chastillon*, then Admiral of *France* (*Annebauld* being lately dead at *la Fere*) to go into *Picardy*, as Lieutenant to the Duke of *Vendosme*.

The Duke of *Neuers* employes all his cares, to cut off the Emperours victuals: and the Admiralls approach chafeth the Earle of *Reux* from about *Hedin*, leauing his sonne with a strong garrison in the castle. Hauing made foure thousand and threecore cannon shot, he makes a breach the 16. of December, but yet not resonable: notwithstanding the beseeged being amazed, yeeld it, to haue their liues and goods saued. This blowe troubled the Emperour: the injuries of the ayre, molested his men before *Metz*: extreame hungar made them weake, the continuall sallies of the beseeged diminished them, his treasure grewe short, his reputation decayed, his mynes were blowne vp, and all his attempts were made fruitlesse: to conclude, all went against the hare. So the Emperour giuing charge to the Duke of *Alua*, to order the retreat, he left the Empire deprived of the country of *Messin*, and the Crowne of *France* assured of this new conquest, by the Constables industry, and happily preserved by the valour of the beseeged.

The Imperi-
alls spoyle
Picardy.

Hedin recou-
ered.

The Emperour
retires from
Metz.

1553.

But there followed rough encounters. *Hedin* and *Therouenne* had till now bene the instruments of warre. It is better (saith the Prouerbe, to stumble once, then to stagger alwayes: The Emperour, to be reuenged of some part of his losses, sends the Lord of *Einecourt* with a mightie armie, to beseege *Therouenne*. The Lord of *Esse* and *Francis* of *Montmorency* defended it. The place is furiously battered, the besieged sustaine a most violent assault of three charges, and many die on either side. The cheefe among the *French*, were the Lords of *Esse*, of *Vienne*, of *Beaudisne*, of *Roche-poly*, of *Blanc*, *Capitaine Ferrieres*, with many gentlemen, and souldiers. They vndermined, they mine, and with the ruines of the wall, fill vp the trenches, which caused the besieged to be maund a composition. But whilest they are busie in parle, (an error which often chancing should make a Commander wise) the *Germanis* and *Bourguignons*, enter at diuerse places, and kill all they encounter. The *Spaniards* louing money at that time, more then bloud, saued many. And the Emperour causing the Towne to be razed, and spoyled, shall saue many soules which should be lost in the defence and winning thereof.

Therouenne
taken and razed.

Hedin taken
and sacked.

Hedin assailed, battered, and vndermined more then a foxes burrow, had like successe vnder *Emanuel Philibert*, sonne to the Duke of *Sauoy*, and Lieutenant Generall for the Emperour, his vncler by the mothers side. The Duke of *Bouillon*, and *Horatio Farnese*, newly married to *Diana* the Emperours bastard daughter, had taken the gaid thereof, and had prepared great store of wildfire at the breach, to defend the assault. A Priest, either through malice, or negligence, sets it on fire, and consumes many souldiers, readie for the defence. The Imperials on the other side, blow vp their mines, and burie a great number of men in the ruines thereof: they enter pell mell, and to become masters of the place. *Farnese*, the Vicont of *Martignes*, the *Seneschal* of *Cassels*, with many other gentlemen, were slaine there. The Duke of *Bouillon*, with many others, had a long, and hard imprisonment.

The Duke of
Arscot taken.

Let vs take our reuenge. The *French* armie assembled about *Amiens* & *Piquigny* the Prince of *Cande* led the light horse, who in the midst of August incourtered with some troupes, led by the Duke of *Arscot*: he charged them, defeated them, and followed them about a League. hee slue seuen or eight hundred men, tooke about five hundred prisoners, and amongst the rest, the Duke himselfe with seuen ensignes. The Kings armie consisted of about seuen thousand horsemen, five and twentie thousand foot, with a hundred peeces of artillerie, great and small, desiring nothing more, then to make his valour admirable, by the issue of some happie battaile. The Emperour, on the other side, sought to temper this heat, and to wast this great power, at the seige of some place of importance. The King, to sound the Emperours resolution, aduanceth nere to *Valentiennes*: he wearieth his enemy with daily skirmishes, gals him to the quicke, and gets the aduantage. But the Emperour apprehends it not, & the King finding him loth to hazard any thing, sent the Marshall of *Saint Andrew* to spoile the Countie of *Saint Paul*: then in the end of October, he puts part of his forces into garrison, the rest hee dismisseth, and sendeth away. Now our armes are layed aside, vntill the next spring.

At the spring the King diuided his forces into three armies. The first was commaunded by the Prince of *la Roche-sur-yan*, being compounded of tenne thousand foote, three hundred men at armes, and five or sixe hundred argoletiers. The Constable had the charge of the second, containing five and twentie ensignes of *French*, as many *Suisse*, two regiments of *Lansquenets*, two thousand horse, some of them light horse, and some argoletiers, with some *English* and *Scottish* footmen. The third, led by the Duke of *Neuers*, had twentie ensignes of *English* and *Scots*, two regiments of *Lansquenets*, three hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and shott on horsebacke, with two hundred *Reisters*, pistoliets: and all three breathed nothing but reuenge, and desire to requite those confusions.

New exploits in *Picardie*.

The Prince enters into *Arthois*: hee spoyles, burnes, and defeats two Corners of horse,

A horse, he kills two hundred vpon the place, and sends their colours to the King. The Constable takes *Mariembourg*, fortifies *Rocroy*, ruines the forts of *Trelon*, *Glaion*, *Simoy* and others built within two yeares. The Duke batters and takes the castells of *Ormont* and *Beaurin* by composition, ruines and burnes a great number of villages: then hauing by the taking of some strong places seated vpon the *Meuse*, opened the passage of the riuier, he enters *Liege* and takes *Agimont* and *Pouuizes* by assault, putting almost all the Inhabitants to death, eyther by the sword or by the hand of Iustice, for that they presumed to stand against an army royal, & for their outrageous speeches: and to increase their punishment he burnt the Towne: he assured himselfe of *Castelhiery* and *Valm* being abandoned: he tooke & spoiled *Dinan*, but hee preferred the female sexe from the violence of the *Germanis*, being fled into a Church. *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of *Sauoy* by the death of his father *Charles* lately deceased, assembled his army with an intent (sayd he) to fight with the *French*, if they aduanced. We must trie this braue resolution.

The King passeth the riuier of *Sambre*, the 25. of Iuly, being followed by the Duke of *Neuers*, he enters the Countie of *Hainault*, spoiling, burning and making all desolate, seeking to drawe the enemy to fight. Some troupes charge euen vnto the suburbs of *Niuelle*, the first towne of *Brabant*, and for a noate of their passage, they fire the layd suburbs and villages thereabouts, so as many pleasant dwellings were consumed vnto ashes. The Duke of *Sauoy* flies the listes: and the army marching towards *Fains*, (one of the chiefe Townes of *Hainault*) lefied nothing behind it but tears, sighes, desolation, fire, smoake and ashes, and to conclude, a mournefull scaffold whereon two great Princes played a horrible tragedie, being cruelly incensed one against another. The Castells and pleasant dwellings of the gentlemen of the Countie, yea *Fains* it selfe and *Mariemont* that stately house, and others belonging to *Mary* Queene of *Hongarie* sister to the Emperour, *Tragny* that goodly and proud Castell, *Reux Bauers* with an infinit number of others, were (in reuenge of that goodly place of *Folembray*) reduced to that estate, as they might well say, here was *Bains*, here was *Mariemont*, here were *Tragny*, *Reux*, and *Bauers*.

In the end the *French* (hauing spoiled the whole Countie) drew the Emperour to fight: the two armies incourter about the midst of August, nere vnto *Renty*: the Imperiall foreward chargeth the Duke of *Guise* his troupes, but to their confusion: hee defeats them with the helpe of those succors that came speedely vnto him, he kills eight or nine hundred men, and strikes such a terror into the rest of the Imperiall army, as they retire hastily into their campe, as hauing no more desire to fight. So the winter approaching, and want of forrage troubling the men at armes, the King dismissed the *Swisses* and his Nobility: then leauing the Duke of *Vendosme* generall of the rest of the army, he tooke from the enemy all meanes to endamage the realme, but by sacking & burning of the Countie about *Hesdin*. The 23. day of March, Pope *Iulius* the 3. died, *Marcel Cernin* borne in *Tuscane* succeeded him: but soone after his election, death buried both his name and memorie. *Iohn Peter Caraffe* a Neapolitaine, called Cardinall *Theam*, the chiefe author of the Iesuits sect, held the *Romain* see, and called himselfe *Pius* the 4. We shal this yeare quench the fires of the yeare past, but it shall kindle new combustions, both on this side and beyond the *Alpes*. So as, no affection to the publicke good, but the only indisposition of the aire, hath made vs till now see such our armes.

Philip sonne to the Emperour *Charles* had the yeare past married with *Mary* Queene of *England*, by the decease of *Edward 6.* and whilest that *England* did flame with ciuill fires, by reason of the burning fires against such as had shaken off the yoke of the *Romish* obedience, they did solicit our two warriors, to pacifie their mutuall hatred, by some firme and durable peace. Cardinall *Poole* an *Englishman* was employed thereto, but without effect: for the seare not was yet ripe.

The courtes of the Imperialls made the *French* to attempt vpon Castell *Cambrais* (yet making faire warres with the *Spaniards*, and to victuall *Mariembourg* at diuers

1555. diuers times, while on the other side *Francis of Cleues* Duke of *Newers*, with the Admirall of *Chastillon*, gouernour in the absence of the Duke of *Vendosme* (who was gone to take possession of his new estates, fallen to him in the right of his wife, by the death of *Henry of Albrét*, and shall here after bee King of *Nauarre*, and Soueraigne of *Beaurne*) gaue order for the defence of the frontier.

The Admirall of France defeated.

But behold one of the tricks of our ordinarie confidencee. Fiftene hundred of the Arrierban, and foure hundred foote, with some garrisons of *Picardie*, returned home laden with spoile, *Without Scoutes* (saith the Originall) *without order, without feare of the enemye, and without courage.* *Hausmont* Gouernour of *Bapaume*, being more vigilant, encounters them betwixt a wood, a village, and a riuer: chargeth them, and in a moment takes from them, both their bootie and their liues, at his discretion. The Imperials seeing *Mariembourg* victualled, opposed a Fort called *Ginets*, whence forraging all the neighbour Countie, they did starue *Mariembourg*. Twentie thousand foote, some ensignes of the old *Spanish* bands, and five or sixe thousand *Reifters*, vnder the command of Count *Farlemont*, camped about this Forte, to hinder an other victualing, conducted by the Duke of *Newers*, the Admirall *Sansac*, *Bourdillon*, and others, with eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and some eight thousand foote.

War beyond the Alpes.

The 26. of Iuly, the *French* horse charge the *Reifters*, and driue them into their fort: then seeing the Imperials loth to make any farther aduenture, the time being very tame and vnseasonable, want of forrage, colde, hungar, and many other discomforts, called them to found a retreat, and to leaue the third victualing of *Mariembourg*, to *Sansac* and *Bourdillon*: after the which the rigour of the season, and the injuries of the aire, forced both parties to liue in rest. Whilest they remaine quiet vpon the frontier, let vs visit them beyond the mountaines. The Marshall of *Brissac* had the winter past seized vpon *Turee* and *Bielle*. In the spring he had fortified *S. Iaco*, taken *Cresquore*, surprised by the industrie of Captaine *Saluafon* gouernor of *Verrue* *Cazal*, the storehouse of victuall and munition, prepared by the Imperials for the recouerie of *Piedmont*, ruined *Poman*, *S. Saluador*, and other small places not to be held, and vncasily fortified in any short time. About the end of Iuly, the Duke of *Alua*, successor to *Gonsaque* in the government of *Lombardie*, went to field with twenty thousand foote, foure thousand horse, and forty Canons, who at the first besieged *S. Iaco*: but he found good resistance, *Birague* & *Pimerat* commanding in the place, forced him to retire, & to fortifie at the bridge of *Sure*, hoping to vanquish those by famine, who had repulsed his attempts by force. The Marshall being fortified from the King, with foure thousand horse, & foureene thousand foote, lead by the Duke of *Anguien*, Prince of *Conde*, Dukes of *Aumak*, & *Nemours*, *Vidame* of *Chartres*, *Aubigny*, *Gannor*, *Vantadour*, & *Vrsé*, *la Chastre* and *Lude*, with a great number of voluntarie gentlemen, besieged *Vulpian*, defeated the succours which the Duke of *Alua* sent, took the high and the lower towne by force, and the Castle by composition. *Montaluo* both Towne and Castle (after the dismantling of *Falopian*) followed the conquerours fortune: the *French* made these conquests in September and October, the remainder of the yeare was more quiet. But before we proceed, let vs speake something of the warres of *Siene*, which beginning long before, were ended this yeare.

The insupportable behaviour of *Don Diego of Mendosa*, gouernour of *Siene* for the Emperour, had driuen the Cittizens to put themselves into the Kings protection, and to bring into the Cittie foure thousand men, vnder the command of the Earle of *Perrillano*, who being entred, forced the *Spaniards* kill some, and expell the rest by compulsion. These men chased from *Siene*, teize vpon *Orbittello*, & fortifie it. After the siege of *Metz*, the Emperour sent *Don Garfie of Toledo* Viceroy of *Naples*, with fiftene hundred horse, and twelue thousand foote, to spoile the Countie of *Siene*: and the King to crosse him, sends the Lorde of *Termes*, with twelue thousand foote, besides the Inhabitants of the Countie, all hauing vowed to roote out the gouernement of the *Spaniards*. *Termes* being entred, hee provided for the fortification of

the Cittie, and assured himselfe of *Montselice*, *Montelie* and *Montalein* against the threats of the viceroy, and of *Ascanius de la Corne*, attending the arriual of *Peter Stroffy* who came with the title of Lieutenant generall for the King, with a good troupe of men at armes.

Stroffy being arriued, hee makes newe leuies in *Italie*. *Cosme* Duke of *Florence* giues intelligence to the Pope and Emperour, & all ioyne together to send home the *French*, giuing the charge of their comon army to *James of Medius* Marquis of *Marignan*. The Marquis beseegeth *Siene*, and at his first approch had almost surprised it by night, the fortifications being not yet finished. The *Siensis* withstand him, giue him the repulse, and kill many of his men. He then incamps before the Towne, spoiles the Countie, and had already reduced them to necessity, while that *Stroffy* was busied to provide for the other places within the estate of *Siene*. *Stroffy* comes into the Towne, and goes presently to field againe with six hundred men: he surpriseth *Ralphé Baillon* and *Ascanius de la Corne*, who had an enterprife vpon *Chiusti*: he defeats their troupes, kills *Baillon*, and sends *Ascanius* prisoner to the King.

The King releued him with newe supplies in *Tuscane*, and likewise in the Isle of *Corfu*, where the Lord of *Termes* had taken from the *Genouois*, partisans to the Emperour, the Townes of *Saint Florent*, and *Saint Boniface* a port of the sea. Their last succours consisted of five thousand *Suisses* and *Gascons*, with some light horse. And whilest they take breath in *Siene*, *Stroffy* makes a second sallie, with five hundred good horse and six thousand choise foote, takes *Montcalin* and *Montcarlo* from the Duke of *Florence*, and by this stratageme he forceth the Marquis to leaue *Siene*, for to succour the *Florentins*: then seeing the Marquis fortified with newe troupes, hee returnes with his men to *Siens*.

Moreouer *Leo* brother to *Peter Stroffy* ranne along the coast of *Tuscane*, and spoiled the ports belonging to the Duke of *Florence*. But as he approached too neere to *Scarlin*, to discouer the place, he was slaine with a shot. *Stroffy* to reuenge this death, comes to continue the siege, attending the succours which the Lord of *Montluc* brought. *Montluc* being arriued, *Stroffy* makes an army, compounded of 600. *Italians*, two thousand *Gascons*, two thousand *Suisses*, two thousand five hundred *Lansquenets*, and about a thousand horse, with which troupes hee resolved to fight with the enemy, if he presented himselfe: hauing left the gard of *Siens* to *Montluc*, he went to batter *Ciuitellein* in the territory of *Florence*.

The Marquis goes to succour it, and at his arriual chargeth *Stroffy*, who makes head against him, and both the one and the other bathe the field with a great effusion of blood. *Stroffy* leaues *Ciuitelle*, to set vpon *Foian*, a strong and a rich place: hee batteth it, and the first day takes it by assault, cutting *Charlot Vrsin* in peeces with all those that kept it, spoiles it, and abandons all to fire and sword. But see a troublesome Caltrophe. The Marquis approacheth better furnished with artillerie, and *Stroffy* marcheth towards *Montpucian*, fauoring the retreat of his men, with many and rough skirmishes. Then the *Italians*, being the chiefe strength of his army, slippe from him, and leaue him much inferiour to the Marquis: who following with speed, ouertooke him betwixt *Martian*, *Lucignan* and *Foyan*, giues him battaile. *Stroffy* entertaynes it, and with a bloudie fight giues testimony of the valour of his courage. But *Bighet* an *Italian*, being enseigne Colonnell of the army, turnes his backe cowardly: and the *French* lauing their liues after him by the nimbleness of their legges, leaue the horse, the *Gascons* and the *Suisses* to endure the charge, who had rather die with their armes in their hands, then turne their backs. *Bighet* and the Earle of *Alte* were afterwards beheaded, the first as being the principall cause of this defeat: the other for that he had cowardly yielded *Lusignan*, a place impregnable. They reckon two thousand five hundred slaine (some say foure thousand) besides a great number wounded to the death, and five or six hundred prisoners. *Stroffy* saued himselfe in *Montalein*, & the Marquis recovered *Foyan*, *Martian*, *Lucignan* & some other places, which euen then began to force the *Siensis* to obey the Conquerours command, who camped before their towne with

1555. all his forces. *Montluc* comforts them, and confirms their resolutions: but the coming of *Stroffy* with two enleigns of foot, and two companies of men at armes, laued in this shipwreke, reuiued them more: the which he did hazard in fauour of the beleeged vpon a report of the death of *Montluc*. *Montluc* foreseeing, that bread would sooner faile the beleeged, then courage, had already set an order for euery mans diet. The Marquis repulsed by the losse of six hundred men, at a scalado giuen in the night to the Cittadell, and the fort of *Camollia*: and finding that by skirmishes, batteries, assaults, intelligences, nor other stratagems, he should neuer bee master of *Sienne*: he resolues vpon the longer, but the more easie expedient. so as the watches, the toyles, the diseases, and worst of all, famine and dispaire of succours, forced *Montluc* the twentieth of Aprill this yeare, to saue the rest of his men by an honorable composition, which is read at large, in the historie of the warres of *Italie*. *Sienne* tell afterwards into the hands of the Duke of *Florence*: and the Marquis, for that he had prolonged the warre of *Sienne*, contrary to the Emperours liking, and wasted a mightie armie before it, died in disgrace, in the end of the same yeare.

Now the Emperour (whose humour wee haue sufficiently learned by the discourse of the historie) shrieking vnder the burthen of the affaires of this world, wearied with the toyles of warre, toucht with some remorse for the blood spilt, in those long and mournfull wars of Christendome, being perswaded, that his discords with our Kings, had made the *Turke* to preuaile much in diuers parts of *Europe*, his coming otlate in fauour of the *French*, to the Isle of *Corse*, to assist them at the sege of *Calui*, and Saint *Boniface*: to ayd them to conquer the Island, then in their retreat to spoyle the coast of *Tuscane*, to beleege *Plombin*, and the Isle of *Elbe*, of the territorie of *Florence*: to afflict the estates of *Naples*, *Sicile*, and *Calabria*, with infinite miseries, and being laden with great spooles, to carrie away without controule, and to sell infinite numbers of Christian soules at *Constantinople* and other places.

These considerations caused him to call *Philippe* his sonne from *England* to *Bruxelles*, where by autentike letters, of the five and twentieth of October, hee resigned all his realmes vnto him: commaunding all his estates and subiects, to acknowledge him as their true and lawfull King, aduising him particularly among other exhortations, To make a peace, and entertaine loue with the King of *France*, vniing their common forces, rather for the defence, then oppression of Christendome. *Philip* was inclined to peace, and his wife *Mary* Queene of *England* more, who desired to hold him by her, to raise vp an heire for the Realme, and by the confirmation of the old religion, to restore the Clergie to the possession of their lands, held by the Nobilitie. So as a truce was concluded for five yeeres, but it was as soone broken as made.

Paul the fourth was enemy to the *Spaniards*: and the *Colonnes* suspecting him to be of the *French* faction, (as in truth the house of *Caraffes* had of old time fauoured the title of our Kings, to the realme of *Naples*) sought to assure their estates and persons. To this end they held some secret assemblies within *Rome*, in the houses of *Antony Colonne*, and the Cardinall of Saint *Fior*, enemies to the house of *France*. The Pope to crosse them, imprisons this Cardinall in the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, with *Camille Colonne*, *Julian Cesarin*, and the Abbot of *Bresigue*: he summons *Mary Antoinette*, and plants gards and sentinels throughout all the Cittie. The *Colonnes* and their adherents, flee to the *Castilian*. He commaunds the Duke of *Alua* to succour them. The Duke marcheth with that desseine, and takes from the Pope about *Rome Anagete*, *Pilastine*, *Segne*, *Tiuolt*, and by the sege and taking of *Ostia*, cuts off the victuals from *Rome*: and the *Colonna*s fortifying themselves about *Rome*, kept the Pope mewed up within compasse of his walls.

The Pope appeales to the King for ayd, and sends him by his nephew the Cardinall *Caraffe*, a triumphant hatt with a stately sword. Our two Kings did not greatly loue: their ancient hatred and discontents were yet fresh, and their household flatterers to whome common confusions did serue as a ladder to aduance their estates and to enrich their houses, whereas peace sends the most of them hometo

The Emperour resignes his Kingdom to his sonne.

A line priuately,) were glad that *Rome* kindled the coales of newe quarrells betwixt their maisters. 1557

So the *French* (meaning to crosse the *Castilian*, in fauour of the Pope) sent *Stroffy* (Marshall of *France* in the place of the Lord of *Sedan*, lately deceased after his returne from prison out of the Lowe Countries,) to oppose against the *Spaniards*, attending the succors led by the Duke of *Guise*. The Duke of *Guise* arriued at *Turin*, with about fiftene thousand foote, eight hundred men at armes, and twelue hundred light horse, being assured of supplies so soone as the warres should begin: hauing ioyned his forces with those of the Marshall of *Brissac*, he marcheth directly to *Valence*, making this his colour, that the garrison had shot at the *French* going to succour the Pope: and for that it was secretly giuen out that the *French* had taken *Pauia*, hee amazeth *Spolverin*, who kept the Towne with two thousand men: summons him to yeeld, threatening him to put all to fire and sword, if he enter by force. Thus *Spolverin* being terrified, departs with bagge and baggage, and looeth his head at *Pauia* for a reward of his base cowardise.

Valence taken.

On the other side *Stroffy*, *Montluc* and others which were in *Rome*, issue forth with six hundred horse and five thousand foote, recover *Ostia* by composition, and expell the *Spaniards* from *Velitres*, *Tusculum*, *Marin*, *Grotteferrate*, *Palesan*, Saint *Angelo*, Saint *Paul*, *Vico Valerio* and other small places in the territories of *Rome*. The Duke of *Aluies* retreat had opened the way to *Rome* for the Duke of *Guise*, presuming vpon the convention lately made betwixt the King, the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*: where by the Pope should furnish twentie thousand foote, a thousand horse, and the charge of the armie: the King the like number of foote, and two thousand horse: the Duke six thousand foote, two hundred men at armes, six hundred light horse, and twentie peeces of battery. But the Popes haue commonly aduanced their affaires at their costs that haue beleued them, and then haue abandoned them very lightly that haue assisted them at their neede. The Duke of *Guise* comming to *Boullen*, findes no men in field, neyther were the Popes cofers open: and it may be, if they had not toucht this string, the expedition had bene more successfull.

In the meane time the *French* army decreased for want of pay, the *Spaniards* increased, and the *Ferrarois* in steede of assisting, craued aide of the Duke of *Guise* his sonne in Lawe. What could our men do, but studie of their returne into *France*? but the Pope had not yet firmly settled his affaires: and it hee had long remayned a lone betwixt two stoopes, without doubt the *Spaniard* would haue ouer-ruled him. And therefore, to stay the Duke of *Guise*, hee sweares, *Not to treat any accord without the Kings consent, and that for assurance thereof hee would send his sonne the Duke of Palliane for hostage into France*. But it was rather to attend the successe of the affaires of *Picardie*, where they prepared a Theater to play a bloudie Tragedie, then with any intent to discharge his oath. The Admirall hauing, by the taking and spoile of *Lens* in *Artois*, begonne the warre in *Picardie*, the Duke of *Sauoye* accompanied with *Ernest* and *Henry* Dukes of *Brunswike*, the Duke of *Arscot* newly come out of prison, the Earles of *Manfield*, *Aiguemont*, *Meigne* and *Barlemont*, leading fortie thousand foote and fiftene thousand horse: ten *English* foote and fiftene hundred horse, came soone after that to his succour, The Queene of *England*, hauing newly proclaymed warre against the King, came & threatened *Guise*, but in effect it was to beleagar Saint *Quentin* bene furnished of men. The Admirall enters into it with such men as the present necessity could furnish: and the Constable desiring to saue Saint *Quentin*, vnder tooke to lead sufficient forces to withstand the enemy. As he returns the x. of August, being greater in number and therefore without any intent to fight, *Philips* army follows him neere, as he is forced to fight, in the which the Constable is hurt and taken prisoner with the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, the Earle of *Rocheaucault*, *Lodowick* Prince of *Montaigu*, the Marshall of Saint *Andrew*, the Lords of *Aubigny*, *Vasé*, *Curton*, *Roche du Maine*, *Kochfort* in *Brie*, *Biron*, *Saint Heran*, *Neufuy*, *Alouy*, *Molinant* *Monsieur* and many other Noblemen and gentlemen of account.

The Duke of Montpensier taken by the French.

1557. There were slaine, *John of Bourbon* Duke of *Anguyen*, the *Vicount of Turaine*, the Constables sonne in lawe, the elder brother of *Roche du Maine*, *Pontdormi*, *Chancener*, the most part of the Captaines on foote, and fivē thousand men (some say eight thousand) with many souldiars prisoners.

S. Quentin taken.

The successe of the Spanish army.

The Pope reconciles himselfe to the Spaniards.

This fatall battell caused the losse of *S. Quentin*: the besieged being but eight hundred, indured a generall assault: but vnable to defend eleuen breaches, being forced at a tower, which was vnfortified of men, they remained the 27. of August a lamentable prey to the Conquerour. The sonnes of *Fayete*, the Captains *Saleuert*, *Oger Viques*, *la Barre*, *Esling*, *Gourdes* and almost all the souldiars were slaine. The Admirall *D'Andelot* his brother (but he soone escaped) *Iarnac*, *S. Remi*, *Humieres*, and many others of make were prisoners. *Caslelet* was the Spaniards third Trophie. *Han*, *Chauny*, and all other places, that might annoy them, made their victory absolute. Thus the Spaniards forces, had a happy season: and the Pope resolved to leane to the stronger. Their losses made him easily forget the speedy succors he had found in *France*: so as at the first approach of the Duke of *Alba*, he sends him a blanke, by the Cardinall *Caraffe*, and renouncing in September following the league made with the King, he made frustrate all his designs against *Italy*.

A great inundation at Rome.

Doublelesse the Councell of the Constable, the Admirall and many others, advising to maintaine the truce, was farre more expedient, then this light and painefull enterprise in fauour of a Pope, who was content to haue embarked vs in a newe Labyrinth of confusions, whereof we shall not be freed, without a mournfull and exemplarische spectacle. To reach Princes: That an accord confirmed by a reciprocal oath, ought to be holy and inuiolable. So this reconciliation was made famous by a strangewonder. The same day, and the day after this peace was concluded, almost a third part of the buildings of *Rome*, and a great number of Christians perished, by a sodaine and violent inundation of *Tiber*.

There was some likelihood, that *Philip* would haue entered further into the realme with his army: but vnderstanding that the King expected a supply of fourtene thousand *Suisses*, and prepared his campe at *Laon*, hee was content to fortifie his last Conquests: and so gaue the King meanes to stay in *Bresse* and *Lionois*, the troups which the Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale* brought out off *Italy* to chase the Baron of *D'Polleuille* from *Bourg* in *Bresse*, the which he besieged in the Duke of *Sauois* name, with twelue hundred horse, and twelue thousand foote.

Should the King then suffer the courage of these forces newly arrived to quail with idlenesse, when as he might profitably imploye them? The *English* had held *Calais* from vs, two hundred and ten yeares: the Constables imprisonment had hindered the execution of a dessein which he and the Admirall his Nephewe had vpon this towne, by the meanes of *Senarpont* Gouverneur of *Boullen*. But nowe they win that by force, which they could neuer get by policy or industry. His Maiesty declares the Duke of *Guise* his Lieutenant Generall, in all his countries: he leaues two armies, the one he giues to the Duke of *Guise*: the other, to the Duke of *Neuers*. The first aduanceth vnder colour to hinder the viualing of *S. Quentin*. The other turning towards *Luxembourg*, drawes the Spaniards and *Wallons* to the defence thereof: then sodainely he sends his forces to the Duke of *Guise*, who marcheth with all speed against *Calais*. In this army, among many others, were the Princes of *Conde* and *Roche-sur-yon*, the Duke of *Aumale* and the Marquis of *Elbeuf* brethren, the Marshall *Strossy*, *Montmorency*, eldest sonne to the Constable, the Lords of *Andelot*, *Termes*, *Grandmont*, *Creuacœur*, *Piennes*, *Randan*, *Alligre*, *Sarsie*, *Tauanes*, *Senarpont*, *Esfree* maister of the Ordinance, and *Gourdan*, who lost a legge in this action.

Calais taken.

The *French* army appeared the first day of January, and at the first arriual takes the fort of *Nieulley*: and the next day, that of *Risban*. Thus the waye to the towne being opened, and the besieged sodainely surprised, without hope of speedy succors first the castle, and then the towne returned to the obedience of this crowne, as gladly, as we haue seene her ancient Burgeesses bid their poore & desolate country mournfully.

A fully farewell, in the yeare 1547. The countie of *Oye*, and all the forts the *English* held there, returned likewise to the subiection of their first and lawfull Lord. *Guines*, and other places dismantled, spare the cost which should be consumed in the defence thereof. On the other side, the Duke of *Neuers* did take for the King, the Castle of *Herbement*: the forts of *Iamoyne*, *Chigny*, *Rossignol* and *Villeneufue*. Thus their sorrow was turned into ioye, their hearts panting yet with that bloody battell of *S. Laurence*. The Court was partaker of this ioy, celebrating the 28. of Aprill, in the midst of these prosperities, the marriage of *Francis* Dauphin of *Viennois*, with *Mary* Steward Queene of *Scotland*, daughter to *James* the 5. and *Mary* of *Lorraine*, daughter of *Claude* Duke of *Guise*.

The Dauphin married to Mary Queene of Scotland.

During these happy victories, and coniunctions of alliances: the Duchesse Dowager of *Lorraine*, laboured to increase these solemn and publike ioyes, by the conclusion of a peace betwixt the two kings. The Cardinall brother to the Duke of *Guise*, met with her at *Peronne* to that intent: but this parle without effect, hastened the execution of an enterprise vpon *Theonulle*, the which being battered frō the 5. to the 21. of Iune with fivē and thirty Canons, and the mynes ready to plaie, receiued an honourable composition. The proiect of this prize is giuen to the Duke of *Neuers*, the glory of the execution, to the Duke of *Guise*: and the Duke of *Nemours*, the Marshall of *Strossy* (who was slaine there, with a shot vnder his left pappe, the Duke of *Guise* leaning on his shoulder, as they caused a platforme to bee vndermined.) the Lords of *Montluc*, *Villeuilla*, and *Bourdillon*, had the honour to haue giuen good testimonies of their valours in this prize. *Chigny* taken afterwards from the *Wallons*, was fortified: *Arlon*, *Villemont*, and *Rossignol*, burnt and made vnprofitable for the warre.

Theonulle taken by the French.

The *English* in the meane time, spoyled the coasts of *Normandy* and *Picardy*: and the King to stop their courses, prepares two small armies, one at *la Fere* vnder the Duke of *Aumale*: the other at *Calais*, vnder the Marshall of *Termes*, who succeeded *Strossy*. The Marshall attempts *Berghes* (they feared not the *French* there, & the towns which the Spaniards held vpon that coast were ill furnished:) he takes it, sacks it, and by that meanes opens the way to *Dunkerke*. *Dunkerke* being taken and spoyled in foure dayes, intiched both the souldiers, and boyes of the arme.

But the *Flemings* force them to make restitution: the Marshall camped before *Grauelines*, and the *Cont Aiguemont* Lieutenant for the King of *Spain*, in the Lowe Countries, hauing speedily assembled out off the neighbour garrisons, and of other forces, about sixtene thousand foote, a thousand or twelue hundred *Reislres* and two thousand horse, cuts off his way vpon the Ruer of *A*, which comes from *S. Omer*, and forceth him to fight. At the first charge, the *French* army ouerthrowes some squadrons of horse: but at the second shocke, the Marshall is hurt and taken with *Villebon*, *Senarpont*, *Moruiliers*, and *Chaune*: a great number of Captaines and souldiars are slaine vpon the place, and all the troups so discomfited, as of all the companies of men at armes, of three corners of light horse *Scottishmen*, fourtene ensigns of *French* foot, and eightene of *Lansquenets*, fewe escaped death or imprisonment: a wound which requited the fear of *S. Laurence*, and did frustrate the Duke of *Guise* his enterprise vpon *Luxembourg*: but it was partly recompenced by the Lord of *Kersinson*, vpon six or seuen thousand *English* & *Flemings* which landed at the haven of *Cognest*, spoyling, and burning the weakest parts of the coast of *Brittain*. This was in the end of Iuly. The Duke of *Guise* sayling of *Luxembourg*, came to lodge at *Pierrepont* in *Tiristete*, and there fortified with seauen Cornets of *Reislres*, brought by *William*, younger sonne to *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, and a newe regiment of *Lansquenets*, led by *Jacob* of *Aushourg*, made the *French* army as strong, as the yeare before. About all others, were most apparant the companies of the Duke of *Guise*, Lieutenant general of the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *Neuers*, *Aumale*, *Bouillon*, *Nemours*, *Saxony*, *Luxembourg*, of the Prince of *Roche-sur-yon*, of the Prince of *Salerne*, of the *Cont Charny*, the Marshall *S. Andre*, the Marquis of *Elbeuf*, and of the Lords of *Rocheaucault*, *Randan*,

The Marshall of Termes defeated.

1558. *Randan, Curton, Montmorency* the Constables eldest sonne, *Escheuers, Roche du Motte, A Tenles, La Veuguien, Bourdillon, Tauanes* of *Beauvais*. The light horse of the *Earles of Eu and Roissy*, of the Lords of *Valete, Bueil, Laigny, Rottigotty, Lombay*, and others, whereof the Duke of *Nemours* was generall, and so great a number of *Cermaines, Suisses, and Frenchmen*, as this flourishing armie of men (lodging nere to *Amiens*, along the river of *Somme*) prevailed much for the treatie of peace, which followed soone after.

Philip had his armie likewise vpon the river of *Anthie*, both intrenched and fortified with artillerie, as if they meant to continue there, and in time to tire one another. Some moneths passe without any other exploite then inroades and light skirmishes. In the end, the eternall God of armes, who from his heavenly throne beheld the state of these two mightie armies, changed the bitteresse of former warre into a pleasing peace, confirmed by alliances the yeare following. The Abbie of *Cercamp* vpon the limits of *Arthois* and *Picardie*, gaue the first notice. And as the Constable (being freed from prison) the Marshall of *S. Andrew*, the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, *Moulliers* Bishopp of *Orleans* and *Anbesine* Secreatarie of State, assembled for the King, treated with the Duke of *Alen*, the Prince of *Orange*, *Regomes de Silues*, Cupbearer to King *Philip*, *Granducelle* Bishopp of *Arras* and *Figle*, of *Quichem*, President of the Courcell of State of the Lowe Countie: beheld the death of *Charles* the 5. Emperour, chancing in September, and that of *Mary* Queene of *England*, al out the midst of *November*, charged both the place and the time of this conclusion.

Castle *Cambrejs* had the honour to finish it at the second conference, the which was confirmed by the marriages of *Philip* with *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to King *Henry*: of *Phillibert Emanuel* Duke of *Sauoy*, with *Marguerite* the Kings onely sister: and of *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, with *Claude* a younger daughter of *France*. The King yielded to the *Castilian* all that hee had taken from him, as well on this side, as beyond the mountaines. To the *Sauoyard*, he restored *Bresse, Sauiy & Piedmont*: to the *Genouois*, the Isle of *Corse*, and about foure hundred places more conquered, during these fatall and pernicious warres, which had made so many Prouinces desolate, ruined so many Castles, Villages, and Townes, drinke so much Christian blood, and slaine so many millions of men of all qualities, retaining nothing but the territories of *Boullen* and *Calais*. Thus the winde doth sodenly drinke vp, all the toile, all the trauels, all the sweat of many ages. And the Lord saith vnto man: *Thou seest, this might will take thy soule from thee, and who shall haue the things, which thou hast prepared?* And, *All men are vaine, doubtlesse man labours for a shadow, he troubleth himselfe for nothing.*

But must the quenching of forraigne confusions, kindle new fires in the midst and foure corners of the realme? without doubt there needed no violent but spirituall remedies, to redresse those diuisions which grew daily for a religious cause. *Henry* was of a milde and temperate spirit, but hee gaue care too lightly to such as could not effect their desires but by troubles. The prisons were full of such as they called *Lutherans*, and euen then many noble families were toucht with that cause. Moreover, many officers of the Parliament, wished a milder proceeding against those prisoners. This diuinitie caused an assemblee, which they called *Mercuriale*, to heare the opinion of Presidents & Councillors vpon this controuersie, the which the King was required to countenance with his presence. *Anne du Bourg* vsed a great libertie of speech: some others did second his opinion. This freedome transported the King into chollier: he commands the Constable to put them in prison, and vowes to see them burnt within few dayes, if they persist. But oh Prince, *The yeares of thy accompt are come, and thou entr'st into a path from which thou shalt no more returne.* The Constable deliuered them to the Court of *Montgomery*, Captaine of his Maiesties gardes, who leads *Henry* to the *Bastille*, and the rest to diuerse other prisons. Let vs not iudge hereby, but admire how fouler, the iudgements of God: in that we shall see these three personages, every one in his ranke, dye an extraordinary and tragicall death.

The marriages of the Kings Daughters and Sister, were solemnized with all the pleasures and sports that might be deuised. The Court exceeded in sumptuous feasts, plays,

A playes, masks, dances, and bonfires: ordinarie acclamations in such ceremonies, testified the peoples publicke ioy, by reason of the peace: but this pleasant Comedie was conuerted by a sad catastrophie, into a pittifull and mournfull Tragedie. The King would the tenth of Iune, to be the day of the Challengers at the Tilt, in Saint *Anthoine* streete, being seconded by the Duke of *Guise* and *Ferrare*: and to runne his last course in fauour of the Queene his wife, he sent a Lance to the Earle of *Montgomery*. The Earle excuseth himselfe to runne against his Maiestie: the day before hee could not hit any one, and it may bee now he feared a second shame. But hauing a second charge from the King to enter the Lists, he runnes, and breakes his Lance vpon the Kings cuirasse, and with a splinter thereof, (his Beauer being somewhat open) strikes him so deepe into the eye, as the tenth of Iuly his soule left his body, in his house of *Tournelles*, the 42. yeare of his age.

He had by *Katherine* of *Medicis* his wife, sixe Sonnes and five Daughters. *Francis* his successor, of the age of sixteen or seuentene yeares, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, who liued few moneths: *Charles Maximilian*, *Edward Alexander*, afterwards named *Henry* the 3. and *Henricus* afterwards named *Francis*. *Elisabeth* married to *Philip* King of *Spain*, *Claude* to *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Marguerite* to *Henry* of *Bourbon*, then King of *Nauarre*, *Jane* and *Katherine* twins, who dyed soone after their birth: Hee was a religious Prince, goodly, of a milde disposition, peaceable, affable, not greatly subiect to passions, generous, loving his seruants and men of merite, but voluptuous, and not able to discouer in due time the ambition and couetousnesse of such as possessing him, made sale of lawes, iustice, offices, and spirituall liuings, emptied the subiects puries, and nourished the warres which we haue before obserued, namely since the breach of the vncie: finding such sweetnesse, profit, and honour, in the managing of the Treasure, and commanding of the Kings Armies in the voyage of *Italie*, and especially in this last Lieutenancie generall in *Picardie*: as hereafter wee shall see a young Prince raigne like a shadow, and they being seized of the gouernment, both of his person and of his realme, shall dispossesse the chiefe officers of the Crowne, keepe backe the Princes of the bloud, the true and lawfull gouernours of the State, the King being in his minority: and to plot the meanes to raise their race to the royall throne.



FRANCIS

Persecutions
for religion.

Councillors
of the Parli-
ment im-
posed.

The death of
King Henry.

His children.

His disposition

FRANCIS the second, the 60. King of France.



THis raigne is short, but very memorable, We behold a Theater, A whereon is acted a horrible tragedie, a King yong of yeares, and of iudgement, gouerned by his mother, and his wifes vncles: a new forme of Court. The Princes of the bloud haue no more credit: and seeme to neglect both the publike and priuat intrest. The Courtiers stand at a gaze, and for the most part stowpe to the stronger. The Clergie shuld themselves vnder those that kinde these fires in France. The Nobilitie wearied with former toyles, do yet wipe off the dust, and sweat from their armes.

The people diuided for matter of religion, and oppressed with burthen of former warres, desires to breath. The Constable holds his place: yet is he not so surely seated, but they will displace him. There are two factions in Court: the Constable holdeth the one, those of Guise the other. The first was firme and sincere, the last, cunning, and pleyable. The Queene mother ioynes with the last. The King of Nauarre might crosse them: and therefore to be the better informed of his desseins, she entertaines seruants, and pensioners about him. The Princes of the bloud, the Constable, the Marshalls, the Admirall, and many other Noblemen, prepared for the funerals of the deceased King, when as the Duke of Guise and the Cardinall of Lorraine, leading the King, his brethren and the Queene to the Loure, begin a strange alteration, a true patterne of the inconstancie of this world. The Duchesse of Valentinois had quietly gouerned the deceased King, and by her practises, had caused Francis Oliuer, a man of a singular reputation, and Chancellor of France, to bee dismissed. At the first entrie, shee is spoyled of her precious Jewels, which testified the Kings loue vnto her, to adorne the Queene that raigned: and by her disgrace, leaues the place to Catherine, to rule hereafter without Companion. They take the seale from Cardinall Beirrand, a

Two factions
in Court.

Alterations
in Court.

seruant

A seruant to the said Duchesse: and to haue a Chancellor at their deuotion, they restore Oliuer. They giue the Cardinall of Lorraine, the gouernment of the Treasure, and of the affaires of State. and to the Duke of Guise his brother, the command in warre. This was properly to giue the Constable to vnderstand, that without warrant hee should take his leaue: the which hee did, after that hee had conducted his good maiester to the graue.

And to play their parts absolutely without controule, they send the Prince of Condé into Flanders, vnder colour to confirme the peace: and him of Roche-sur-yon, to carry the order of France to the King of Spaine: then at his returne they depute him with the Cardinall of Bourbon, to conduct Elizabeth to Philip her husband. In the meane time, the Guisians call the Cardinall of Tournon from Rome: a man fitte for their humors. They displace part of the ancient officers of the Kings house, and place new at their deuotion: they furnish Prouinces, and frontier Townes with gouernours of their owne choise: they obtaine a declaration from the King sitting in parliament, whereby he made it knowne, that touching all affaires which concerned the estate of his Crowne and house, his pleasure was, they should hereafter repaire to his two Vncles.

To conclide, they do and vndoe, place and displace, in Parliament and priue Councell, like to a King of absolute power. And the Queene mother challengeth the gift of money growing of the confirmation of offices and priuileges of Townes and commonalties, the which by right cannot be exacted, but when the realme falls into a collaterall line. Now are they settled in this vsurped gouernment: they haue officers at their pleasure. But there is yet a moate in their eye. Those of the religion, who then were called reformed (let vs hereafter call them Protestants, for their common cause with the Protestants of Germanie) multiplied infinitely. Some Princes, and many Noblemen did countenance them, and were ready to take their protection. To weaken them, nay rather to ruine them quite: the Kings letters pattents are granted, the 14. of Iuly, with a Commission to certaine Iudges, for the triall of Anne du Bourg, and foure of his companions prisoners. It was to be feared, their proceeding against these five Counsellors, would preiudice the whole party. They beseech the Queene by their letters (who had made shew to incline to their doctrine, when as she was barren) to vse her authoritie in the restraint of these rigorous pursutes. She passeth her word to the Prince of Condé and Admirall, so as they will liue secretly and without any scandale.

Hereupon Anthonic King of Nauarre, greatly prest by some Princes and Noblemen (the Constable at the death of Henry, had perswaded him to seize first on the gouernment) arriues in Court, being at S. Germaine in Laye, hauing at Poitiers giuen good hope to some Ministers of the Protestant Churches, to make open profession of their religion. But what entertainment do they giue to this first Prince of the bloud of France: his harbingers finde no lodging for him within the Castle. It shall cost me my life, and ten thousand more with me (saide the Duke of Guise to his harbinger) before they take from me the place and lodging, which the King hath giuen me neere vnto his person. No man goes to meete him: those of Guise looke that he should go to salute them: and which is worse, the next day he hath no place in Councell. After some dayes, the King sayes vnto him, that his Vncles hauing the charge of affaires, hee desired them that would haue his fauour, to obey them in all things. So hauing obtained confirmation of his offices and pensions, he approued by his silence the vsurpation of the house of Guise, who lead the King to Rheims, where he was triumphantly annointed the eightene of September, by the Cardinall of Lorraine, Archbishop of that place.

F Soone after the Coronation, the Queene mother gets a resignation from the Constable, of the office of Lord Steward, in fauour of the Duke of Guise, & in recompence, made his sonne Marshall of France. The Admirall foreseeing that they would dispossesse him of the gouernement of Picardie: hee first gaue the King to vnderstand, that

Anthony King
of Nauarre
comes to
Court, and
is disgraced.

The Princes
and chiefe
officers of the
Crowne
disgraced.

Cccc

it

1559. it belonged to the Prince of *Condé*, for that his predecessors had long enjoyed it. His resignation was willingly accepted, but not the condition. It was better to purchase a good servant and partisan, which was the Marshall of *Brissac*. Thus the Princes and chiefe officers of the Crowne were disgraced, but those that were least popular among the people, were not mute.

They had a good share in the priuate discontent of these great personages, for seeing the disorders that might ensue, and require a Parliament, as the Soueraigne cure for such diseases, whereby the Queene Mother might be excluded from the Regencie, and those of *Guise* put from the Kings person. To please the King, they perswade him, that they sought to bridle him and to make him a ward, that hee should hold them enemies to his authority, and guiltie of high treason that talke of a Parliament.

The King of *Spaine* crosseth them, and by letters written to the King his brother in Lawe (the which were read in Councell in the presence of the King of *Navarre*, he declares himselfe, (saith hee for the good affection he did beare) Tutor and Protector of him, his Realme and his affaires, against those that would change the government of the state, as if the King were not capable of the government. Pleasant people, which respect so much the word of lawfull Tutelage, and yet they vsurpe it against the Lawes and orders of the Realme, holding it onely by tyranie. This other affront sent the King of *Navarre*, home into *Bearne* whence he came.

All this did but increase the hatred of great and small against the *Guisuns*. Many treatises are published, written and printed, and all tend to prone, That it belongeth to the Estates, to provide gouernours for Kings in their minorities: that these two bretheren are incapable of the gouernment, being both strangers: the one a priest, the other presuming to say in the life of the deceased King, that the Realme belongeth to the house of *Lorraine*, as issued from *Charlemagne*, from whome *Hugh Capet* had vsurped it. A proposition which they haue presumed to publish in these latter times: but so often confuted, as it needes no further discours. The King began to growe, and euen now hee complaind, that they kept him from hearing of his subjects complaints, but he was so sickely as there was no hope of long life. To gett him footing in the government of Estate, they resolute to purchase many seruants in the Courts of Parliament, to winne the affections of Courtiers and men of warre, and by a burning zeale, to the rooting out of Protestants, to purchase the loue of the Clergie and people.

They publish sundrie Edicts against them, they promise great recompences to them that discover their assemblies: many Townes fill their prisons: they employ aire, fire and water to ruine them, and yet it seemes that the more they kill the more they increase. Amongest others, *Anne of Bourg* (persisting in the confession of his faith vpon the points of religion in controuersie,) was on the twentieth of December hanged at the *Greue*, and his bodie then burnt to ashes. The Counsellors, *La Forte*, *Foix*, *Faur* and *Fumee* imprisoned for the same causes, escaped with some sharpe admonitions.

Manie could not beare this oppression. The Princes were kept backe: the greatest of the Realme out of credit, threatened, and secretly pursued to the death: the conuocation of the Estates refused: the Parliaments corrupted, the Iudges for the most part at the *Guisuns* deuotion: the publike Treasure, offices, and benefices were given to whom they pleased. Some learned Lawyers and diuines answered: That the Princes beeing in that case borne Lawfull Magistrates, and called by the Estates of the Realme, or the sounder part thereof, they might with their fauour, or of some one of them, lawfully oppose themselves against the vsurped government and authoritie of the house of *Guise*, and take armes at neede to withstand their force and violence. But with this consideration of the publike, they had so manie priuate passions, as the enterprize must needes be fatal

A fatal to the vnder-takers. The enterprize required a stout and courageous leader: for the chiefe plot, was to seize at what price soeuer, on the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal his brother, and then to require a parliament, to make them yeeld an account of their gouernment, and to provide for the King and Realme.

Lewis of Bourbon Prince of *Condé*, is instantly required to accept thereof. The Prince examines the consequence of the fact, and hauing imparted it to some persons, louing the good of the realme, he gives Commission to some secretly of the crimes, louing with the house of *Guise* was charged, to provide for the same, as conscience, & the common good should require. They find by informations, and certaine personages well qualified, being priue to their secret designs, and witnesseth, that their intention was, the King being vnable, by the iudgement of the Physicians, to live long, nor to have any issue: first to roote out all Lutherans in France; then to murder all the Princes of the blood; and to seize vpon the realme. Moreouer they were charged with many thefts, robings, and extortions, and by consequence, were in many things found guiltie of high Treason.

The difficultie was, how to seize vpon these two persons: *Cosette of Barri*, Lord of *Renaudie*, a Baron of *Perigot*, accepts the managing of this action, and the Prince promiseth to assist him with his authoritie: So as nothing be said or done against God, the King, his brethren, the Princeesse, nor the Estate: protesting to oblige himselfe first against any one that should attempt the contrarie. All that were in the action, bind themselves to the like oath, yea to aduertise the King, if any thing were pretended against his Maestie: they appoint the tenth of March, hoping to find the Court still at *Blais*. Five hundred French gentlemen, with other troupes vnder the command of the Baron of *Castelnau*, should accompanie *Renaudie*, followed by a thousand others, besides their troupes on foote. But it is almost impossible to keepe secret an enterprize imparted to so many diuerse humors, but some one will discover it. *Renaudie* lodged at *Paris* in the suburbs of *Saint Germaine*, in an Advocats house, a Protestant by profession, who hauing discovered somewhat of this enterprize, vnder colour to imploy himselfe for the aduantage thereof, he learned all that passed. But hoping of some notable recompence, he sodenly went & discovered it to *Alemant*, master of requests, a fauorite to the Cardinall, and to *Miles* Secretarie to the Duke of *Guise*: And *Lignieres* one of the Captaines of the enterprize, did afterwards bewray the names of the commanders, the rendezvous for their troupes, with other circumstances, to the Queene mother, to saue (said hee) the honour and life of the Prince of *Condé*, whom they accused of high treason.

To assure their persons, they transport the King to *Amboise*, they send letters from the King, and his mother, to call the Admirall and his brethren to Court, they dispatch many letters Patents to Baylifs, and Senechalls, against all such as should be found carrying of armes vpon the way to *Amboise*. The Admirall being arrived makes great admonitions to the Queene mother, in presence of the Chancellor, vpon the extreme violences, and poursuits against the Protestants: and the Chancellor hauing freely pronounced the Admirals aduice in councell, there followed an edict for the abolishing of that was past, for matter of religion. But this pardon excluded all ministers, and such as should be found to haue conspired against the King, his mother, his wife, or the Princeesse, his cheefe officers or the estate, and all other culpable of like crimes.

Notwithstanding this Edict, *Renaudie* proceeds, and the Prince goes to Court, to present the informations to the King, against the house of *Guise*, when as they should be seized on. The execution was put off to the sixteenth, by reason of the change of the place. In the meane time, the *Guisuns* had assembled men from all parts, so as the troupes arriving one after one, to the appointed places, were presently seized on. The Baron of *Castelnau*, and the cheefe of the faction, are at the Castle of *Noisy*: the *Guisuns* aduerted thereof, perswade the King, that there are rebels assembled to murder him. The King sends the Duke of *Nemours* with a troupe

1560. troupe, who at the first surpriseth Captaine *Mesgras* and *Randry*, walking without the Castle, and sends them prisoners to *Amboise*: he doth dien beleaguer the Castle, summons the Baron to lay aside armes, and to go speake with the King, binding himselfe by the faith of a Prince, that he should have no harme. The Baron trusted to his word. But being arruied, they speake with no man but with comissioners, appointed for their trials.

Cruell execu-
tions at Am-
boise.

Renaudie caused his troupes to aduance quietly through the woods: but they had walled vp the gate, by the which they should enter, and the horsemen sent by the *Guise*s compassing them in: many were led away, and presently hanged, and afterwards drawne to the river. And as hee laboured to rallie his dispersed troupe, the Lord of *Pardillon* encounters him in the forest of *Chasteau-regnard*, and passing by, dischargeth his pistoll, the which not taking fire, *Renaudie* had his sword first drawne, and as he was about to kill him, one of the *Pardillons* seruants ouerthrew him with a harguebus: being slaine, his bodie was straightway carried and hanged on the bridge at *Amboise*, with this inscription: *Renaudie, called la Forest, cheefe of the rebelles*. Those of *Guise* being assured of their enemies, and their troupe dispersed, they giue commandement to the Prince of *Condé*, in the Kings name, not to depart without leave. They begin to cut off heads, to hang and to drowne their prisoners, tyed to long poles, six, eight, tenne, twelue, and fiftene in a companie: and although there were herin more question of estate then religion, yet they giue out, that the Lutherans would maintaine themselves by the sword, and as such men, they caused many to be executed, who by their examinations, and impertinent answers touching matters of conscience, did witnes that they were not yet seasoned with any other doctrine, then that of their fathers.

The Chan-
cellor dies
desperately

This alarm had put the yong King in feare: but more the impression of his Vncles, perswading him that they sought his person: And what haue I done, said hee often? what haue I done; that my subjects should attempt thus against mee? I will heare their complaints, and doe them right. And some times to those of *Guise*: I know not what it is, but I vnderstand, it is you onely that they seeke: I would gladly you would absent your selues for a time, to see if they would attempt against you, or mee. Amongst all the prisoners, foure are especially noted, *Castelanau*, *Villemongis*, *Champagne*, and *le Picard*, for that with an admirable constancie, and resolution, they had blamed the Chancellor, who against his conscience, had signed the sentence of their death: the which so terrified him, as hee sodenly fell sicke of greefe, and melancholie, and soone after left this world, murmuring, sighing, and sorrowing for the Counsellor *du Bourg*, and crying out some houres before his death, O Cardinal, thou hast damned vs all. *Michel Hospitall* then Chancellor to the Duchesse of *Sauoie*, was called from *Nice*, and substituted in his place.

An indiscreet
zeale.

See here a furious storme dispersed, which partly concerned the State, partly religion: but hereafter religion shall bee the onely marke, The Protestants in the midst of these rigorous persecutions, increased in multitude, and in many places they could not containe, nor content themselves with secret assemblies. An indiscreet zeale transported them of *Valence*, *Montlimart* and *Romans*, to exercise their religion in ordinary Churches at noone day. The Lord of *Clairmont*, Lieutenant for the Duke of *Guise* in *Daulphiné*, was of too mild an humor: and *Maugiron* more violent. The Duke giues him commission to suppress them, and to vse his authoritie in the Parliament of *Grenoble*. *Maugiron* enters *Valence* with sixtene companies of the old bands of *Piedmont*, and some other troupes of men at armes: hee makes the streets flow with blood, sacks the houses, and intreats the inhabitants as in a Towne which is taken by assault. *Montlimart* also followed the like fortune.

Cause of the
troubles.

Moreouer, the President *Truchon*, and some Councillors of *Grenoble*, imprison 60. of the chief of *Romans*: they hang two, whip one, and then send him to the galleys: & at

Valence

Valence, they behead two ministers, & hang three chieftemen in the Towne: the rest escaped, some by abjuring, some by whipping, some by banishment, and some by a fine.

1560

At the same time *Paulon* of *Richiend* Lord of *Moumans*, one of the chiefe of the enterprise of *Amboise*, hauing failed to surprise *Aix*, loaded *Prouence* with two thousand men armed at their owne charge, and a great number of gentlemen, and other voluntaries. But their armes were no other wise employed but to conuert the Images, relikes and ornaments of the Church into gold and siluer, the which with some respect to warlike discipline, and more commendably then, in the following age, they left in the magistrats hands of the place. This was to summon the neighbour *Prouinces* to like *B* reuolts: but the Earle of *Tande* hauing stayed the furie of this flying army, they sheath their swords, and vnsheath their pennes, onely by supplications, to the Kings Maies-ty, and to his mother, protesting of their sinceritie: they discovered the ground of their griefes against the *Guise*s, and propounded remedies to auoyde Ciuill warres.

The Protest-
ants petition
to the King.

Their admonitions conteyned three chiefe heads: That it might be provided, for the gouernment of the realme, offering the King a Councell, according to the ancient constitutions of France. That to pacifie controuersies touching religion, a free and holy Councell should be held, That those of the religion in the meane time might quietly, and with liberty of their consciences liue in their houses, following that which is contayned in the confession of their Churches. The two brethren seeing themselves directly charged by the Protestants, thunder out against them: they write to the King of *Spaine*, and to the Catholike Princes: That the *Lutherans* and *Caluinists* are the onely authors of the troubles of France, and of the tumult of *Amboise*. And to the Protestants; That such as were executed in diuers parts of the realme, are onely certaine sacramentaries, enemies to the confession of *Ausbourg*. A bare shift and weake remedie to quench the fire which began to consume a part of the world.

Hereupon *Philip* aduiseeth them, to bring the inquisition of *Spaine* into France. The priuie Councell yeelds to it, and the Parliaments allowe thereof: but the Chancellor *Hospital* was too wise a politician: he would not see France disguised after the *Spanish* manner. *Katherine* was much troubled, not knowing howe to saile in so many stormes. The conuocation of the Estates might eclipse her authority, the restoring of the Princes of France, incompatible with a *Florentin* humour: the restitution of the Constable, whome shee hated to the death, accusing him to haue sayd to King *Henry*, That no one of his Children, did resemble him, but his bastard, whome his Sonne *Montmorency* had married. These things did wonderfully afflict her soule. Yet would shee gouerne and rule, foreseeing that shee could not better maintaine her greatnesse, then by the discord of the two houses of *Bourbon* and *Lorraine*. She relies vpon the last: and arming them with her authoritie, shee puts the King her Sonne, and herselfe into the protection of the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*.

This makes them swell both in hart and speeche: but there must bee a meanes found to pacifie this quarrell which concerned the estate, that vnder the cloake of religion (a goodly and ordinary pretext for great personages) the people might forget the vnlawfull vsurpation wherewith they were charged. They protest therefore to imploy all their meanes, and their friends to suppress those that sought any alteration in religion: hoping that when they had cut this sinewe from the Princes of the blood, they should bee more easily reuenged, both of them and of the Constables faction.

But during these garboiles, the principall peece of their chafe slippes out of their toyles: the Prince of *Condé* escapes, and retires to the King of *Nauarre* his brother, whilst the Duke of *Guise* in open Counsell opposeth in shewe (though in effect he omitted no meanes to seize on him) against his brothers aduice, concluding directly to haue the Prince apprehended. They forget not to proclaime this retreat, and as if hee had doubted his cause, they publish throughout the Realme,

The Prince of
Condé escapes.

1560. that hee had shewed himselfe guiltie. Presently newe forces are leuied and Commissions giuen to make warre in *Gascogne*. The Protestants fearing a nere storme which threatened them, flie to *Nerac* to the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Condé*, they present themselves and their meanes, shewing them the wrongs done by them of *Guise* to the King and the Realme, and beseech them to vndertake the deliery of his maiestie and maintenance of the estate.

An Assembly
of Princes &
Noblemen.

These two Princes had already resolved to vse all their meanes, to chase the *Lorrains* from the government of *France*. This request confirmed them, and then they sought out all Noblemen, and gentlemen which by their armes and meanes might aduance this worke. The Constable, with the *Vidame* of *Chartres* and a great number of others, promise to maintain their iust quarrell against all men, except the King, the *Queenes*, and his bretheren. Their letters fall into the hands of them of *Guise*: the Prince his Agent is imprisoned, and the *Vidame* of *Chartres* shut into the *Bastill*, and shall not be freed vntill the day before the Kings death, and himselfe shall die within fewe dayes after. Thus all things tend to an open warre. The *Queene* Mother desired to see these two parties fight, but not with the ruine of either side, for the fall of any one of them had set her beside the saddle. She therefore caused to be propounded in Councell, by the aduice of the Chancellor, and Admirall, whomeas yet she did willingly heare: That it was expedient to assemble all the Princes, Noblemen of the Realme, and men of authority, to aduise of the meanes to pacifie the troubles, growne principallie by reason of the persecutions for religion. Those of *Guise* C approve this desseine: this was in shewe a pitfall to take the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Condé*.

Moreouer they hoped to suborne so many witnesses, as all things should second their desires, and so forthatime should dissolve the conuocation of the Estates. So the King sends forth his letters into all parts, intreating them all to be at *Fontainebleau* the twentieth five of August, especially the King of *Navarre*: and to bring his brother and those Noblemen that were then with him. The *Guise*s also by their letters giue many good hopes and promises. But we haue sayd, they had in the beginning lodged spies in the King of *Navarre*s house. By their meanes they worke so as the King of *Navarre* stirres not, and lets slippe an oportunitie that he had to seeke a lawful government, within the realme.

The Constable better resolved, thinking the Princes would assist, arrives with eight hundred horse, and by this troupe makes the *Lorrains* to shewe him a good countenance. At the opening of the assemblee, the Admirall presents a petition to the King for the Protestants, who required to haue Temples granted them and free exercise of religion, throughout the whole Realme. There-vpon *Charles* of *Marillac* Archbishop of *Vienne*, shewed with such libertie of speech, the necessitie to assemble a nationall Councell, to remedie these controuersies growne for religion: and a Parliament to order the government of *France*, as hee furnished but fewe dayes after his oration. The Admirall toucht the cause of religion and state E more vehemently, taxing by ineffectiue such as giuing the King guards vpon guards, enterrayned him in distrust of his subiects, and his subiects in hatred of their owne King.

As they had made shewe to like of this assemblee, so they seemed to allowe of a Parliament. They appoint it first at *Meaux* and afterward at *Orleans* the x. of December, and the Synode for the Clergie at *Paris* the twentieth of January following, to determine of what should be expedient to be treated of in a generall council, whereof they gaue them hope. But as they had vnderhand withdrawne the Princes from comming to this Assemblee, so must they make them vnwilling to be present at the Parliament.

To this intent those of *Guise*, in the Kings name, command the companies of ordinarie souldiars to be readie the 20. of September: they lodge them in such sort as those whome they suspected, had them in front, in flanke and behinde them, and spies likewise

1560. A likewise to discover them: and they giue charge to the commanders, to coute all them in peeces that they should finde marching to ioyne with the Princes. If their forces were not sufficient to diuert the Prince of *Condé*, whom they knew to be more busie, and to endure lesse: they doe also procure Letters from the King, to the King of *Navarre*, whereby hee doth charge the Prince to haue attempted against the estate of *France*, and to haue sought to seize vpon some of the good Townes of the realme. Hee desires him therefore, to send him his brother with a good and sure garde: if not, hee himselfe will fetch him, well accompanied.

The answer of *Antonie* and *Lewis*, incounting the *Lorraines* with their owne armes, holding them guiltie of the same crimes wherewith they charged them, made them to change their note. They send a second commandement, whereby the King giues his word to the Princes to come in safetie: hee promiseth to heare all mens admonitions and iustifications, willingly: to receiue them according to their estates and dignities: not to disturbe any Prince in his religion, whereof hee now made open profession: and that they should returne when they pleased, free from iniurie and outrage.

Politic to
abute the
Princes.

And to draw them on, the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, (a Prince not well able to discover the deccites of the enemies of his house) is expressly sent vnto them. They marche, and are no sooner come to *Limoges*, but seven or eight hundred Gentlemen, well appointed, do visit them. The Deputies of *Provinces* offer them six thousand foot, *C Gascons* and *Poitouins*: foure thousand horse and foote out of *Languedoc*: as many or more out of *Normandie*, and the other *Provinces* promise to rise on all sides, to fortifie them at this assemblee of States: so as it will please the King of *Navarre* to declare himselfe Protector of the King and Realme, against them of *Guise*. But the Cardinall of *Armagnac*, *Escars*, *Iarnac*, and some other Councillors of the same mould, bad seruants to their maister, propounded so many dangers, so many inconueniences vpon their comming to Court with force, (and why should they not resist their enemies force) as hee sent back all his companie, and countermanded such as came promising notwithstanding to imploy himselfe courageously in the Parliament, for the good of all *France*.

D Herevpon they giue the King to vnderstand, that the *Lutherans* of *Orleans* practised something to subuert his estate, as they had of late attempted at *Lions*. To assure themselves of the Towne, and to punish some which were noted in the booke of death, whole confiscation was good, the *Guise*s first send *Sipiere*, Lieutenant to the Prince of *Roche-sur-yon*, gouernour of *Orleans*, to disarm the people, and to fill the houses suspected with men of war: they call together the nobilitie, & men at armes of *France*: then they conduct the King thither, to make his entry with the *Queene* the 17. of October. The Princes gouerned by their innocencie, arrive the eue of All Saints, and passe from the *Portereau* to the Kings lodging vpon the *Escalpe*, betwixt two ranks of armed men. The Cardinall of *Bourbon*, and the Prince of *Roche-sur-yon* receiue them. E Not a Courtier nor a Bourgeois meetes them: and for their first affront, when as they sought to enter on horse-back according to the viall custome, they were answered with a Brauado: *The great gates do not open*. The King attended them: at the first, hauing done their duties to his Maistie, and no man aduanced to bid them welcome. I am said he to the Prince of *Condé* (aduertised from diuers places, that you haue made many enterprises against me and the estate of my realme, and therefore I haue sent for you, to know the truth from your owne mouth.

The King
comes to
Orleans.

The Princes
arrive.

Lewis iustifies himselfe so plainly, and doth charge his enemies so directly, as the King himselfe could not impute these accusations, but to the wilfulness of his Vnckles, against his owne blood. But he was possessed by them, and suffered himselfe to be easily abused. So hee commands *Chaigny*, Captaine of his guards (sent by them of *Guise* to seize vpon the Prince. *Chaigny* shate him vp in a house hard by, before time which they make a fort of Brick, flanked with Canoniers, and furnished with field peeces to defend the approaches. The Lady of *Roye* his mother in law, was likewise carried from

The Prince
of Condé im-
prisoned.

1560. from *Anici*, a house of hers in *Picardie*, prisoner to *S. Germaine* in *Laye*, by *Renouart* and *Carrouges*. *Ierosme Groslet* Bayliffe of *Orleans*, (vnder colour that his father had beene Chancellor to the deceased King of *Nauarre*, and hee an affectionate seruant to the Princes, accused also to be the Protector of the *Lutherans* in *Orleans*.) was likewise imprisoned two dayes after the Princes arriuall. *La Haye* Councillor in the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, who did sollicite the Princes affaires, was also in trouble. *Amaury Bouchart* maister of Requests vnto the King, and Chancellor to the *Nauarrois*, was sent prisoner to *Melun*, which others brought from *Lions*, to haue proofes against the Prince, whose triall they did hasten with all speed. But they meant no harme to *Bouchart*, he had already retired himselfe, and blabbed by his Letters to the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, to the preiudice of his maister.

Commissioners to arraigne the Prince.

The Prince condemned.

Neither the informations taken at *Lions* by the Marshall *S. André*, nor the prisoners at *Melun*, were sufficient to make the Prince a spectacle vpon a scaffold. They send for the president of *Thou*, *Bartholmewe Faye*, and *James Viole*, Councillors of the Parliament at *Paris*, to examine the Prince vpon the point of high Treason: and if this peece of batterie were not of force, then to touch him vpon the point of religion, and to condemne him for heresie. The Prince propounds diuers causes of recusation, and appeales from them to the King. The priuie Councill reiects his appeale, and decrees, That vpon paine of high treason, the Prince should answer before these Commissioners. He answers: purgeth himselfe cleerly of all crime, and aduowes his religion free. By this confession, iudgement was giuen against him, & he condemned to dye: a C day appointed the x. of December, to countenance the beginning of the Parliament. They onely note, the Earle of *Sancerre*, the Chancellor, and the Councillor *Morier*, which did not pollute their soules with the approbation of this vniust sentence.

This sentence should in the end cause the ruine of all that were accused or suspected, as well for matter of State, as religion. And for the execution of this dessein, the forces of the realme diuided into foure, marched already into diuers Prouinces, vnder the command of the Duke of *Angoulême*, and the Marshalls of *S. André*, of *Brissac* and of *Termes*. And with the same furie the King of *Nauarre* should bee confined into the Castle of *Loches*: the Constable and his children to the great Tower at *Bourges*, the Admirall and some principalls, into one at *Orleans*, the which was afterwards called *D* the *Admirale*, neere to that of *S. Aignan*.

But behold, there are two more violent and more brutish counsellors, *Brissac* and *S. André*, they hold opinion, that to auoide trouble, in giuing the King of *Nauarre* any gardes, they should put him to death: they imploy both poison and sword, but neither succeeds. God had otherwise decreed, reseruing these princes for a more honourable death. But howsoeuer, let vs confesse, that the Lord hath strange meanes to punish the ambition of great men: we shall scarce see any one of those which are these furious parts vpon the theator of this Historie, end his dayes by an ordinarie and naturall death. The x. day of December approached, and the Deputies for the Estates anue by degrees. They presently forbid them in the Kings name, vpon paine of death, not to moue anything concerning religion, his Maestie hauing referred this controuersie to the Councill: which the Pope (being then *Pius* the 4. successor to *Theatin* lately deceased,) appointed to begin at *Trent*, at Easter following. Those of *Languedoc* amongst the rest, came furnished with ample instructions, both for the State and religion: but they found meanes to stop their mouthes, seizing both on their persons and instructions.

A miraculous deliuerie.

The ix. day of the moneth, they giue commandement to the King of *Nauarre*, to be ready to go to horse-back. their meaning was to carry him to *Loches*, whilst they should present the prince his Brother vpon a mournfull Scaffold, to the people of *Orleans*. But O God, we haue heard with our eares, and our Fathers haue declared, the worke which thou hast done in their time, and in the old time before them. Behold the King is taken during Euen-song with a great fainting, continued with a paine in his head, at the left eare, accompanied with a Feuer. The *Guise*s notwithstanding, send forth many

Commis-

A Commissioners to leuie men, and command the Marshall of *Termes* to ioyne with the *Spaniard*, who tooke the way of *Bayonne* to spoile the Countie of *Berne*, and then to assault all those whome he should finde to haue fauored the King of *Nauarre*, and the enterprise of *Amboise*.

It may be they would haue sold their liues deerely. Seauen or eight hundred gentlemen go speedily to horse, followed with five or six thousand foote, resolute, when the Marshall should passe *Limoges*, to hemme him in betwixt two riuers. He hath some intelligence thereof, and retires to *Poitiers*. This dessein being made frustrate, the Kings sicknesse encreasing, those of *Guise* meane to proceed with violence, and to murder the King of *Nauarre*. God rayfed vp the Cardinall of *Tournon* (who thinking to do a greater act) preuenteth it. Hee aduiseeth to attend the Constables coming, with his Children and Nephewes, to the end (sayd he) that killing one, we saue not the rest, who afterwards may do more harme then the Princes. The dispaire of the Kings helth, made them of *Guise* to set a good countenance on a bad cause. And the Queen mother seeking to hold her authority by supporting them of *Guise*, calles the King of *Nauarre* into her closet: As he was entering, a Ladie of the Court sayd to him in his eare: My Lord, denie the Queene Mother nothing that she shall demand, else you are dead. So he signed what shee desired: A grant of the right which hee might pretend to the gouernment of the King and Regencie of the Realme, and his reconciliation with them of *Guise*. Vpon this graunt, the promisseth to make him the Kings Lieutenant in *France*, both for peace and warre, and nothing should passe but by his aduice, and of the other Princes, who should bee respected according to the degree they held in *France*.

In the meane time death presseth the King: and those of the house of *Guise* shut vp in their lodging, and seized vpon three or foure scoore thousand franks which remained yet of the treasor, came not forth in two dayes, vntill they were assured of the King of *Nauarre*, who hauing imbraced one another, all quarrells seemed to be layd vnder foote. In the end this Catarre with a feuer brought the King to his graue, the fourteenth of December, hauing giuen no time, by reason of his yong age and the shortnesse of his raigne, to discouer any thing in him, but onely some shewes of courtesie, D continency and modestie: vertues which his Vncles had easily corrupted by the tast of crueltie which they began to make an impression of in his soule, as they did in his successors: little lamented for his person, but of such as possessing him in his nonage, grounded the greatnesse of their vsurped estates vpon his life, to ouerthrowe the fundamentall Lawes of the Realme. whatsoeuer some wretched writers do babble, whose soules haue beene as vendible, as the *Guise*s armes were then new in our *France*. This death gaue life to the Prince of *Condé*, opened the prisons for such as had beene committed for his cause, reuiued an infinit number, whome the Princes condemnation had drawne into danger, countermanded the troupes of *Spaine*, which aduanced towards *Bearn*, disapointed *Montluc* of the Earldome of *Armagnac*:

E the which he had deuoured in hope, by the promises of the house of *Guise*, and brought many of their most secret seruants to the King of *Nauarres* deuotion.

The death of Francis the 2.

CHARLES

CHARLES the 9. the 61. King of France.



1560.



NOW we fall from a feuer into a fienfie. Wee shall fee vnder another pupill King, of eleuen yeares of age, reigning in the name of God, the heavens to powre vpon this Realme, all the curses damned promised against a nation, whose iniquities hee will punish in his pleasure. A raigne cursed in the Cittie, and cursed in the field, cursed in the beginning and cursed in the ending. Mortalitye and famine haue followed it euen vnto the end. The heavens aboue are of braffe, and the earth vnder it of iron: the carcafes are a prey to the birds of the aire & to the beasts of the field, and no man trouble them. They suffer no thing but wrongs and rebbenies, and no man releues them. Men marry wiues but others sleepe with them. They fornicate, and plant, but the nations whom they haue not knowne, deuoure the fruit. To conclude, there is nothing but cursing, terror, and dissipation.

A Parliament
held at Orleans.

The 23. of December the Parliament began, and that which the Queene mother most desired, the confirmation of her Regencie, allowed by the Chancellor, and afterwards by those that were the speakers. John Quintin of Autun a doctor of the Canon Lawe at Paris, for the Clergie: the Lord of Rochefort Damoisel of Commercey, for the Nobility. Angelo then Aduocate of the Parliament at Bourdeaux, and afterwards Counsellor there, for the people. The Chancellor propounded manie articles touching the meanes to pacifie the troubles, and the remedies for that which concerned the estate and religion, & to discharge the Kings debts. Quintin, would haue the ministers of the Church enforced to discharge their duties, not altering any thing in the reformation thereof, the which cannot erre: not to suffer any other then the Catholicke

Apostolicke

A Apostolicke and Romish religion. Against such as demanded Temples, and against the deliverer of their petition (meaning the Admirall) against whom (said he) they should proceed according to the Canon and Ciuill constitutions, for the prohibiting of such bookes as were not allowed by the Doctors of the Sorbonné; and for the rooting out of Lutherans and Calvinists. Rochfort did speake against the iniudgments vsurped by the Clergie, against the disorders growne among the Nobles, against the wrong done to the true Nobilitie, against the confusions growne by confiscations, for matter of religion, against seditions, of the meanes to order the Clergie, & to containe them in their vocation: for the releefe of the people, especially in matters of Iustice, the which should be reduced to a certaine number of Officers. Ange insisted much vpon the ignorance, couetousnesse, and dissolution of the Clergie, whence proceeded the greatest part of these present scandales.

The next day, vpon the Admirals complaint to the Queene Mother, Quintin excused himselfe vpon the instructions which were given him in writing, and in his second speech hee did moderate his plea to the Admirals content. The Estates continued their conferences, and made the beginning of this yeare famous, by some prouision for matters of religion, where by it was forbidden vpon paine of death, not to reproach religion one to another, and commandement giuen to all Iudges and officers, to set at libertie all such as had beene imprisoned for the said religion. Many other good & necessary lawes were published, but with more confusion then profit. And in truth a number of lawes ill obserued, peruert Iustice, and giues the people occasion not to regard them. But when they come seriously to handle the discharge of the Kings debts, and that the Nauarrois submits himselfe to restitution. If it be found that he hath receiued any extraordinary gifts, those of Guise and others, which could not make the like offer, found meanes to frustrate this proposition, by the referring of the Estates to Pontaise, hoping hereafter to find some deuise to preuent their yielding vp of any accompt. And in truth all these assemblies vanished away like smoake, without any other resolution, then to lay the paiement of the Kings debts vpon the Clergie.

Put off to Pontaise.

The King of Nauarre, the other Princes of the bloud, & the Constable, seeing themselves held to no end in Court, and that for matters of State, they had but the leauings of them of Guise, it made them trusse vp their baggage to retire, with an intent to crosse the regencie of the Queene Mother, and the Guisians authoritie. To frustrate this defense, she makes a new accord with the Nauarrois, doth associate him in the gouernment of the realme, and concludes with him, that leauing the title of Regent, he should be called Lieutenant generall to his Maiestie, in all his countries and territories. But this was but a gouernment in paper: these strong partialities of two parties, shall briefly one assaile another, making great wounds within this realme, from whence wee haue seene the blood runne euen to these latter dayes.

This treatie did preiudice them of Guise, and in the end, peace must needs send them from Court, to liue at home like priuate men. They had in their conceits, the argument of a new Tragedie, the which we shall shortly see plaied vpon this Theater. The Protestants multiplied, and the King of Nauarre supported them openly. The Prince of Condé (who pursued the sentence of his iustification in the Parliament) and the Admirall, had preaching in their chambers. This string is strained too high. They publish generally, that these preachings will be the ouerthrow of the ancient religion within this realme: and particularly among the Duke of Guises partisans. That vnder colour of rendering accounts, and of extraordinary gifts, they would displace them, hauing managed the most important affaires of the realme, for the space of fortie yeares.

The Constable holding for a maxime, That the change of religion brings an alteration in the state, begins to applaude them: the Duke of Montpensier, and the Prince of Roche-sur-yon, Princes of the bloud of Bourbon; vpon this nice point of new religion, toynewillingly with them. The people conforme them selues commonly after the patteme of great men. Great personages looke awrye one on another, so do the people: one beares the name of Huguenot impatiently: an other cannot indure that of papist:

in

1560. in truth turbulent and factions names. From hence sprong diuerse mutines, at *Beauuais*, *Amiens*, *Pontoise* and elſewhere, where the weaker was forced to yeele to the stronger.

The Kings
coronation.

Edicts of July.

Theſe new broyles cauſed an Ediſt to be made at *Fontainebleau* (where the Court remayned, attending the renewing of the eſtates intermitted) prohibiting theſe mutual reproches of *Papiſt* and *Huguenot*: to ſerch no man in his houſe, nor to retaine any one in priſon for his religion. From thence the King made his voiage to *Reims*, and was ſolemnly crowned by the Cardinall of *Lorraine*. The Parliament at *Paris* (not able to digeſt this laſt Ediſt.) ſhewes vnto the King, That diuerſitie of religion was incompatible in an eſtate: reiects this pretended libertie of conſcience, and beſeeched his Maieſtie to force his ſubiects to make open profeſſion of the Catholike, *Apoſtolike* and *Romiſh* religion, vpon ſuch paines as ſhould bee aduiſed on in Councell. Now blowes a contrarie wind, the which aſſembles (in the Parliament at *Paris*) all the Princes, Noblemen, and others of the priuie Councell, with all the Chambers, to the end they might freely, and wichall puritie of conſcience deliberate, aduiſe and conclude vpon a matter ſo much importing the good and quiet of the Realme. This aſſembly brought forth the Ediſt, which they called of *July*, an ediſt confirming the decrees of former Kings, commanding his ſubiects vpon paine of death, to liue hereafter in peace, without iniuries, without reproches for any reſpect of religion, need beleeſe. But ſee the firebrand of ciuill warres, which now we handle. All religion, faith, or doctrine, other then that of the Church of *Rome*, was baniſhed the realme: all embelies of Proteſtants forbidden, and they condemned to ſeek their abode elſewhere.

Somewhat to temper this bitterneſſe, they lymit their exile, by the determination of a generall Councell, or next aſſembly of the Prelats of the Realme, at *Poyſſy*. And at the ſame inſtant the ſentence of the Prince of *Condé* innocencie was pronounced in Parliament, by the Preſident *Baillet*, in their ſcarlet gownes, the doores open, and all the chambers aſſembled, the King of *Nauarre* being preſent, with the Duke of *Montpenſer*, the Prince of *Roche-sur-yon*: the Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Neuers* and *Montmorency*, the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Lorraine*, *Guiſe*, *Chañillon*, and other noblemen: his remedie reſerued againſt whome it ſhould appertaine, as the reputation and qualitie of his perſon and dignitie ſhould require. The King calling the Princes and Noblemen to *S. D. Germain in Laye*, hee cauſed the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* to embrace each other, promiſing to continue good friends.

The Parliament remitted to *Pontoise*, hauing produced no other effect but a new approbation of the Regencie for the Queene mother (in whoſe fauour the Admirall laboured to the Eſtates, relying vpon the great aſſurances ſhe had giuen him, to procure much good for them of his partie. And the King of *Nauarre*, by reaſon of the refusals which the Deputies made to paſſe this article, declared vnto them by mouth, that he had renounced his right, and ſome meanes to open the cofers of the Clergie, for the payment of the Kings debts: they began to proceed to the conference of *Poyſſy*. For the Catholiks came, the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Lorraine*, *Armagnac*, *Guiſe*, *Chañillon* and *Tournon*, aſſiſted by a great number of Prelats and Doctours of Diuinitie, and Canon Law. The Pope doubting leaſt they ſhould make ſome concluſions preiudiciall to his authoritie, ſent the Cardinall of *Ferrara* his Legat into France, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt any alteration in religion, and to haue the cauſe referred to the Councell of *Trente*, the which he had publiſhed.

Conference
of Poyſſy.

A Petitiõ
preſented by the
Proteſtants.

Theodore Beze, *Peter Martir a Florentin*, *Auguſtin*, *Maylorat*, *Francis* of *Saint Paul*, *Raimond*, *Iohn Frel*, and other to the number of twelue miniſters, and two and twenty Deputies of the Proteſtant Churches, offer a petition vnto the King, at his firſt entrie, beſeeching him, that the Prelats might examine the confeſſion of their faith, whereof they had had conference, ſince the moneth of Iune, to impugne it if they thought good. For their firſt aſſembly, and vpon their obiections, to heare the defences of the ſaid Churches, by the mouthes of their Deputies. That the King ſhould be preſident in this conference, with his Councell, and that the Clergie, (for that they are parties) ſhould not

not take vpon them, the authoritie of Iudges. That all controuerſies, might be determined by the word of God. That two Secretaries choſen on either ſide, might examine the diſputations that were daylie written, and that they ſhould not bee receiued but ſigned by either partie.

Before they entred into open conference, the Cardinall of *Lorraine* would treat priuately with *Beza* before the Queene Mother: and hauing heard him eſpecially vpon the Lords ſupper. *I am greatly contented* (ſayd he) *with that I vnderſtand and hope aſſurely that the ſiſue of this Conference will bee happy, proceeding with mildneſſe and reaſon*. It began the 9. of September. The King did breiefely touch the cauſes of this aſſembly, cauſing his Chanceller to deliuer them more at large. The Cardinall of *Lorraine*, in the behalfe of the Prelats, demands the Chancellors propoſition in writing, and leuſed to conſider thereof: the which is reſuſed. *Theodore* with his companions brought in by the Duke of *Guiſe*, appointed to that charge with the Lord of *la Ferté*, *viſſeau* Captaine of the gard, makes an ample collectiõ of all the articles of the Chriſtian Doctrine, expounds thoſe which are in controuerſie, toucheth by the way the diſcipline of the Church, proteſts, that both he, his Companions and all thoſe that aduoe them, deſire nothing but the reformation of the Church. that they will liue and die in the Kings proteccion, deſt thoſe that ſeek to ſequeſter themſelues, and pray to God for the proſperity of his Maieſty, of his mother, his Councell and his Eſtate: then hee preſents vnto the King, the Confeſſion of the Proteſtant Churches, & deſires the conference may be made concerning it. The King hauing receiued it by the ſayd Captaine of his gard, deliuered it vnto the Prelats. The point vpon the reall preſence in the Sacrament had troubled them. They conclude, that the Cardinall of *Lorraine* aſſiſted by *Claude Deſpenſe* and ſome other Doctours, not by way of diſputation, but not to faile of a replie, ſhould anſwer to two points only, *of the Church*, and *the Lords ſupper*. And the 16. of the ſayd moneth he makes his oratiõ, & diſcourſeth at large of theſe two points, & then he intreats the king to continue conſtant in the religion of his Predeceſſors, & to ſummon the miniſters to ſubſcribe to that which he had deliuered, before they paſſed to the other articles: otherwiſe to deny them audience, and to ſend them out of the realme, which could alow but of one faith, one law and one King.

The ſoure and twentieth day *Theodore* made anſwer to the Cardinall, diſputed with the Doctours *Deſpenſe* & *Saintes*, and the 26. day, he treated with him againe touching the Lords ſupper: the other miniſters replied likewise to ſome obiections of other doctours of the *Sorbonne*, & finally al was conuerted into priuate cõferẽces, without any reſoluõ or cõcluſion that might end theſe troubles. The Prelats ſent backe their doctours in Octob. & referal reformation to the Coucel at *Trent*, whether the Cardinall of *Lorraine* & the doctour of *Saintes* went: of whoſe wee will ſpeake a word by the way, ſeeing it ſits with the matter. We find by a fragment originall, drawne out of the writings of a *Chanoine* of *Reims*, and publiſhed in the year 1598. by the means of *Perrequin Maſtor* of *Langres*: That the Kings Ambaſſadors at the Councell of *Trente* were amongeſt other inſtructions, ſigned *Charles*, *Katherine*, *Alexander*, which was *Henry* the 3. *Anthony*, and vnderneath it, *Charles* of *Bourbon*, *Francis* of *Lorraine*, *Montmorency*, *M. Hoſpital*, *S. André* & *Francis* of *Montmorency*, charged to demand, *To haue the ceremonies corrected & al other things wherby the people might be abuſed, vnder a ſure piety. That the Cup might be reſtored in all comonions, within his realme & all his dominions. That al adminiſtrations of Sacraments to the Laitye, might be done in the French tongue. That in the pariſh Churches, & not collegial, Cathedral or monacal, the uſe of the proſne ſhould be inſtituted according to the firſt & moſt holy inſtitutiõ: that during the high Maſſe in the pariſh Churches, the word of God ſhould be red and interpreted at the houre accuſtomed, with then exhorting of youth, to the end that every one might be inſtructed, & capable of that which he ſhould beſeue, & how he ſhould liue according vnto God, and that in ſteed of the Proſne. publike prayer ſhould be made in the French tongue. That without changing of any thing of the accuſtomed ſervice of the Church in the latin tongue ſome houre ſhould be appointed, as wel at Maſſe, as at Euerſong, wherein it might be lawfull to ſing psalmes in the open Church, perſued firſt & corrected by the Biſhops & ordinary ſuperiours, & approved by famous vniuerſities or prouincial Councells.*

D d d

1562. *Councells. And also to complaine of the vnwhysse life of Clergy men, which breed so many disorders and corruptions among the people.* These articles concluded, had without doubt made the way to reduce many realmes and Prouinces to the *Union* of the Church, appeased the troubles of this realme, satisfied many troubled consciences, and prevented a greater schisme. But hatred and humane passions makes vs yet to attend a stroke from heaven to draw vs ioynly into the fold of one vniuersal Bishop. Thus the conference at *Poissy* having not yeilded that remedie, which was expected, for the common enrichment, now diuers factions grow in *France*. The Protestants, which before had by many petitions required Temples for the exercise of their religion, they now established by force in many places, and without further attending the approbation of the demands, they assemble at diuers times. The Catholikes mutine, especially at *Paris*, and pursue them with sfoanes, swords, staves & fire in their returne from *Cerys* (a garden without the Temple gate) and in the suburbs of *S. Marceau*: they ring the alarm bell at *S. Medard*, they wound, kill, take and hang many. *Gabaston* amongst others, Knight of the watch, to appeale the people, lost his head. To make some Edict for the ordering of these broyles, the Q. Mother assembles the chiefe of the Parliamēt, with the Princes of the bloud, Noblemen, Councillors of the priuy Councell, Masters of request, & other men of authority, and to giue some contentment to those that vehemently required places and Temples for their assemblies with liberty. The chiefe Catholikes, especially those of *Guise*, disallow of this courte. they accule the Que. facility, & nurture openly against the King of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral & his brethren. These crosse the with an enterprise, made to carry the Duke of *Orleans*, the Kings younger brother into *Lorraine* so as they retire from Court: the Duke of *Nemours*, who had played the principall part in this tragedie, saues him selfe, & returnes not before the *Civil wars* haue fied all *France*. This newe change, seemes to draw the Regent to the Protestants party: she desires to know their forces, and their means. They giue her a list of two thousand a hundred and fifty protestant churches, the deputies whereof offered their goods & persons to the K. to withstand the forces of them of *Guise*, who called the *Spaniard* into *France*. The *Cusians* abience made easie the grant of that famous Edict, which beares vnto this day the name of January: the which disannulling that of *July*, gaue liberty to the protestants the 17. of the sayd moneth, to assemble without the Townes, and provided that all men might liue in peace one with another. But alas, in stead of peace it shall breed horrible confusions. The difficultie was in the execution. The Parliaments publish it as slowly as may be, & that of *Dijon* neuer. Those of *Guise* & the constable ioyned with them, diuerted the by their authority. But they had an other string to their bow, which preuailed according to their desires. They imploy the Ambassador of *Spain*, the Cardinal of *Tournon*, *Escars*, & some other house-hold flatterers to the K. of *Nauarre*, to persuade him, that carrying himselfe a *Neuter*, & cautiſing the Prince his son to go once to the *Masse*, the K. of *Spain* would giue him the realme of *Sardaigne*, in recompence of that of *Nauarre*. The Pope likewise confirms him in this hope. This was properly to conceine a mountaine & to bring forth a moule, & to take fro him all means to recover his realme of *Nauarre*, when he should attempt it. So as being drawne by those *Spanish* and *Lorraine* practises, he estrangeth him selfe by little and little from the protestants, solicits the Q. his wife to returne into the bosome of the *Romish* Church, and so to instruct her children. Vpon her refusal, there growes a breach betwixt the, and he falls in loue with one of the Queene Mothers maids. In the meane time, she entertained the Prince of *Condé* & the Admiral, who she knew to be yet strong within the realme, maintayned the protestants in their peaceable exercise. For that end commanded euery gouernor to retire to his gouernment. She would haue sent the Prince of *Condé* into *Guienne* (whose presence without doubt had stayed that horrible and euell shedding of bloud) whereby *Montuc* vpon his refusal opened the veins of a body wonderfully afflicted. But so passeth the world, euery one would gouerne the King in his turne, and the Regent by little and little did vndermine the foundation of the Edict, to ouerthrowe the whole body.

Moreover those of *Guise* were desirous to returne to their places, neyther had they retired

A retired but to get better footing. They are now strong enough, having drawn the King of *Nauarre* from the Protestant parte. They march towards *Paris*, and passing from *Jainville* to *Vassy*, they dispersed about twelue hundred persons, which were assembled for their exercise: murther two and fortie, wound many to the death, leade away prisoners, and sacke the Towne: this was the first firebrand of the ciuill warres, which were now a breeding. This act puts the Protestants in alarm, and makes them release the trowell and the hammer, which they imployed in many places, to build their Temples, euery one skowes his harness, euery one prouides him armes & hories. Their Churches and Nobilitie complaine, and demand iustice of the King. The Regent giues them good words: and the King of *Nauarre* rebuks them, & chargeth them to be the first motives of this trouble. They haue (saith he) cast stones against my brother the Duke of *Guise*. he could not retaine the furie of his followers. And whosoever shall touch the end of my brothers finger, shall touch my whole bodie. The arriual of the Duke of *Guise*, the Constable, the Marshall of *Brissac*, *Montmorency*, *Termes*, and afterwards of the King of *Nauarre* to *Paris*, draws the Prince of *Condé* and the three brethren of *Coligni* likewise thither. But the stronger carries it. They were too weake to encounter the Councels which were held daily, at the Constables house. To vnderstand what forces the Prince had within the Cittie, they make a proclamation: That all men, of what qualitie soeuer, should come and shew vnder what Captaines they were enrolled. vpon refusal, they should depart within 24. houres. So the Prince retires to *Meaux*, and calls together such as might by their armes force his enemies to some agreement. The Queene mother (seeing the *Guisens* fortified within *Paris*, and seized vpon the Kings person, whom they caused to come from *Fontainebleau* to *Paris*) writes vnto the Prince, and recommends vnto him, both the mother, and the children.

The Princes intention was to come to Court, when as newes is brought him, that they possesse the King, and bring him to *Paris*. He therefore leaues *Meaux* to go and seize vpon *Orleans*, and at the same instant either faction assures himselfe by diuerse surprises of places, exposed to their pleasure. The Constable causeth the houses of *Jerusalem* vpon *S. James* his ditch, and of *Pepincourt* without *S. Antonies* gate, to be beaten downe, where the Protestants did assemble for their exercise, & in all other places, the people transported with the like humour, vse extreame violence. The Protestants grow egar, & in all places wherethey had might, reuenge themselves on the Churches, images, priests, and religious houses. To conclude euery Towne thus diuided, prepares a wretched Theatre, to act a mourneful and bloudie Tragedie. Yet euery one iustifies his cause. Without the realme the Prince produceth the Regents letters in open Parliamēt of the Princes of *Germanie*. Within the realme, he exhorts the of his party to prouid men & money, & by an association made with the Noblemen, & gentlemen of his partie, he promisseth to imploy himselfe for the deliery of the King, and Queene, and for the maintenance of the Edicts, and the Estate of the realme. On the other side, the King declares by his letters pattents: that both hee, his mother, and his brethren, are at libertie, forbids all his subiects to arme vnder that pretext: commands them that are armed to surcease, and to retire home to their houses: and by an other Edict he commands the execution of the Edict of January, but within the Citie of *Paris* and suburbs thereof. But to quite abolish it, he calls the Nobilitie the 28. of Aprill, and declares by proclamation, the Prince and his adherents to be seditious and bad Christians, and that the Prince made prouision of forren forces to disturbe the quiet of *France*. It is an example of dangerous consequence, when a people armes vnder colour to set their Prince at libertie, for often times in stead of liberty, they make him captiue. The Queene mother did easily arme that partie which she ment to imploy: but great men, who most commonly maintaine their authoritie by armes, do more willingly take them, then lay them downe. She cannot now cause them to surcease, whom she had armed for this deliuerance: the confusion is too great, their courages are too much incensed, and their harts pult vp with many hopes: they must come to blowes, their fingers are hecd on either side. In the meane time the heads beeing gone, and persuaded to preferre the publike before all private respects, they offer in shew, to lay

1562. downe their armes, and to retire home to their houses, so as their aduersaries will submit themselves to the like. But to conclude, the companies of men at armes being for the most part arrived at *Paris*, with part of the old bands, the King of *Nauarre*, the Duke of *Guise*, the Constable, and the Marshall of Saint *André* (the Protestants called the three last *Triumvirs*, and in truth they were but three heads in one hood) hauing by an Edict banished the *Caluinists* out of *Paris*, take the way of *Chasteaudun* with twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The Prince was as strong, and euen then would haue ioyned with them: *d'Andelot* and *Boucart* about all others vrged it. but the Regent abused them with frivolous hopes of an accord, while the Kings armie grew stronger, both with *French* and forren forces. Hauing thus lost the oportunitie of a battaile, the Prince maintaines his armie about two monethes, with a commendable discipline, without blaspheming, whoring, robbing, or theft. In the end they loose all patience. *Baugency* taken by assault, opens the dores to disorders: for this first heate soone past with the *French* growes cold, money for their pay growes short, & the nobility could not frame themselves to this strict discipline of war, which the Admiral did practise, being a great enemy to robbings. In many Prouinces, matters were indifferently betwixt the Catholikes, and the Protestants: and to giue two strokes with one stone, to stay the disputation of this armie, and to releue them that might in the end fall, the Prince sent the Earle of *Rocheboucault*, with some troupes into *Poitou*, *Kaintonge*, and *Angoumois*: *Soubize* to *Lions*: *Yuo* brother to *Genlis*, to *Bourges*: *Montgomery* into *Normandy*: *d'Andelot*, to hasten the succours of *Germany*, and *Briquemaunt* into *England*. These troupes from the moneth of Aprill, vntill the midst of August, did possesse *Orleans*, *Baugency*, *Yendosme*, *Blois*, *Tours*, *Poitiers*, *Mans*, *Angers*, *Bourges*, *Angoulême*, *Rouan*, *Chalon* vpon *Soan*, *Maçon*, *Lion*, & the most part of *Dauphiné* with many others, not without effusion of blood, spoyleing of Churches, and such inolenities, as the warre doth cause in a Countrie of Conquest.

Orleans and *Bourges* held by the Prince, did much helpe their affaires, but *Bourges* might be easily surprised before it were fortified. The King then (whom the commanders had drawne into the armie) marcheth thither, and the composition which *They* made with his Maiestie, put him for a time in disgrace with the Prince. This arme cut off (as the *Guise*ns said) from the *Huguenots*, inuited the Kings armie to the siege of *Orleans*, where the Prince and the Admiral were. But the resolution of these two Commanders, and the feare to receiue shame & losse, made them passe on to *Rouen*, where *Montgomery* commanded with seuen or eight hundred souldiars of the old bands, and two companies of *English*. The end of September, was the beginning of this siege: famous for the hurting of the King of *Nauarre* in the shoulder, as hee surmoued the weakest part of the Cittie: whereof he died the 17. of Nouember, three weeks after it was taken by assault, and spoyled. *Montgomery* saued himselfe in a gallie, but many of the chief passed through the executioners hands. On the other side, *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Montpensier*, reduced to the Kings obedience, the Townes of *Angers*, *Mans*, & *Tours*, the Marshal *S. André* tooke *Poitiers* from the Lord of *S. Gemme*, and *Henry* of *Montmorency*, Lord of *Damville*, incountred the Protestants forces in *Languedoc*, where the Earles of *Tende* and *Suze*, by the defeat of *Montbrun*, tooke *Cisteron* for the King, & *Montluc* with *Burie* gouernours of *Guienne*, put to rout the troupes of *Gascōis* which *Duras* led to the Earle of *Rocheboucault*, beseeing *S. Jean d'Angeli*. The ouerthrow of *Duras* brought the Earle with 300. gentlemen, & the remainder of the defeated armie, on this side *Lore*, to ioine the Prince with the *Reistres* whom *d'Andelot* brought. This supple made the Prince resolute to go to *Paris*, & by annoying it, to encrease the feare where in they were possessed. He marcheth, forceth *Pluviers*, takes *Elampes*, & beseegeth *Corbeil*; but finding it better furnished with men then he expected, he approacheth to *Paris*, makes a great skirmish, & beates backe the troupes that were come out off their trenches. So hee camped at *Gentilly*, *Arceuil*, *Mont-rouge*, and other neighbour villages; The Queene mother busies him seuen or eight dayes with diuers parles, during the which foure and twentie ensignes of *Gascōis*, and *Spaniards* arriuing, were lodged within the suburbs of Saint *James*. The Prince then seeing his enemies forces

A forces to encrease, resolues to fight with them, before they were fully assembled, so as all hope of peace conuerted into smoke. hee riseth the tenth of December, takes the way to *Chartres*, and resolues to goe into *Normandie*, to receiue the men and money which came out of *England*, and by that meanes to diuert the siege of *Orleans*. The Constable and Duke of *Guise* march after him.

Dreams are lies, as we comonly say: yet haue we often tried those which present themselves in the morning, (the spirit hauing taken sufficient rest,) to bring certaine aduertisements of that which is to come. The night before the eue of the battaile, the Prince dreames that he had giuen three battailes one after another, obteyned the victorie, ouerthrowne his three principall enemies, and finally himselfe wounded to the death, hauing layed one vpon another, and he about them all, yeelding in that sort, his soule to God. And to say the trueth, haue wee not seene this vision verified by the death of the Marshall of Saint *André*, which is at hand: by that of the Duke of *Guise* before *Orleans* the yeare following: and by that of the Constable at the battaile of *S. Denis*, and of the Prince himselfe in that of *Bassec*.

In the Kings armie, they numbred two thousand horse, and nineteene thousand foot. In that of the Prince, foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot. They ioine the nineteenth of December, and without any skirmishes, charge with all their forces. The Princes *Suisses* loose seuentene Captaines, with three parts of their troopes, which were about three thousand, and endure three charges before they could bee broken. On the other side, the taking of the Constable, the death of the Marshall Saint *André*, the defeat of their troupes, caused a generall confusion in the Kings armie, if the Duke of *Guise* charging the white cassaks, & the *Reistres* with furie (whose pistols had made a great slaughter of his men) had not forced through the Princes horse, who straying too much from the battaile, fel prisoner into the hands of the Lord of *Damville*, the which made the victorie doubtful, seeming before to incline to his side. The conflict continued from tenne of the clocke in the morning, vntill night, with many charges: there were seuen thousand men slaine vpon the place, on both sides, many hurt, and in a manner, all died, and a great number of prisoners. The King lost (besides his *Suisses*) the most part of his horse, and a great number of foot. There were slaine of men of marke, the Duke of *Neuers*, killed by one of his household seruants, either by hazard, or of purpose, the Lords of *Montbrun* (the Constables son,) *d'Annebault*, *Guiry*, *la Brosse* and his sonne: there were hurt, the Duke of *Annale*, brother to the Duke of *Guise*, *Rocheport* and *Beauuais*. *Aussun* a Nobleman of *Gascōie*, (whome feare made flie to *Paris*) and there hee died of greefe. The Prince lost about two thousand two hundred foote, and a hundred and fiftie horse, *French* and *Reistres*.

This battaile is famous, by the taking of two Generals, the one in the beginning, the other in the end of the battaile, so as the field was left by both parties: but after the retreat, it was viewed, and taken againe by the Duke of *Guise*, and the next day, as it were, recovered by the Admirall, who presented himselfe in battaile. So the Prince had the aduantage ouer the dead, & the honour to haue made his retreat with order: but the Duke had the aduantage of the victorie, for that he lodged vpon the place of battaile, spoyled the dead, and wonne the Princes artillerie, who (a strange matter considering their hatred) supped, and lay all night with the Duke of *Guise*. Doubtles, it was a curtesie in the one, and a resolution in the other.

By the taking of the two Commanders, the Duke of *Guise* was declared the Kings Lieutenant Generall in the armie, and the Admirall tooke the command for the Protestants. Either had sundrie desseins. The Duke to recouer the places held from the King: the Admirall to preserue *Orleans* with more facilitie, by the conquest of some places about it: and then to finish his voyage into *Normandie*, whether the treasor of *England* called him. So hauing taken *Selles* in *Berry*, Saint *Aignan*, *Montrichard*, and *Sully* vpon *Loire*, he deliuered the gard of *Orleans* to his brother *d'Andelot*, with foure-tenne ensignes of *French* and *Languenets*, foure of the inhabitants of the Towne, and a

1562. great number of the Nobility vnder the conduct of *Duras, Bouchanues, Puss, S. Cre, A*
 & *Anaret* & other voluntaries: and tooke the way to *Normandie*, thinking by this meanes
 1563. to diuide the enemies forces, who had *Orleans* for the cheefe object of their armes.
 The first day of February, he camps before it, and the next day hee wins the Portecrau,
 with the slaughter of foure hundred good *French* souldiars, being abandoned by the
Lanquenets, who cowardly left the place they had in charge. The 18. of the moneth,
 hee was readie to giue an assault: and making his reckoning to winne the Towne, he
 writes to the Queene mother, that within 24. houres he would send her newes of the
 taking thereof, and would make the day very memorable, sparing neither sexe nor age:
 that after he had shroued there, he would extinguish the remembrance of the Towne.
 But man knoweth not his destinie, nor what shall happen vnto him. The same day as
 he returned towards night, vpon a little moyle, from the Campe to the Castle of *Cor-*
sey, his ordinary lodging, *John Poltray Seigneur of Merey*, a gentleman of *Angoulmois*,
 mounted vpon a *Spanishe* horse, by his owne proper and priuate motion, shoots him in-
 to the shouldar with a pistoll charged with three bullets, and saues himselfe by flight:
 but hauing wandred all night, he was taken the next day: soone after, hee was pincht
 with hot irons, and so drawne in peeces with horses at *Paris*. The Duke of *Guise* died
 the 24. of the said moneth, and was interred at *Paris*, with pompe like vnto a King. *Hen-*
ry his sonne being yong of age, was preferred to the place of great Chamberlaine, and
 Lord Steward of *France*.

The siege of
Orleans by
the Duke of
Guise.

The Duke of
Guise slain.

The Admirall in the meane time, runnes ouer *Normandie* without opposition, and C
 followed with foure thousand horse, he coopt vp them into their forts, who had had
 free scoape, since the taking of *Rouen*. The Marquis of *Elbeuf* namely, and *Renouart*
 a new Knight of the order, molested by the Protestants of *Caen*, tooke some, and slue
 others. The money, artillerie, powder, with fine companies of *English*, and two of
French, which he newly received, came very fitly to reduce the Towne, and the strong
 Castle thereof, to his deuotion, *Mony* conquered him *Honfleur*: and the Lord of *Calu-*
biere, Feyeux: and by this prize, he so amazed the garrison of *Saint Lo*, as they left the
 place. The Admirall sent *Montgomery* thither, who was receiued into *Auranches* with-
 out contradiction. Fire being taken by assault, endured the ordinary rigour of the war.

The Earle went on with his forces, euen as the packet of peace arriued, the D
 which called the Admirall to *Orleans*. So the 14. of March, he marcheth thitherward:
 the 18. he entrencheth into *Berkey* by force, and castrich some Priests to be hanged being
 found in armes, and perswading the people to kill in a public dog-hole. Two daies after
 the Vicent of *Dreux* takes *Aigle*, and putteth the sword that he finds armed. *Fi-*
lisse compounds: *Argenton* redeemes it selfe for a hundred thousand francks. *Montegut* a
 great village in *Perche* (seduced by some indiscreet priests) makes resistance. They
 force it, and the most mutinous pay for their follie with the price of their liues. The
 monks of *S. Calais* had receiued garrison, and illintended some of the household fer-
 uants of the Lord of *Coignee*: but now he takes a sharp reuenge, and *Cernoy* surpriuing
 the Castle of *Meziere* neere vnto *Dreux*, makes it a desert for ever after vnable to
 beare armes. So the Admirall re-enters into *Orleans* the three and twentieth day of
 March.

At the beginning of the siege of *Orleans*, the King being then, the priuie Council,
 and certaine deputies of the Court of Parliament, came to *Chartres*, to
 arraigne (said they) the Prince of *Condé*. The Duke of *Guise* had by this meanes
 giuen two strokes with one stone: for the losse of the Prince of *Condes* head, had stroke
 of the Constables. But *Damville* hauing the honour to haue taken the Prince in bat-
 taile, had likewise the honour to preserve his life, by the dispersing of this assemblie.
 Now that the Queene mother stands no more in feare of the Duke of *Guise* authori-
 tie, shee reuiues the treatie of peace begun before his death. For the effecting
 whereof shee holds an assemblie in the Isle of *Oxen*, where the Prince and the Con-
 stable assist being prisoners yet. The Constable protests at the beginning, that
 hee will not suffer any peace made with the conditions of the Edict of January. The

A The Prince craues leaue to confesse with his Councell in *Orleans*. His Councell giues
 him to vnderstand, that neither the Queene, nor he, can derogate from the Edict so fo-
 lemnly made, confirmed, and sworne, at the instance of the Estates, and so notable an
 assembly of the Parliaments of the realme. 1562 &
 1563.

But the Prince was grieved to see himselfe garded by a companie of horse, and
 three enignes of foote: and many Gentlemen had not of long time seene their fami-
 lies. Moreouer, they gaue the Prince to vnderstand, that the Articles of the Edict of
 January were not altered, but onely to content the Catholikes: that armes being laide
 aside, they should by little and little obtaine free libertie. So the articles of peace
 drawne in forme of an Edict, were concluded the xii. of March, and all confirmed in
 the Kings Councell at *Amboise*, the xix. following, verified in Parliament the xxvii. and
 the same day proclaimed throughout the Towne by the sound of Trumpet. The exe-
 cutions qualified with the name of Iustice, the robberies generall & priuate, massacres,
 committed in the persons of the Protestants at *Paris, Senlis, Amiens, Abbeville, Meaux,*
Chalons, Troyes, Bar vpon Seine, Epernay, Ceant in Othe, Sens, Auxerre, Nevers, Corbigny,
Ambrise, Moulins, Issoudun, Mans, Vendosme, Angers, Crao, Blois, Tours, Bourgneil, & places
 thereabout, *Poitiers, Rouen, Falongnes, Vire, S. Lo, Bourdeaux, Agen*, and generally in all
 parts of the realme, are read at large in the Originals, and would augment this volume
 beyond the iust proportion. Time and leifure may hereafter giue all this discourse spe-
 cified more particularly. Let vs onely obserue the most memorable exploits chanced
 during these first troubles, from the moneth of April, in the yeare 1562. vnto the pub-
 lication of the peace.

The Protestants of *Meaux* exceeding the Catholikes in number, had vntill the end of
 June, continued the exercise of their religion, without any disturbance: then transpor-
 ted with an indiscreet zeale, and ill aduised presumption, grounded vpon their num-
 bers, they siet to the Churches, beat downe images, and make the Priests retire. This
 insolencie made the Court of Parliament at *Paris* to censure them, and to abandon
 them to any that could spoile or kill them without any forme of proceffe. Therevpon
Lithoux brother to *Montluc*, comes to *Meaux*, and with the consent of the Protestants,
 restores the exercise of the Catholike religion, and then giues commandement to the
 D inhabitants, to bring their armes into the Towne house. Some obey: others to the
 number of foure hundred, march to ioyne with the prince *Portian*: they charge them,
 and kill them all but fortie, which recouer *Orleans* with much adoe, leauing their
 wiues to the mercie of the stronger, whereof many were forced to go to the Masse
 with blowes, many marriages solemnized anew, many children (but without order)
 baptized againe. The 13. of February 1563. some fugitiues tried to recouer the place:
 but this caused a totall ruine of their companions, who remained within the townie,
 they were massacred, drowned, and hanged, their wiues and children rauished, their
 goods spoiled, and their houses made inhabitable.

At *Chalons des Bordes* the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Neuers*, gouernor of *Champagne*,
 E slue many men and women, imprisoned handicrafts men, spoiled their houses, caused
 marriages to be resolemnized, and children to be rebaptized. Those of *Bar vpon Seine*
 became the stronger, but rashly in a place easie to be forced. Some Cannons planted
 onely against the Castell, scattered all within it like vnto partridges. So the be-
 siegers entring, finding few men to execute their reuenge on, they fall vpon the
 women, maydens and Children, open some of their stomakes, pull out their hearts,
 and with a furie (vnworthy doubtlesse of one created after the same image and like-
 nesse,) teare them with their teeth. *Ralet* a yong Aduocate, sonne to the Kings Pro-
 tor, was (a prodigious thing) hanged by his fathers procurement. In the moneth of
 January following, some fiftie horse of the garrison of *Antrain*, surprised the townie
 at the breake of day: and at the first tied this *Ralet* to the top of his house, then with
 their pistolls caused him to expiate the death of his sonne. The other murderers
 were murdered, and their spoile spoiled by other spoilers. So the Lord requires the
 blood of man by the hand of man himselfe.

A peace con-
cluded at
Orleans.

Particula-
troubles at
Meaux.

At Chalons.

At Bar.

1562. Saint *Etienne* being returned from *Orleans*, with two of his bretheren and himself, thers to refresh himselfe, in a house of his neere vnto *Reims*, was beset, battered with the Cannon, by a troupe of fiftene or sixtene hundred men, who came forth vpon their word to speake with the Duke of *Neuers*, who (they say) asked for him, was murdered by his owne Cousin germaine the Baron of *Cerny*, and his bretheren with sixtene others slaine.

At *Sens*.

A hundred persons of all qualities were miserably slaine at *Sens*, their bodies naked into *Seine*, their houses spoiled, and (as if it had beene no sufficient reuenge) their vines were pulled vp. The eleuenth of May 1562. the Catholikes of *Neuers* and in many gentlemen of the Countie, seized vpon the gates, and three daies after vpon the Protestants. *Fayete* arriues, ransacks their houses, rebaptizeth the children, expells whome hee pleased, and so laden with bootie, worth fiftie thousand Crownes, he retires to his house in *Auxerre*. *Noisat* Marshall of the company of *Fayete*, intreated them of *Corbigny* in the like sort. Capitaine *Blany* surprised the Towne fewe dayes after, and restored the Protestants to the publike exercise of their religion.

At *Antrain*.

Capitaine *Blosse* surprising the Towne of *Antrain*, stayed the Catholikes from committing the like excesse, as they had done at *Auxerre*. *Steuens Blondelet* a prest, and another called the *Dangerous* were hanged and shot. *Ifferieux* (called in by the Protestants of *la Charité* to take the charge of the Towne) was seised vpon by *Cheuenon*, *Achon*, and other troupes, and finally being besieged by *Fayete* hee yeelded vp the Towne vpon an honest composition for his partie. This was the x. of June, but the *Grand Prior* entring, he pulled the Capitulation (being signed) out of *Ifferieux* hand, and afterwards *la Fayete* abandons these poore protestants, to spoile and ransome, like to them of *Neuers*. The 3. of March following, the Captains *du Bois*, *Bloisset* and *Blany*, reenter by *Scaladee*. Leauing it afterwards in gard to *du Boisse*, who defended it with threescore and seauen soldiars, and some Inhabitants, against an armie of foure thousand foote and horse, slue aboue foure score of them, and forced them to raise the seige.

Chastillon vpon Loue.

Those of *Chastillon* vpon *Loire*, standing amidst many difficulties, and in the ende spoiled of all their commodities, fortified their little Towne, and the 5. of January endured an assault against the Lord of *Prie*, kill seauen or eight of his men, and hurt many others, the men defending themselves with stonnes, and the women powring boyling water vpon the assaillants. In the end, *Monterud* gouernour of *Berry* beleeged it, battered it, and tooke it by force, killed men and women, young and olde, spoiled the Towne, euen to the hingells of doores, glasse and barres of windowes.

At *Gyen*.

Gyen maintaynes it selfe long, the Protestants were the stronger, but the insolencie of Captaines and soldiars, whome the Prince of *Condé* lent thether from *Orleans* to refresh themselves one after another, forced manie of the Inhabitants to retire to *Orleans*. So the Towne remayning at the deuotion of the kings army, who camped before it, it was subiect to the violence of the stronger, where the *Italians* among other insolencies cut a yong childe being aliue into two peeces, and with a horrible turme catch his liuer.

At *Montargis*.

Montargis was the Sanctuary of many Protestant families, vnder the countenance of *Renée* of *France* daughter to King *Leuis* the xix. and Duchesse dowager of *Ferrara*. The Duke of *Guise* sonne in lawe sends *Malicorne* thether with foure companies of men at armes, but the prey hee sought was safe within the Castle. This time fell vpon an olde man met by chance, who was slaine and cast into the river. *Malicorne* threatens the Duchesse to bring the Cannon to force her to yeeld the Castle and the Protestants that were in it. But the generous resolution of this Duchesse, and the death of the Duke of *Guise*, stayed the execution of his threats.

At *Aurillac*.

Bresons, according to the Commission he had from the Duke of *Guise* to seise vpon the forts of high *Auvergne*, enters into *Aurillac*, murders eight men, spoiles the Towne & that of *Argentat*, with some Castels, rauisheth wiues & maydens, making his accoustroote out all the Protestants in the Countie, if the Ed. & of pacification had not forced him

A to surcease. *Montare* comes to *Moulins* with like Commission: expelled out of the Towne whom he doubted, then giuing a libertie to his troupes, spoiled the houses and farmes thereabouts: he caused six men to be hanged, and five others to be drowned, returning from *Orleans* with three marchants of *Dauphiné*, and suffred the hangman to execute those without any forme of proecesse, whom the multitude deliuered vnto him to be put to death. Thirteene yong men of *Issoudun* were beaten downe in the water the 8. of May at *S. Lysaine*, a village two leagues from the Towne, and the 9. of July following, *Sarraz* seized vpon *Issoudun*, armed the Catholike Inhabitants, drew male-factors out of prison, and filled it with Protestants, who for the most part died, being smothered vnder the ruines of a Tower of sixteene that escaped, ten saved themselves at *Bourges*. Vntill the Edict of peace, he spoiled both the towne and Countie, ransoming some, deliuering others to the hangman, which had not means to redeme themselves: he rauished wiues & mayds: and to conclude, exposed these poore creatures to all the insolencies of soldiars. The 3. of Aprill. 1562. those of *Mans* became masters of the towne: But violence neuer continued long; and soldiars led by a Commander of small credit and little authority, did neuer see their armes prosper.

These men are no soner armed, but they imploy themselves to the beating downe of images, laking of Churches: and from the towne they run to the villages nere. The commons assemble, kill such as they meete, and rescue the bootie. In the end an apple of discord diuides them of the Towne & the Castle: the insolencies of the Captaines and soldiars amaze the Protestants: the Duke of *Montpensier* prepares to assaile them, & of three Captaines which command within the Towne, two haue intelligence with him. This being discovered, the towne being also ill furnished, *La Mothe Tibergeau* draws forth tumultuously eight hundred men carrying armes, leading them through many difficulties into *Alanson*, who then tooke sundrie parties: some not practised in armes remained there: others put themselves into the troupes of the *Comte Montgomerie*, others of the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the other two Captaines submitted to those to whom they had giuen their words. Thus the Catholikes haue their turne, they were driuen out of the towne, and now they reenter, and full of spleene they spoile the protestants houses, both within the towne and abroad, eight leagues compasse: & without respect of kindred, kill, spoile, and ransome men, women, and children. Some women of state, some simple people, seruants & chambermaides: some retired to their farmes, or to their friends in the country, remaine at the deuotion of five hundred Harguebushers, leuiued for the gard of the towne and country thereabouts, who forbore no kind of reuenge & rigour. The prisons are filled, they forbid by any means to sollicite for the: the accused are not admitted to except against any witnesse, and for the last act of this Tragedie, aboue two hundred persons of all qualities & sexes, purge by their mournful deatches the insolencies of these first furies. The absent were executed in picture, their goods confiscate that were dead carrying armes: their children degraded from all offices, and declared incapable to succeed. In villages nere & farther of, aboue six score persons yeelded their throats to the reuenging swords of them, whome the change of armes had now giuen the aduantage. One Capitaine *Champagne*, to glut the pikerils in a poole, which he had, doth gorge them with aboue fiftie persons: *Bois-lardin* his Lieutenant fills two trenches nere vnto his house, with fiftie or threescore carcases. *La Ferté*, *Bernard*, *Sablé*, *Maine*, *Loire Castle*, *Memers*, *Belesme*, and *Martigue*, had the fields there about white with the bones of the slaine, whose flesh was deuoured with birds and beasts. The Images ouerthrowne at *Vendosme*, the altars beaten downe, yea the monuments of the house of *Vendosme*, too insolently broken, might not these stirre vp some reuenge. You beat downe (say the Catholiks) the images and destroy the relics of the dead: but we will beate downe as many lying images as shall fall into our hands. The Monkes of *Saint Calais* second them, and of many Protestants which held their Abby they massacre five and twentie, or thirtie. Some troupes which kept the fields, kill the first that passe, slaine them and cast them into wells. The Lord of *Congnee* ioyning with some gentlemen comes to charge them, kills the murderers, and except a few which fled betimes, puts them all to the sword: then hee dischargeth the

Cruelties committed in Mans.

At Vendosme.

1562. the rest of his fury vpon the Priests and Monkes, and causeth two of the most industrious to be hanged in their Church, yea where the alarm had rung to assaile the Protestants.

At Angers.

Those of Angers become the stronger, yet without any offence to their fellow citizens, and make an agreement with themselves: *To live peaceable one with another, under the Kings obedience, with obseruation of the Edict of January.* This modesty continued from the 5. of April to the 22. Then they loose all patience, overthrowing the images and reliques of *S. Samson*. The Catholikes rest patient, but they could well chide the time of their aduantage. It chanced that the Prince of *Condé*, required a supply of men and money from the Protestants of Angers. Many Gentlemen and souldiers march, and by this meanes make their party weake. *Puygailhard* a Gascon Captaine, sent by the Duke of *Montpensier*, enters the Castles the 5. of May, and the next day wins a part of the Towne: then to lull the Protestants asleepe, and to haue them in the end at his deuotion, he graunts them free liberty of religion. But two dayes after, vnder colour of disarming them, they enter their houses. A receiuer of subsidies and some others barre vp their gates. They found the alarm, their houses are spoiled, and the prisons filled with men and women: and after the eleuenth of the said month vnto the end of the yeare, about foure score men were executed after diuers manners. Many women of all qualities, were put into sacks, drawne through the dirt, and their bodies cast into the riuer, their daughters rauished and some making strong resistance were stabbed with their daggers. And the Duke of *Montpensier*, hauing published the Edict of the Parliament of *Paris*, *To pursue all them that should bee any way suspected of the Protestant religion*, many Gentlemen and others about Angers during these furies lost both life and goods.

At Blois.

At *Blois* they were maisters both of the Towne and Castle, but being too weake to incounter the forces of the Duke of *Guise*, all the men of warre rettyred to *Orleans*. Those which remained in the Towne, payed for their companions: for besides them that were beaten downe in the streetes at the Duke of *Guise* entry, many tyed to stakes, were cast into the riuer, wiues and maidens were rauished, houses spoiled, and as it often chanceth in these inciuill tumults, many Catholikes were slaine in these confusions, as liberty giues euery man meanes to reuenge his priuate quarrells. They complaine to the Duke. *There is no remedie* (saith he) *we haue too much people in France to deale so, as victualls shall bee good cheape.* As if the disposition of seasons, were in thy power oh Duke: or if the earth should desire to be watered with mans blood, to become fertile.

At Mer.

The towne of *Mer* was spoiled ten dayes together. *Beaupais* a minister of the Church hanged, some men slaine, some women rauished died, some of them in the hands of them that rauished them, others of griefe soone after. The foresaid decree was published euery Sunday in places depending on the Parliament. It was a meanes to amerce theeuers, vagabonds, villaines, leud and idle persons: it made the plough-man to leave the plough, and the crafts-man to shut vp his shop: to conclude, it did change the multitude into Tygers, and Lyons, and sleight them against their owne countreimen. A troupe of these rascalls fall vpon *Ligneul*, hang some men, pull out a ministers eyes, and then burne him. Another company runs vpon the marches of *Comeri*, *Pisse-bouchart*, *Loches*, and the burnt, and neighbour places, beating downe, and murdering men, women, and children.

At Tours.

Those of *Tours* were seized of the towne, but hauing spared the images no more then the rest, the Duke of *Montpensier* comes in July, and summons them to yeeld. They had no meanes to keepe the towne, nor the Prince of *Condé* to succour them. So they make three Ensignes of foote, and two Cornets of horse, and ioyned with them of *Chinon*, and *Chastelleraud*, making a troupe of a thousand men of warre. This was but a fire of strawe: seven or eight companies of men at armes, and some Cornets of light horse of the Earle *Villars*, charge and ouerthrowe them, kill some, and carry other prisoners to *Chastelleraud*: some recouer *Poitiers*, others which had yeelded them-

A memoriall is at the first in this defeat, being sent back to *Tours* with passports, tell out of *galla* into *Caribdis*. The multitude receiues them disarmed, & beats them down. About three hundred recouer the gates of *Tours* with running, hoping to finde a Sanctuarie at their houses. But the people arme, and murder most of these amazed men, cast their bodies into *Loire*, massacre their companions remaining within the Towne, lacke their lodgings, and in this furious liberty, die the ruer with the blood of their fellow Citizens, men, women, and children. *Chauigny* armes, & by his presence doth countenance this popular insolencie. *Bourgeau* President of *Tours*, no Protestant, but onely suspected to fauour their partie, had redeemed his life out of the hands of *Cleruauux*, Lieutenant to *Chauigny*, for three hundred Crownes, and a Basin of silver. but in the end, being murdered with stauces and swords, hanged by the seete, his head in the water vnto the brest, they open his belly, teare out his bowels, and cast them into the riuer, & placing his heart vpon the top of a Lance, they carry it through the towne, crying. *Behold the President of the Huguenots heart.* The Duke *Montpensier* arrives, & by gibbets, wheels, & other tortures, plaies the last act of this inciuill Tragedy. The Protestants of *Poitiers*, being maisters of the towne, did not forget to beat downe the Images. The Earle of *Villars*, & the Marshall *S. André* besiege them. *S. Gemme* commanding there for the Prince of *Condé*, sustaines a furious assault, making the assailants to determine of a retreat. While *Pineau* Captaine of the Castle, practised by the assailants, giues them a signe to returne: he shoots against the gate, & forced them to leaue the defence.

A horrible
cruelty.

Trouble.

The gate being thus wonne, they come to fight for the market places. The Protestants began now to yeeld to the victors force, when as *Mangot* a Captaine of *Lodun*, beating the locks of *S. Cyprians* gate, makes a way for the Citizens & soldiers to succour *Poitiers*, leaue the Towne and country about subiect to all the insolencies incident to a countrey of conquest. *Cornille* a Scottish Captaine, escapes from *Poitiers* with his troupe, & to suppress the peasants furie, greedy of blood and spoile, he laies an Ambush, & then cunningly ioynes with them, and by this stratagem, takes from them all desire to assemble together againe for the like effect. The vntirestrained liberty of armes, made the strongest of all sides to seize vpon their Townes, thinking delayes to breed danger. But alas, how many pitifull catastrophes grew by these inciuill and fatall tumults? *Rouen* was not the last to make triall thereof. The 15. of April 1562. the Protestants seize

Rouen.

vpon the Towne, enter the Churches tumultuously, beat downe and ruine reliques, images and altars, in about fiftie parishes, Abbies, & religious houses: the exercise of the Catholike religion surceased, & the Court of Parliament retired to *Louiers*. During these broiles, the Duke of *Aumale* comes, as the Kings Lieutenant generall. *Villebon* Bailiffe of *Rouen*, seizeth vpon *Pont de Larche*: the Baron of *Clere*, on *Caudebac*: & so block vp *Rouen* both above & beneath the riuer: the Magistrate ceaseth to administer iustice, the merchant his traffick, & the handicrafts man shuts vp his shop: heavy foretellings of a horrible confusion to come. Many difficulties did now presse them of *Rouen*, when as *Morvilliers* coming from the prince of *Condé*, & slipping cunningly by water into

The first siege
of Rouen.

the towne, prouides for the soldiars disorders, & for the gard of *S. Katherins* Fort, prolonging the hope of the besieged. The Duke of *Aumale* assailes the fort, and tires them with daily skirmishes, but most fatall for himselfe: he looeth at the first charge 100. men, & the besieged *S. Agnan* & *Languetot* braue Captaines: at the second a great number of men, & two Ensignes carried into the towne. The xi. of July, the Duke giues a generall assault, and so furious, as three ensignes of the enemies planted vpon the rampart did so inflame the courage of the besieged, as they ouerthrew both ensignes and men, pursued them to their campe, & forced them to dislodge the night following, in confusion, with losse of their victualls, munition and baggage, to go and reuenge the dishonour lately receiued at *Rouen*, by the taking of *Ponteau de Mer* and *Honfleur*.

Morvilliers content to haue preferred *Rouen*, at this time retires to his house, & leaues the charge to the Earle of *Montgomery*, called by them of *Rouen* out of base *Armanchy*. About the end of *Septemb.* the King, the Queene, & the King of *Nauarre* come to the arme, consisting of fixene thousand foot, & two thousand horse, besides *Reisires* & *Lansquenets*: five dayes are spent in skirmishes, but with most aduantage to the besieged.

The
King.

The

1562. The first day, most part of the souldiers go to refresh themselves within the Towne. A Capitaine named *Lewis*, who had intelligence with the enemy, gives them notice. They runne hotly to the assault (during these skirmishes, they had made a breach in the wall with five or six hundred canon shot) they kill many good souldiers, many prisoners, 28. women, and take the place: but with the losse of *Lewis* his life, slaine by one of his souldiers, as he did helpe the assailants to mount. A worthy reward for so notable a treachery. Three hundred Burgesies did runne to the defence: but the fury of the assault, carried some to their graue, and others to prison, and made the way easie for the taking of the Bulwarke of *Martinville*, and the fort of *Montgomery*. The 13. of October a hot assault was given against the Towne, from the morning until night, and many men on both sides slaine. The next day, about eleuen of the clocke, they renewed the assault, and plant three Enseignes vpon the Rampar of *S. Hilary*. *Montgomery* repells them, and driues them back beyond the trench, killing of his enemies about eight hundred men, and loosing of his party, foure or five hundred men, women, and children.

The next day was fatal to the King of *Nauarre*. If I may (said he to a Nobleman) escape from this siege, I will neuer carry armes more for this quarrell. A certaine foretelling of the mischance that followes vs, doth commonly touch our hearts. Having visited the trenches, and dined neere vnto the wall without the battery, he was shot in the shoulder as he made water: the bullet being drawne out too late by the Surgeons, and his wound inflamed by his voluptuousnesse, accompanied with a feuer, hee gaue his soule to God, the 17. of Nouember following, as we haue said before. In the meane time, the battery continues, many thousands of shot beat downe diuers towers, many mynes play without effect. The fourth assault, was more arailable, the 24. of October. Therby the assailants win the breach at the port *Hilary*, they enter in troupe, and kill all they encounter, force houses, rauish wiues, and maides, and commit all acts ordinary in the like accidents, *Montgomery* vnable to withstand this last violence, saues himselfe in a gally with such as could get in, the rest remaining in prey were spoiled, slaine, drowned and made prisoners.

The Parliament returnes three dayes after the taking of the towne, and at the first sitting, the president of *Mandreuille* lest his head: *Soquence* and *Berthouille* Counsellors and *Marlorat* a Minister were hanged, and the next day five Capitaines, and diuers Burgesies of the towne. Moreouer enuy and hatred an idell these popular iuries brought in question the Seigneur of *Anthot* chiefe president, and *Loisager*, the Kings aduocate, being catholikes, but enemies to sedition and wise politicians. In ciuill tumults, the vulgar doth commonly take for essentiall markes of religion, the insolencies and excesses, which fury, and the sufferance of the magistrate doth suggest.

Diepe serued for a retreat to many Protestant families, but the ouerthrow of some troupes which *Briquemaull* sent to *Montgomery* for a supply, and the taking of *Reauz*, terrified the most part of the inhabitants, who being pressed, by *Aumale*, and *Villebon*, were content to yeeld, and to cease the exercise of their religion. *Ricarnille* and *Baquetuville* had the government, the former of the Castle, the other of the towne. But howe many Capitaines by indiscretion haue lost both liues and places? *Ricarnille* going out off the Castle to see his horses, is slaine, and sodainly the Castle is seized on by *Cateuille* and Capitaine *Gascon*, who going from thence into the Towne takes *Baquetuville*, and restore the exercise of the Protestants vnder the government of *La Curee*.

Montgomery laboured with all his power to mainteyne the Protestants in base *Normandy*, but he had the Duke of *Estampes* and *Matignon* to encounter him. In May, hee had taken *Fire*, beaten downe the Images, and carried away the reliques. The last of Iuly, the Catholikes awaked at this first rumour, surprize the Protestants comming from the preaching, reuenge their losses, by the death of some, and hurting of others. About the end of August, *la Mothe*, *Tibergeau*, *Auaines* and *Deschamps* sent by *Montgomery* with fixe score horse, surprize the towne, and spoyle both it, and the country.

A The 4. of September, the Duke of *Estampes* comes with eleuen Cornets of horse: they force the towne, kill *Auaines*, take the Castle, slabbe two hundred men that were fled into it, rauish and kill women and children. *Tibergeau*, and many others ransomed their liues. So as generally, there was nothing, but taking and retaking of townes, with most cruell and inciuill stratagemes.

The Vidame of *Chartres*, and *Beauuoil la Noelle*, his brother in lawe, hauing assured themselves of *Newhauen*, the Vidame going into *England*, treated with the Queene to succour the Protestants: and for assurance of her men and money, deliuered the sayd place into her hands, with protestation, as well by him, as by the Queene, no way to preiudice the Kings soueraigne authority, nor the estate of the Reaume. Also she shall shortly yeeld it without any difficulty. According to the treaty, there arrives fixethousand *English* in *Normandy*, vnder the command of the Earle of *Warwike*, and are disperfed to *Rouen*, *Diepe*, and *Newhauen*. After the taking of *Rouen*, the *Reingraue* brought his *Reiffers* before *Newhauen*. But his violence preuailed as little, as fifty thousand crownes did, with a collar of the Order, & a cōpany of men at armes enterrayned, which the Queene Mother promised to *Beauuais*, to corrupt him to yeelde vp the towne. *Brittain* continued vnder the moderate gouvernement, of the Duke of *Estampes*, both for that the Queene mother liued in suspence, and enterrayned both parties, as also for that the factions of *Normandy* had drawne away the worst affected.

Those of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and other places, made warre against the Images and Calars, ministring occasiō to shed the blood of liuely Images at *Grenade*, *Castelnaudary* & *Cahors*, where aboue six score Protestants assembled to heare the preaching, were slaine. On the other side, *Bury* and *Montluc* (scourges to the Protestants) reuenged the bearing downe of Images, throughout all *Guienne*, with infinite murders, and lamentable spoiles, *Duras* hauing abandoned the protection thereof, vpon a commandement, which he had receiued from the Prince of *Condé*, to bring him forces to *Orleans*, which succeeded ill for him, as we shall see.

Bury and *Montluc* did run vp and downe the country to crosse the Protestants defenses: and those of *Bourdeaux* (hauing too slackly proceeded in an enterprize, made against the towne and Castles, caused the Parlement to search their houses, and to put them to death, who had not in time retyred themselves vnder *Duras* Enseignes. *Montluc*, incensed especially against them of *Agen*, tryed all his wits, to bring them vnder his power and command. He had against him the Lord of *Memy*, Generall of the warre for the Protestants in *Guienne*, and the neighbour cōtrie, a sickly man, and not greatly practised in such affaires: for if he had made benefice of the great forces, which he had at his command, and would haue beleueed *Aspion* and *Marchestell*, hee might in shewe haue cut *Montluc* in peeces, beeing much weaker of men, who knowing the carriage of his aduersary, wearied him with dayly courtes and alarms, to the contempt of the Protestants, which fell into his hands, as hee himselfe doth vaunt in his Commentaries, a true portrait and table where wee may read at large the horrible desolations chanced in those countries, during the first troubles.

In the ende, those of *Agen* seeing their Towne vnable to resist the Canon, make a troupe of about fixe hundred men, and retyre for the most part, to the Castle of *Penne* committed by *Duras* to Capitaine *Liouran*. The next day, the common people of *Agen*, troupe together, spoile and kill all they meete: *Bury* and *Montluc*, flye thither, they execute many prisoners, and such as were absent they hang in picture. *Duras* not able to diuert this heauy accident, takes the way of *Quercy*, wins *Laufette* by force, kills fixe hundred threscore and seuen men, amongst the which, niue score & fourteene Priests, were found slaine, without any respect of their order, through this detestable warlike insolencie. For a counterchange, *Montluc* comes to beleege the Castle of *Penne*, forceth the place, after the death of *Liouran*, puts man woman & child to the sword, and (continuing the course of his prosperitie) takes and sackes *Castel-laloux*, *Marmande*, *Saint Macaire*, *Bazas*, *Toncins*, *Port S. Mary*, *Yllepensue* of *Agnois*, the castle

1562. of *Duras*, and *Montsegur*, leaving bloudie trophies, of an vnciuill and pitifull victorie. & *Lecloure*, the capitall Towne of *Armignac*, was at the Prince of *Condes* deuotion. 1563. *Bugole* a Captaine of *Bearne* and a Catholike, commanded there: who by the taking of *Sauuelat* of *Gauye*, of *Larromien*, and of *Tarraube*, had assured the Protestants of his constant affection to their party. *Montluc* sends Captaine *Peirot* his sonne to suppress *Bugole*. *Peirot* treats with *Bugole*, and reapes the fruites which follow by his parle. Captaine *Mesmes* lead two hundred souldiars to fortifie *Lecloure*: *Bugole* caueh them to stay vpon the way, vnder colour to send them a garde to make their passage easie. And to this intent he speedily sends to field three hundred men at armes, & 40. and forty Argoleters, & himselfe leads other troupes of foote to *Tarraube*, that by the weakning of *Lecloure*, *Peirot* might haue meanes with his men at armes to hinder the returne of the troupes of *Tarraube* to *Lecloure*, and by the same stratagem cuts off the passage for Captaine *Mesmes*, leaving him in prey at *Roquebrune* a poore village, from whence he passed through his enemies, being 4. or 5. to one, and retired into *Fearn*. Moreover, although *Tarraube* were vnfurnished of meale and water, yet hee kept his footmen therein, that being besieged, they might more easly be at *Peirot* mercy, as it afterwards fell out. And to fill vp the measure of his treacheries, soone after the yeelding vp of *Tarraube*, he with a brother of his followed *Peirot* enseignes, & against his plighte faith, he beheld him to cut in peeces 231. prisoners at *Tarraube*, hang some, and ranfome many. *Montluc* aduertised hereof, assembles the commons, with fix companies of foot, besiegeth *Lecloure*, makes a breach, giues an assault in foure places. *Bri-mont* giues him the repulse, hauing not with him aboue 100. souldiars, a weake number, the which induced him in the end (together with the Queene of *Nauarres* intreatie, to whom the Towne belonged,) to depart by composition.

Now we must performe our promise touching the exploits of *Duras* in *Guyenne*: with the first forces he had gathered together, he tried to assure *Bourdeaux*, but hauing failed of his deskeine, he chose the country betwixt the river of *Garonne* & *Dordonne*, to reuiew his troupes. *S. Mataire* gaue him bullets as he passed, in freed of victuals, & kils some of his men. He is offended therewith, assaults the towne, forceth it, & takes his reneg of the former outrage. *Burie* & *Montluc* pursue him, (they knew well that hauing flaine him, all *Guyenne* vnfurnished of a commander, would be at their discretion): they cuertake him neere to *Rozan*, and charge him at their aduantage, being abandoned by the most part of his company, which were vnwarlike, and not capable of discipline. This first check was sufficient to make him abandon all: yet the cause whereof he had taken the defence, did summon him once more to trie the hazard of armes. He gathers together what he can, assembles new forces, takes the way of *Agenais* and of *Quercy*, helps them of *Agen*, reuengeth his iniuries vpon *Lauferte*, as we haue heard, marcheth towards *S. Antonin*, and there fortifies himselfe with two companies of foot, lead by *Marchisset*. His meaning was to go into *Languedoc*, and ioine with the Lord of *Crispi*: but the Earle of *Rocheaucault* inuites him to the succour of *Orleans*, & for a garde, sends him *Bordet*, a valiant gentleman of *Xaintonge*, with 60. horse, 200. Argoleters, & 200. enseignes of foot. These troupes consisting of about 5000. men, horse and foot, march to *Montauban*, there they receiue men, munition & artillery, and so turne to *Xaintonge* in the way they force the Castle of *Marcues*, take the Bishop of *Cahors* there, threaten to hang him, as the author of a massacre made of the Protestants within his diocesse: five or six souldiars made satisfaction for this offence by their deaths.

Bordet had a spleen against them of *Sarlat*: they had in his passage flaine two of his gentlemen. So at his periuasion *Duras* incampes before it the 1. of Octob. *Burie* and *Montluc* sie to succour it with a great number of horse, and some 8000. foote. *Duras* raised the siege, and to lodge at ease, diuides his men into *Hendreaux*, *Ver*, and other places neere the raine wether gaue them likewise some impression and confidence of the enemies temporising. But they were vigilant, & fearing lesse the iniurie of the aire then *Duras*, they came thundring vpon him. Without doubt when 2. armies are neere together, the first that makes his retreat, giues the other an aduantage. *Duras*, who supposed they had bin but the enemies scouts, determined to retire softly, & to put his men

A in safetie: when as *Burie* and *Montluc* seeing him returne backe, charge him behind, and finding very small resistance, kill five or six hundred of his souldiars, charge home to the artillery, and baggage, kill fifteene hundred seruants, hang some prisoners, especially ministers that followed the troupes. But the bootie qualifying the victors heate, gaue leisure to the first that fled, to set wings to their feete, and by a sodaine flight to prolong their liues for some dayes: for the most part of them which escaped, were taken againe, and led to *Agen*, and there hanged on a gibet set vp expressly, which they called the Consistorie.

Battles are variable, and he is no marchant that wins alwaies, saith the Proverb. *Duras* gathers together some remainders of his shipwracke: and aduertised that *Lauferte* was a Captaine sent by *Sansac* to ouerthrow him quite, did attend him at *Embornet*, with five hundred men, he marcheth directly against his enemy, surpriseth him at the breake of day, cuts in peeces both the captaine & his souldiars, reseruing 3. only to carrie newes vnto *Sansac*, and by this foule slaughter, reuengeth the disgrace which hee had lately receiued: then most of his troupes being gone, some to *Rocheil*, some elsewhere, and hauing no man of command remayning, but his eldest sonne, *Bordet*, *Push* and his brother, with about fortie *Carbines*, and eightene hundred souldiars halfe disarmed (his horsemen being gone before, and ioined with *Rocheaucault*) he recovered *Orleans*, and there died, vpon the conclusion of the peace. Through the absence of *Duras*, the Protestants estate in *Guyenne* was very lamentable, their bodies and goods left to the discretion of their enemies. *Piles* a gentleman of *Gascogne*, hearing of the outrages which *Burie* and *Montluc* committed without controule, parts from *Orleans* (he came with the troupes which *Grandmont* brought out of *Gascogne*) & surmounting a world of difficulties, in the end he recouers his house neere vnto *Bergerac*, and notwithstanding the garrison which the Duke of *Montpensier* had left there, he opens the prisons, and sets all them at libertie that were committed for matter of religion, and then retires to his house.

This new and bold attempt puts the Country into armes: all rise against *Piles*, who forced to yeeld to violence, withdrawes himselfe, being followed by fifteene horse, and fifteene hargubuziers on foot: at *Montagnac* he surpriseth a Cornet of sixe score light horse, commaunded by *Montcasin*, hee kils their leader, with foureteeen others, and puts the rest in rout, and by meanes of the horse, which hee recouered there, of good souldiars he made profitable men at armes. *Piles* had left *la Riviere* about *Bergerac*, a yong gentleman, who (wedding the practise of armes to the studie of the lawes, from which he was newly returned) became as soone a braue Captaine, as a resolute souldiar: for his first stratageme, hauing sodenly trouped together some twentie souldiars, and a good number of peasants with staves, he surpriseth *S. Foy* vpon *Dordonne*: by scaleado, cuts the corps de gard in peeces, that was set in the market place, and commanding in the streets many and sundry things, as if he had beene followed by seven or eight hundred men, he slue *Rezat* one of *Montluc* Captaines, his Lieutenant, his Prouost with foure score of his souldiars, and became absolute master of the place. *Burie* and *Montluc* chafing at this disgrace, receiued by an apprentise in warre, lodge many troupes betwixt *Bergerac* and *S. Foy*. But *la Riviere* hauing forced through the troupe of Captaine *Salé*, and a Squadron of horse, made his retreat, passed the river of *Dordonne* in safetie, and went with his troupe to ioine with Captaine *Piles*. Vpon the way, behold a band of souldiars incounter him being farre from his men, and as hee inquired newes of *Piles*, they ouerthrow, hurt, and take him. But passing ouer a bridge he casts himselfe into the water, recouers the contrary banke, and so saues himselfe at *Hymet*, a Towne of *Agnois*, whereas *Piles* prepared for the surprize of *Mucidan*, the which *Montluc* thinking to take from him about the end of Ianuary. 1563. by means of the Seneschall of *Perigord*, he left the vndertaker confounded in his deskeine, and his troupes put to flight.

This successe giues courage to *Piles*: he attempts against *Bergerac*, and at the second charge, enters it the 12. of March, putting 3. guards to the sword, & all such as could not

1562. in time recouer the Castle. The next day a Towre being mined, hauing smothered
 & them that were within it, the Castle vnfurnished of munition, yeelds at the victors
 1563. ccretion, who puts them all to the sword. A cruell and more then inciuill warre. What
 worfe vsage could we expect of strangers and barbarous people, whose inhumane
 wee willingly abhorre: and doe wee not tremble at the effusion of our Countreymens
 blood? In the quarters of *Angoulmois* and *Coignac*, the *Seigneur of Marton*, by many
Angoulmois. murthers, ranfomings, and robberies, rauishing of wiues and maidens, and other oppres-
 sions, which the war doth vniually bring forth, reuenged the excessse the Protestants had
 committed, in beating downe the images at *Angoulesme*.

In *Xaintonge*, *Conte Rochefoucault* maintayned their affaires, but the taking of *Foitiers*
Xaintonge. before described, and the defeat of *Duras*, caused the Protestants to be spoyled at *Xa-*
intes by Captaine *Mogere*, and the exercise of their religion to be abolished at *Rochel*,
 and the neighbour Islands, by the Duke of *Montpensier*. But alas, all these disorders,
Toulouze. and bloudie confusions, doe not counteruaile the horrible furies of *Tholouse*, and o-
 ther places of the Parliament of *Languedoc*. *Tholouse* is one of the greatest and best
 peopled Cities of the Realme, and at that time the Protestants numbred aboue five
 and twentie thousand persons of their religion, of all qualities, ages, and sexes. After
 the publication of the Edict of Ianuary, matters passed with great moderation vntill
 Aprill. A little sparkle doth soone kindle a fire of sedition: and a small cause thrusts
 the seditious into furie, especially if the Magistrate (ordeyned rather to restraints the
 blodie minded) doth countenance their insolencies. The buriall of a dead bodie was
 the Prologue to a horrible Tragedie, whereof the first act was played in the suburbs of
 S. *Michel*, S. *Steuen*, and S. *Saluador*: and so passed the wals, and put all the Cittie in-
 to a mournfull confusion. The Parliament did winke at it, but the Capitouls being
 more modest, imploied their authoritie to quench these first flames, which must needs
 put all their state in combustion: foure of the most seditious being hanged, & two whipt,
 did make some satisfaction for the blood and death of such as were wounded, slaine,
 and cast into wels. This punishe makes the people mad. The Protestants, to warrant
 their liues, and to saue themselves by some good Capitulation, seize on a gate, & vpon
 the Towne house. The Parliament stormes, calls in the Nobilitie, assembles the com-
 mons, giues authoritie to their furious armes, and by a generall proclamation, both
 within the Cittie, and abroad, commaunds them to arme, and to fall vpon the *flague-*
nets, with warrant from the Pope, the King, and the Court of Parliament. Then they
 kill, they fill the prisons, they massacre many. When they find no holes to hold them,
 the riuer is heaped vp with carcasses: they cast them aliue out of the windowes, and
 they labour to recouer the banks, they beat them downe with stones, and stauers.

The Protestants shut vp in the Towne house, hauing no other helpe but to despaire of
 health, resolute to sell their liues deere. They had Canon, and with the thunder there-
 of doe amaze their enemies, they make many sallies with great effusion of blood on
 either side. They treat an accord with them: They demaund an assurance for their
 liues and goods, with the obseruation of the Edict. It is recited: and so this vniuersal
 & E fatall combat continues many dayes. In the end the 16. of May, they graunt them,
 To retire in safetie, leauing their armes and harnes in the Towne house. They goe forth to-
 wards night. But oh confusion, it is the best expedient to disarme an enemy with dis-
 pensation of conscience, with whom they will keepe no faith. At their going forth, they
 impriso such as they can lay hand on, the rest scape by the gate which they held: some
 recouer *Montauban*, or other places of their partie, others are subiect to the mercie of
 the peasants and souldiers, lying in the fields. So as aboue three thousand five hundred
 persons (saith the Originall) lost their liues in this mutinie.

The Catholiks are now absolute maisters of the Cittie: they beate downe the Prote-
 stants Temple, and foure dayes together, they kill, imprison, and spoyle. These broies
 and popular tumults haue often times confounded the authors themselves, and the
 spoile of rich houses is a very dangerous and attractive bayte. The Parliament knowes
 it well, and begins now to feare, least the insolencie of such to whome they had
 given

A giuen libertie should fall vpon themselves. They therefore leuie a summe of money
 to content the companies, and to voyde the Towne of them. So *Montluc* and *Terrides*
 march against *Montauban*, *Fourquenau* against *Beziers*, *Mirepoix* the yonger, against
Limoux. The Court hauing the gouernment without controul, displace two & twentie
 1563. Councillors that were least partiall, and most suspect with some cheefe men: con-
 demne prisoners, and from the end of May vnto February following, they execute
 by diuers manners, foure hundred persons.

This massacre of *Toulouse*, that of *Gaillac* in *Albigeois* against eight score persons, *Montauban.*
 and the approach of *Burie*, and *Montluc* had so amazed the Inhabitants of *Montauban*, as
 they abandon the Towne: but the taking of *Agen*, and the troubled estate of *Bordeaux*
 B (as we haue heard) called away both of them for this time. In the meane time, *Arpa-*
ion and *Marchastell*, putting two thousand men into *Montauban*, had put courage in-
 to them, when as newes comes, that *Montluc* & *Terrides* comes to beleage them with
 a thousand horse, and fise thousand foote: the which made the Captaines take a new
 resolution to go to *Orleans*: The people are amazed, feare drives many out in confu-
 sion, the drum sounds, they issue forth tumultuously, forsake the Towne, and abandon
 the gates. But which was the better expedient, either to die in defence of their hou-
 ses, and families, or to fall into the hands of the enemy, from whom they might ex-
 pect no mercy? The most part being surprised in the fields, were forced to yeeld their
 throats to their swords that pursued them, others brought to *Toulouse* ended their
 C liues vpon sundry gibets: the Captaines and some few others, recouered the Towne.

The 24. of May, *Montluc*'s armie arriues. but being content with some skirmishes, *Three sieges*
 and to haue wasted the corne, hee retired to make a greater leape. Hee returns in
 of *Montauban* September following, with nine companies of men at armes, a great number of vo-
 luntary gentlemen. 25. ensigns of foot, foure companies of *Argoletiers*, and three of
Spaniards, which made twelue hundred men, and thirteene peeces of artillerie. The
 partie was stronger on either side then at the first, for *Duras* and *Marchastell* were en-
 tred, vnder hope to leade both the companies, and Canon to *Orleans*. So as *Montluc*
 hauing lost some six hundred men in diuers skirmishes, and refused to fight with *Du-*
ras, who offered him bataille, he retired the second time.

D Then *Duras* and *Marchastell* leading away the troupes, vnfurnished the Towne of
 two great Canons, and two field peeces, the which were afterwards lost in the bat-
 tle of *Ver*. *Montluc* aduertised of the estate of *Montauban* by *Fontrane*, one of the
 Captaines of the Towne, hastens thither, offers the scalado, and giues the alarm in
 three parts. Two hundred recouer the first courtine, being followed by the two
 ensigns of *Bazourdan*. *Laboria* borne in the Towne, and Captaine there, beats them
 backe, and with the slaughter of two hundred of their men, forceth them to leaue
 their attempt to winne it by force. The 13. of October, they batter it with nine pec-
 ces of artillerie, and continuing vntill the two and twentieth of the moneth, hee beates
 downe a peece of the wall. *Bazourdan* will needs discouer the breach: but being short
 E in about the left pappe, he could not returne with any newes. The next day they giue
 a furious assault: the more courageously the assailants presse them, the more resolute-
 ly the assailed defend themselves, men, women, and children, euery one in his place.

Often times they obtaine that vnder the foxes skin, which the Lions cannot effect.
Laboria might doe much, to draw the Inhabitants to composition. *Terrides* promisseth
 him the gouernment of the Towne, vnder the Kings authoritie, and three companies
 enterpayned. Hee accepts this offer. But his new proceeding brings him presently
 into suspect, so as hauing no more credit, and the Citizens resolute not to giue care
 to any capitulation with men, who hauing (say they) no faith, cannot keepe it with a-
 ny men. *Laboria* followed by his sergeant, retires himselfe to *Terrides* campe: from
 F that time, vnto the 15. of Aprill, the day of the publication of the peace, the siege pas-
 sed in assaults, sallies, and skirmishes, wherein the besegers lost aboue two thou-
 sand men, with a great number of Captaines and worthie gentlemen, without any
 profit.

1562.

&

1563.

Car. Sene
and others.

Carcassonne, Castelnaudary, Beuch and Limoux were partakers of these disorders. A
The Protestants of *Carcassonne* had their exercise in the suburbs. The 16. of March
1562. the Catholiks having taken view of foure or five thousand men, give an al-
rum to the Protestants assembled in the suburbs: they made them to leaue the place
at the sound of their Canon, drums, and trumpets: they pursue them, kill, hurt, hang,
and ran some them. *Castelnaudary* was subiect to the like fortune: about fittie persons
were murdered, with the like furie, and popular tumult. Those of *Renel* hearing of this
confusion at *Toulouse*, saued themselues at *Castres*, and els where, leauing their fami-
lies and goods, to the mercie of theeeues and robbers. Some being apprehended, by
vertue of a commission graunted by the Parliament, were led to *Toulouse*, and concei-
ned, some to the gallies, others were fined, & some banished. At *Limoux* they had ad-
uantage ouer the Catholiks: but *Pomas* being entred with tenne companies, and eight
hundred bandoliers, *Spaniards* for the most part, and the Marshall of *Mirepoix* being
sent by the Parliament, the Towne was subiect to the will of the stronger, and suffered
the ordinarie insolencies of conquerours, robbings, murders, and rapes.

Befers.

He that sees his neighbours house on fire, should looke to his owne. So the Pro-
testants of *Befers* aduertised of the murder of *Vassy*, draw some souldiars vnto them,
and ruine the images in all the Churches. *Beaudine* cheefe of the Protestants troups
assisted them, and by the taking of *Magalas* and *Espignan*, strong places which did
much annoy *Befers*, assured the towne to their partie. *Joyeuze* followed by 5000. men,
& 12. peeces of artillerie, crossed their attempts, & hauing at the second assault forced
Lezignan, & taking *Montagnac* by composition, he tooke the way to *Pezenas*. *Beaudine*
comes against him, and might easily haue defeated him, but fise hundred Crowes
which the master of his campe had receiued of *Joyeuze*, with promise of a thousand
more, made him loose about six score souldiars, and by the rout of his companies ope-
ned the gates of *Pezenas* to *Joyeuze*. *Befers* was readie to receiue a law from him: but
the sacke and murder of their neighbours, and the feare of the like vsage, made them
to shut their gates against him, and to go to field, to force and burne *Lignan*, with the
defeat of two companies that kept it: and then to surprise *Seruian*, to force the garnison
of *Casinals*, scale *Villeneuve*, neere vnto *Befers*, and so to preserue themselues vntill the
publication of the peace.

Beauuaise.

Beauuaise feared like vsage to *Limoux*. They therefore obteyne two companies
from *Nismes*. *S. Peran* a *Beauuaise*, with *Seruas* and *Bouillargues* lead them, they assure
the Towne and Castle, ruine images and altars, and then retire, leauing a companie
for the safetie of their companions. To incounter them, the Catholiks by twilight
bring in a great number of souldiars attyred like peasants, and in the night open the
gates to fiftene or sixteene hundred men, who comming from *Tarascon*, separated
onely by the *Rhone*, made their coming famous by bloud and sacke. The Pro-
testants recover the Castle, and speedily call backe *Seruas* and *Bouillargues*, who return-
ed to *Nismes*. They turne head: *Seruas* enters into the Castle, and to descending in-
to the Towne, surpriseth his enemies, kils a great number, and pardons such as laying
downe their armes craue mercy. *Bouillargues* comming from the rescue of the boote
which they carried away, and wearie with killing them that fled, he likewise enters in-
to the Towne, and puts all to the sword that he encounters. Thus *Beauuaise* remayned
in the Protestants hands, vntill the Edict of peace.

Montpellier.

The like feare troubled them of *Montpellier*. The proceedings at *Toulouse* and other
places amazed them: they fortifie themselues, raze the suburbs, in a manner as great
as the Towne, beate downe thirtie Churches, and by these ruines, make themselues
able to sustaine a sege which threatned them. The enemy discharged his choller
vpon certaine short lodging in an old Towne ill flanked, a League from the Towne,
who hauing yeilded to haue their liues saued, were notwithstanding slaine as they
came forth. The like chance fell vpon the Capitaine, and twentie souldiars that
were in *Maguelonne*, and deferuedly, according to the diuine iustice, hauing treache-
rously sold the Castle.

At

A At that time, the Lords of *Suze* and *Sommerive*, the chiefe of the Catholikes armie 1562.
in *Languedoc*, had passed the *Rosne*, with about 3000. foote, foure hundred Maisters &
and three Cannons, with an intent to besiege *S. Giles*, a small towne vpon the *Rosne*. 1563.
Beaudine, vpon this aduice, parts from *Montpellier*, speedily assembles sixe hundred
horse, and eight hundred foote, vnder the command of *Bouillargues*, *Albenas*, and
Grille: he is aduertised by some prisoners, of a disorder in the enemies campe: he march-
eth towards them, and chargerth presently. *Suze* and *Sommerive* turne their backs,
their Capitaines and souldiars are amazed, and run away: *Bouillargues* followes them
that they not one makes resistance. *Grille* falls out likewise, & both ioynly do kill, what
by the sword, & water, 2000. men, and win all their baggage, being richly furnished, as
to a certaine victory, with two canons (the culuer in beinge sunke in the riuer of *Rhone*.)
22. Entaigns, & the Colonels gurdon. This victory makes them proud, and *Grille* co-
rreming the aduice which was giuen him, suffered himselfe within few daies after, to
be surprisid, & taken at *Arnas*, to loose a hundred or six score souldiars, his troups
to beget to flight, towards *Luell*, *Mauguel* & *Sommieres*, & had it not bin for the ar-
madet of *Beaudine*, who freed him, he had remained in trophie for his enemy.

In the meane time, *Joyeuze* (seeing the plague to wast his men dayly) retires from the
Campe before *Montpellier*. it was rather to free the Inhabitants from iealousie. Hee
had practised certaine intelligences within the Towne, but the iustice of God, brought
two of the chiefe Marchants to be a spectacle vpon a scaffold, for other crimes. who
C hauing confessed the treason, euen as the sword hung ouer their heads, ended *Joyeuze*
practises with their liues.

His attempts vpon *Adge* were as fruitlesse, and much more prejudiciall vnto him:
for beinge repulsed by *Sanglas* from a scaladoe, and two sundry assaults, *Bouillargues*
lost two hundred and twenty of his men, in his retreat, hauing diuided them into
three bands. He drew three hundred Catholikes, lodged within *Aramon*, into an am-
bulcadoe, slue the most part of them, and soone after seized on *S. Laurent* in the *Com-
tat*, he chased fise and thirty *Italian Landiers*, threescore *Argoletiers*, and a companie
of foote. But the course of his prosperitie was somewhat stayd, by the death of *Rays*,
gudon of his company, and of Capitaine *Aisse*, who kept the Tower of *Carboniere* lea-
D ted in the marishes of *Aiguesmortes*, & did wonderfully molest the said towne, it being
surprised in an ambuscado, & they slaine, the 12. of Nouëber. The death of these men
was recompensed by the slaughter of fourscore, surprisid & slaine by the 10. of *Mont-
pellier*, within *Bourg*, a small Towne vpon *Rhone*, besides a great number, that were
drowned, seeking to saue themselues by the said riuer.

This happy successe inuities them to newe attempts, A companie of the enemies
ledged in *Agnane*, and spoiled the country about. *Rapin*, gouernour of *Montpellier*, be-
ing followed by fise hundred foot and *Gremians* troupe of horse, awaked them in the
night, about Christmas, surprisid some asleepe, others in their snits, slue the greatest
number, and brought the rest prisoners to *Montpellier*. The yeare ended with the ta-
E king of *S. Paul* & *Damiatte*, separated by the riuer of *Agout*, beleeged, battered, & with-
in three dayes taken from the Protestants by *Peirot* son to *Montluc*, with great slaugh-
ter. A Capitaine *Goson* hauing slaine a Priest of purpose or otherwise, made them be-
leeue it was the minister within fewe dayes after he went to *Castres*, where the Pro-
testants had still the better during these inciuill troubles. Let vs briefly looke into the
provinces of *Vinaretz*, *Rouergue*, *Guaudan* and the countie of *Foix*. In Aprill the Pro-
testants of *Norray* become maisters of the towne, beginning presently to beat downe
images: they opened and publike burnt the relike which they call of holie vertues.

Doubletless man could iudge by the present what would after chance, he would re-
flect on his passions. For the interchange of worldly things suffers most offices at length
F to finde a reuenge. The towne was vnfurnished of armes, and *Sarras* their Gouernour
(threatned with a sege) goes forth, the 22. of October the next morning he comes
at the breake of day to *S. Etienne* in *Forest* (the abundance of armes & harnesse, that is
forged there, makes the towne famous, & sets fire to the gates, takes & packs vp such
armes as hee needed. But O man, remember that thou shalt bee measured
with

1562. with the same measure wherewith thou hast measured thy neighbour, and whilest thou
 & doost loyter with thy Souldiars to search houses, for the goodliest armes, and the ri-
 1563. rest women, thou giuest thine enemy leisure to prepare thee a potion full of bitter-
 nesse. *S. Chaumont* sent by the Duke of *Nemours* (who then made warre in *Lionnois*)
 incounters him, chargeth and takes him prisoner, hurts, and kills about six score men
 of his troupe: and from that time, those of *Nonnay* lay open to many outrages. He ga-
 thers the commons together, besiegeth the towne, wanting both men, armes, and a
 Commander: he enters, sheds as much blood as he pleaseth, spoiles it euen to the
 locks, fiers it, and burnes two and twentie houses: then vpon a brute of the Baron of
Adrets approche with greater forces, he dislodgeth without Trumpet, and seemes ra-
 ther to flee, then retire.

The first tak-
 ing of *Nonnay*

The second
 taking.

Rouergue.

Givaudan.

About the end of the yeare, *S. Martin*, by the commandement of the Lord of *Cru-*
fol, and the Cardinall of *Chastillon*, then gouernours of *Guyenne* and *Dauphiné*, vnder the
 Prince of *Condes* authoritie, came to *Nonnay*, repaired the ruines, and provided for the
 defence thereof, leauing Captaine *Prost*, *le Mas* and *Morgroft* there. *S. Chaumont* sits
 thether with foure thousand men, but vnfit to force places well furnished, hee treats
 with the Cittizens, offers an honest composition, as well for themselves, as for their
 strangers. They accept it, the strangers depart, and the same night *S. Chaumont* cautieth
 or suffreth his men to enter, who forgetting no kinde of inhumanitie, murder some,
 others they cast from an high Tower, some they burne in their houses, many they
 make to leape out at the windowes, beate them downe vpon the pavement, stab them
 in the streetes, sell prisoners by the Drum: and for want of buyers, they murder them
 in the place, burne the houses for want of present money to redeeme them: there were
 six score by this meanes burnt to Ashes. And to fill vp the measure of this horrible
 confusion, wiues and maidens were barbarously rauished, Come and other things
 which could not be carried, were scattered about: the heads of Wine vessels beaten
 out, the walls for the most part beaten downe to the ground, the Towers dismantled,
 and the gates carried away. *Bonlieu* a small towne neere vnto *Nonnay*, did accompany
 it in this lamentable desolation.

In *Rouergue*, *Valfergues* one of *Monluc* Lieutenants, and Captaine of the gari-
 son of *Villefranche*, hauing wonderfully oppressed the Protestants of that place, and
 the Nobilitie of *Rouergue*, those of *Villeneufue*, *Perrouffe*, *Froissae*, *Sauignac*, *la Guepie*,
Esparillon, *S. Afrique*, those of *Brescul*, *Compeyre*, *Millau*, *S. Felix*, *Cornus*, and of *Pont Ca-*
mates, resolueth to defend themselves, and by their constant resolution, had made fru-
 strate their enemies attempts, if two of their Captaines had not by their ouerthrow
 shaken their affaires. About thirty men lead by *Peigre*, going out of *Millau* to refresh
Compeyre, besieged by *Vesin* and others, were cut in peeces, their leader lead to *Tou-*
louse, was at the instance of the Cardinall of *Armagnac* quartered aliue. And *Sauignac*
 hauing failed an enterprife he had vpon *Villefranche*, was inuested in the Castle of *Gra-*
nes, where for want of water, he was forced to accept his life sauied, and theirs that fol-
 lowed him, being about a hundred Souldiars: notwithstanding, all but fixe or seauen
 were put to the sword.

These tempests fell likewise vpon *Givaudan*, those of *Ceuennes* entring into *Queix*,
 burnt the Image of our Ladie, and made a booty of two hundred and foure score
 Markes of siluer, of the reliques and ornaments of the Church being molten. But
 this prosperitie was like a fire of Strawe, wherein they often confound themselves in
 their ouerweening. Afterwards they campe before *Mendes*, and in the end of Iuly,
 they enter by composition, but they suffer one *Copier* to change his profession of a
 Minister to a Captaine, to order the Treasure, and to dispose of matters of warre: who
 vnder this rash presumption, sends about six score men to an other enterprife, vnder
 the conduct of a Hosier of *Alby* called *La Croix*, as very a nouice in matters of warre, as
 his pretended Colonell. *Treillans* the yonger, sends part of his men, who surpriseth
 them in the field, and out of order, and kills the most part: and hee with the rest of his
 troupe, rides directly to *Mendes*: hee enters without any difficulty, carries away the
 Gouer-

Gouernour, spoiles what hee pleaseth, and leaues the rest to the discretion of other
 hands, who laying hold vpon *Copier*, make him yeeld an account of his vsurped go-
 uernment: notwithstanding the troupes of his party rescued him within fewe dayes
 after, and brought him backe safe and sound with his companions. The Province of
Givaudan enioyed then some rest, when as the Barons of *Gaise* and *Saint Vidal*, *Treil-*
lans and others came to molest it. They make a troupe of two thousand men in the
 beginning of October, to ioine with *Loyeuse* at the siege of *Montpellier*: but the defeat
 of their men at *Saint Giles*, made them to change their desseine, and to attempt *Floras*.
 Eight men onely commanded by *Boissy* a valiant soldiari of *Montpellier*, kept it. The be-
 siegers vse both batterie, scaladot, assault, mines, and parle, and get nothing but blowes.
 In the ende a report flying of the coming of *Beaudiné* to succour the beleeged, they
 raise their campe with confusion and disorder.

Marbasset, a Castel belonging to the *Seigneur* of *Peyre* a Protestant, had an other issue.
Coffart gouernour of *Recoles*, beleeged it in the beginning of February, and hauing taken
 it by treason, he kept his faith with the soldiars like vnto *Granes*, which then was vsed as
 a prouerbe in the mouthes of the Protestants. *Peyre* afterwards incountred *Coffart*, slue
 three score and ten of his men, and recovered his house. These confusions continued
 still euen after the publication of peace: for the Baron of *la Fare* hauing tried by all
 meanes (saue the Originall) to haue a mayde of excellent beauty at his pleasure, be-
 sieged *Floras* the first of *Aprill*. But *Beaudiné* making hast to succour it, preferred both
 the virgins honesty and the Cittizens blood.

The Lord of *Pailles*, *Seneschal* for the King of *Nauarre* in the Countie of *Fois*, fed the
 Protestants with words. The desolation of *Toulouse* made him to change his coppie.
 So the wolfe (according to the Fable) hauing sent away the dogges, doth then
 breake into the fold, and deuours the sheepe at his pleasure. Hee aduifeth such as
 hee feared among the Protestants (seeing they had beene charged with the beating
 downe of images and altars,) to retire themselves: else he should be forced to impry-
 son them. His terror chafeth manie. *Pailles* entring into the Towne, puts some in pri-
 son, and so terrifies others, as they were glad to leaue the Towne. Of the prisoners, two
 were beheaded, two burnt, sixe hanged, twentie fixe condemned to death, ten to the
 galleis, and the goods of them that were fled abandoned in prey to the soldiars: the o-
 ther townes of the Countie terrified with his stratageme, accepted such conditions as
Pailles would prescribe them.

Onely *Pamiers* resisted. The towne belonged to the Queene of *Nauarre*, and the
 number of the Protestants was great. Man hath many meanes to preserve himselfe
 from humane forces, but what harbour, what shelter can protect him from the
 wrath of heauen? Men make warre one against an other, and two parties seeke
 one an others destruction: but God with the same arme strikes both the one and the
 other, and it falls vpon whome hee pleaseth. The Catholikes of *Pamiers* seeke all
 meanes to oppresse the Protestants, and the Protestants to crosse the practises of
 their enemies, when as a common scourge assures them both. The plague comes in-
 to the Towne, and in fewe weekes takes away three thousand Cittizens. But (a strange
 thing) of all this great number they did not account aboue fiftie Protestants. So as
 subsisting in the midst of this mortality, and by this meanes protected from the in-
 iuries of their enemies abroad, they succour their neighbours of *Castres*, kill the *Vicomte*
 of *Seres* and his brother, with the greatest part of three hundred men which he com-
 manded, and so disperse the rest, as the way was open for them to recouer their hou-
 ses: where discouering a practise made by some begging Friars, to bring in *Pailles* and
 others, they made such a spoile in their Couents, as neuer after were they more feare
 or heard of. This bloudie stratageme amazed the Preefts & Chanons. They saue them-
 selues in the Towne of *Fois*, they spoile their houses & the Bishops. As one mischiefe
 folloves another, the peace concluded, in the beginning of May a furious haile, con-
 tinuing by fits for the space of 3. weekes, about *Fois*, cuts the corne & al greene things
 so as there was no hope of fruit. The commons mutine, accuse the Clergy becing fled,
 to

1562. to be the motives of this tempest, and were redie to fall vpon them. They avoided the
& popular furie and retire to *Maugency*.

1563. Let vs change our Camate, and turne into *Gaule Lionnoyse*. The last of Aprill the
Lyon. Protestants were seized of *Lions* at two of the Clocke after midnight, without any
slaughter but of two men. The Lord of *Sault* had the first gouernment. Amongest
many of the Princes faction which posted thither, the Baron of *Adrets* (a valiant man
but proud and cruell) seized on the gouernment. The Prince sent afterwards *Poncenat*
and *Changy*: the first to command the horse, the last the foote. Herevpon the Baron of
Saint *Vidal* and other *Anuergnats* advanced, with three or foure thousand men, to wait
the Country of *Lionnois*, whilest the Duke of *Nemours* assembled an army of *bour-*
guignons, *Anuergnats* and *Forens* for the sege of *Lion*. *Poncenat* with five hundred men
goes to discouer them, chargeth them at the first approach, makes such a slaughter, as by
their route he ouerthrowes their desseine, and pursuing his victorie, neere vnto *Furs*
in *Forest*, he encounters with some troupes of horse, which made head against him: hee
chargeth them, puts them to flight, and presently forceth the towne of *Furs*, where
most of them that fled had saued themselves.

Des Adrets arrives, who hauing resisted the forces of *Sommerive*, *Suze*, *Carres*, *Man-*
giron and others, brought some places vnder his subiection, and amongst others
Montbrison the chiefe of the Prouince. But there he blemished the reputation which he
had gotten in *Daulphiné*, and by his crueltie did violate the Lawes of humanity, and
made himselfe odious, the which plunged him in many miseries, as we shall see here
after. One afternoone hee tooke a delight to see many prisoners leape out of the high
Tower of *Montbrison*, amongst the which there were some gentlemen of account.
Soubize comes to *Lions*, being sent by the Prince of *Condé*, with the title of Lieutenant
and gouernour: and did so politikelly handle the violent disposition of *Adrets*, as he
perswaded him to returne into *Daulphiné*, where he did goodly exploits. But this de-
cay of his authority did presently discontent the Baron: who on this first spleene layed
the leuaine of a speedie reuolt.

On the other side, *Tauannes* approached with five thousand *French*, and three thou-
sand *Italians*, led by the Earle of *Angusole*, not with any intent to force the Towne,
but to hinder the harvest and the vintage. These *Italians* had many goats, so as in de-
struction of this horrible medley, the peasants cast all their goats among the Car-
rion where they passed. The Duke of *Nemours* arrives, with the title of the Kings
Lieutenant generall, and for the first fruits of his armies, hee receiues *Vienne* vpon *Rosne*
by composition, by the fauour of the Catholikes: he kills fewe, and spoiles much. The
taking of this towne shortned their victualls at *Lions*. *Soubize*, to haue meanes to keepe
the field, calls backe *Adrets* and the Prouensalls. Hee brings foure or five thousand
foote, and foure hundred horse. The Duke conceiuing an assured hope of victorie by
the weakenesse of their horse, encounters them, puts them to life in route neere to *Beau-*
repaire, but with small losse: and if the conduct and resolution of *Adrets*, with the aduan-
tage of the place had not fauored him, he had then recieued a mate. Hauing speedily
rallied his troupes, he incamps within two leagues of *Vienne*, holding the Duke of *Ne-*
mours occupied with continuall skirmishes, whilest that *Soubize* gathered in victualls
from all parts.

Herevpon a packet comming from *Orleans* to *Soubize*, falls into the hands of the
Marshall of *Brissac*. Amongest other letters one from the Admirall conteyred: That
he must endure the violence of the Baron of *Adrets* as much as he could: lest of an insolent
man he should make him madd. This was a fit expedient to put the Baron into furie. *Brif-*
fac hauing presently sent Saint *Sernin* to *Nemours* and *Adrets*, causeth them to enter
into strange practises one with an other. *Soubize* (who was alwaies *Vigilant* both at
home and abroade, and had (as the History commends him) spent largely vpon spies,
discouers presently their secret intelligences, causeth the Baron to be apprehended, &
by the commandement of *Crussol* and the Cardinall of *Chastillon* sends him vnder iure
gard to *Nismes*, whereas nothing but the benefit of a peace which presently followed,
preserued

A pretended him from the danger of death. Notwithstanding the Duke making his pro-
fit of the *Barons* practises, drawes nere to *Lions*, and by sundrie skirmishes cuts off their
victualls. But he that vndertakes too much, speeds but ill.

At one instant he attempts both *Romance* and *Valence*. The whole bodie of his army
was necessary for this desseine: and whilest that he seekes to deuowre all at once, hee
looseth all. Hee tryes all his wits, and imployes all his deuises to vanquish *Lions*, and
vpon hope to be assisted by them of the Towne that were of his faction, hee attempts it
by escaladoe in diuers parts, but all in vaine. He is ill serued both within and without,
and so rudely entertrayned by *Soubize*, as hee must now put on another personage.
Hee heipes himselfe with the newes of the battaile of *Dreux*, and proclaimes this
victorie. But now hee finds out a newe practise, whereby he hopes to attaine his
desire.

Mart Herlin, receiuer of the subsidie at *Lions* had beene taken in skirmish in the
moneth of February 1563. To giue two stroakes with one stone, to saue his life or
his ranome, and to mocke the Duke, he giues him to vnderstand, That he had meanes
to do the King a notable seruice: that they had accustomed to imploy him in the
gard of the Towne, and to trust him with many matters of waight: that if hee will
grant him liberty, he will watch some conuenient time, to giue him entrance at Saint
Iouis gate, whereby hee should bring in a sufficient number of men to make himselfe
Lord of the towne. We easily beleue that which is plausible to our desires. The Duke
accepts this offer. he frees *Herlin*, but as if hee had escaped of himselfe. *Herlin* comes
to *Lions* imparts it to *Soubize*, then returnes to *Nemours*, and appoints him the 7. of
March following.

The eue before this pretended execution, *Soubize* plants his artillery in the night,
to scoure the streetes, lodgeth three or foure thousand shot in the bulwarkes, walls and
houles of approach, and appoints *Poncenat* with his troupe of horse to followe them.
Tuesday being come, *Nemours* approacheth: they giue him a sige from a small Tower.
Threethousand foote enter into the suburbs of Saint *Iust*, and from thence aduance
vnto the gate, *Herlin* goes to meete them and brings them in. But being entred by the
wicket, hee sodenly shuts it. The artillery plaies vpon them: two or three hundred mus-
kets and all the other shot discharge vpon them: *Blacons*, *Poyet*, *Andefroy* and *Entrag-*
nes pursue them with six hundred choise harguebuziers, who defeateth them quite: and
if the horsemen had made speed, scarce any one had carried newes of this stratagem
to his Companions. Foure hundred were slaine in the suburbs, many without, and a
greater number ended their liues flying to the Campe, to *Vienne*, & other places. This
disgrace did so trouble the Duke, as he continued two monethes sicke in his bed, and in
the meane time a peace was concluded.

The first ciuill tumult in *Daulphiné*, was at *Romans*. *La Mothe-Gondrin*, Lieutenant to
the Duke of *Guise* in that Prouince, would haue beaten downe a house, where as the
Protestants had heard some sermons. The protestants troupe sodenly to gither: and if
he had not retired himselfe, they had put him in danger of his life. The second hap-
pened at *Valence*, but fatall to the Authoritye the five & twentieth of Aprill was the day of the
election of new Counsillers and of Counsellors at *Valence*. *La Mothe* meaning his pistoll
should giue the first voice, and then to haue such named as he pleased, hee sends some
horse out of the Towne, either to preuent that none should come to crosse his des-
sens, or to cut such in peeces as should seek to escape: hee causeth the gates to
bee shut, enuirones the place of the assemblie with armed men: hee enters it with
a lauchion in one hand, and his pistoll in the other, the which hee dischargeth vpon a
secretary of his whome hee finds there. The Protestants doubting that *Gondrin*
would begin with them: a number of them retired into a house, and resolute to defend
their liues.

But as they came to force them, they slippe out at a backe doore, and recouer
Saint *Felix* gate, where discouering *Gondrins* horse scouring the plaines, they couer
theuselues within the gate. These horsemen incountring no man, fall vpon some
Countrie

1562

&

1563

A stratagem
against the
Duke of Ne-
mours.

Daulphiné.

1562. Countrymen that came to *Valence*, and kill some of them, whose bodies are brought to the Towne vpon ladders: for with outrage the people require iustice. The next day being Sunday, the Protestants stirre not: they feared least by reason of others of their partie which came from all parts at the report of the former dayes worke, some new tumult should arise. *Gondrin* commends them, and with sweete wordes perswades them to go out of the Towne for the exercise of their religion: that in doing so, they shall shewe themselves obedient to the Edict. When they are abroad, they discover, or at the least imagin, that they seeke to surpriue them: some runne to the gate, others enter the town, and seize vpon the other gates. Monday morning, the whole partie araises, they beseege *Gondrin's* house and fire it, who being retired into the next, hee was slain with six or seauen of his house-hold seruants, his house sacked and to appease the multitude, they hang his carcase at a window towards the streete. These are the effects which the insolencies of an armed multitude brings forth.

They proceede yet farther: the report of images beaten downe in many other *Provinces*, transports them to the like insolencies: they chose the Baron of *Adrets*, Chief by prouision in *Dauphiné*, attending a confirmation, or some other certaine nomination by the Prince of *Condé*. The Baron (to make the entrance of his authority famous) sends boldly to the Parliament of *Grenoble*: That they should thrust out of the town, the second president, the Attorney general, the Advocate of the town, the fourth consul, and some others, whome he termed seditious, and therefore he threatened to hang them. These men, without eyther commandement or compulsion, were glad by a voluntary exile to auoide the Barons threats.

The Protestants thus freed, seize vpon the gates of *Grenoble* the first of May, enter into the Friars, ouerthrowe altars and images, plant the exercise of their religion: and for the suretie of the town, bring in a companie of foote sent by *Adrets*, who to encounter *Maugiron* (that termed himselfe the Kings Lieutenant generall in *Dauphiné*,) came in the ende to *Grenoble* with a troupe of horse and foote. Their first waie was against images and relikes, afterwards they seize vpon the Castells of *Buissiere* and *Mirebel*, and burst the great house of the *Carthusiens* three Leagues from *Grenoble*. Whilest these taile in full seas with a prosperous winde, behold others suffer a most pittifull ship-wrake.

The massacre at *Vassy*, the Italian troupes of *Fabricio Serbellone*, a *Bolonis* in *Auignon*, and those of *Prouence* ioyned with *Fabricio*, terrified the Protestants of *Auranges* nere vnto *Auignon*, who to crosse the intelligences, which they sayd these troupes had in *Auranges*, protect themselves with six hundred men. Moreover *Fabricio* writes to *Sommerive*: That seeing he hath an armie readie, he should performe a great worke, to bring it speedily before *Auranges*, whether there resorted daylie a great multitude of *Huguenots*. If they were not suppressed at their first beginning, not onely *Auignon* should be annoyed, but also all *Prouence* receiue great harme. So *Sommerive* and *Suze* march against *Auranches*, and at the first, finde a good meane to ruine the Towne. *Parpaille* President in the Parliament of *Auranges*, had bene taken at *Bourg* vpon *Rhône* returning from *Lions*, where he had bene to make prouision of armes, for whole rescue the troupes of *Auranges*, being of their neighbours Townes runne to *Bourg*. *Sommerive* and *Suze* fortified with many companies of *Dauphiné* and *Auignon*, beseege *Auranches*, being without soldiars: they batter, make a breach, force it, and forget no kinde of crueltie that the victors furie doth usually furnish.

All are put to sword without distinction of age, sexe, or quality: and by a new kinde of death practised synce in Ciuill warres, they cast some downe vpon the soldiars halberds, they burne others, tied to their hookes in Chimnies, they hang men, women, and children at their windowes: they shoote some with their harguebuzes, murder others in their mothers armes: and to finish this dissolution, they sacke and burne the Towne, Castell, Palace and Bishops houses: fixe weekes after, *Parpaille* at the instance of the *Viclegat* of *Auignon* lost his head.

But alas this was (as they say) but to anger a hornet. The Baron of *Adrets* studies

A of nothing but reuenge. He runnes, he cries out, he stormes, and rines with indignation and threats, beates *Pierrelate*, and forceth it in few houres, puts all that he findes armed to the sword, enters in furie into the Castle garded by three hundred fouldars of the troupes of *Suze*, some he kills, others he casts downe, not one escapes: with the like furie he takes the Towne of *Bourg*. *Pont St. Esprit* brings him their Keyes. Hee forceth *Boulene* a frontier of the Contar, puts the company of Capitaine *Barcelasse* to the sword, and threatned *Auignon*: when as newes came, that *Maugiron* entred by intelligence into *Grenoble*, spoiles, kills, & drownes. He posstethether, assures himselfe of *Romans* by the way, reduceth *S. Marcellin* to his deuotion, and puts three hundred of *Maugiron's* men to the sword. *Maugiron* fearing the furie of this man, retires into *B. Sauoy*, and from thence into *Bourgogne* to *Tuannes*, leading with him all those of his faction: and the 26. of Iune *Adrets* reenters into *Grenoble*, seizes things in their former estate, and then he marcheth into *Forest*, as we haue seene.

Behold strange alterations: *Suze* and *Fabricio* beheld the Barons actions being in safety: his passage into *Forest*, drawes them now to field. *Mombrun* makes head against them, and by the taking of *Mornas*, doth partly reuenge the spoiles of *Auranges*. *Suze* will haue his reuenge, and comes to besiege *Boulene*: but finding nothing but blowes to be gotten, he goes and spoiles *Vaucreas*, in the County of *Venaissin*: and thinking to enlarge his limits, he meetes with the Baron, who with a furie (without viewing or giuing him leifure to arange his troupes) doth charge him, defeats him, cuts in peeces the most part of his foote, kills him, with many Gentlemen, and winnes his Artillery: but he shall not keepe it long. Then extending his victory, hee undertakes the defence of *Cisteron*, threatned by *Sommerive*, forceth *S. Laurent des Arbres*, and *Rocquemaure* a strong place: takes and burnes the Castle of *Pont Sorgues*, kills all *Fabricio's* Souldiars that kept it, and the next day surpriseth *Fabricio* himselfe, and chafeth him euen vnto the gates of *Auignon*.

As he continues his course along the riuer of *Durance*, and findes nothing to stay the violence of his victories, newes comes of the *Prouençals* arrivall at *Gauillon*. He wades through the riuer the first of September, chargeth them at the first, kills the most part, and puts the rest to flight. But instead of going directly to *Cisteron*, whether he had sent *Mombrun* with five hundred men, and the Canon taken from *Suze*, (he had some spleene against *Mombrun's*, Capitaine of *Cisteron*,) hee takes the longer way by the plaines: whereof followed the ouerthrow of *Mombrun*, the losse of his Artillery, and the taking of *Cisteron*, as we shall see.

Adrets had left the Councillor *Ponat* for his Lieutenant at *Grenoble*: a man more capable of lawes then fit for armes. Herevpon *Vinay* takes an occasion to attempt against the Towne. *S. Mauris* and *la Coche* receiue him so roughly, as the death of threescore of his best *Spaniards* and *Italians*, at the first skirmish, makes him to leaue *Grenoble*, to go burne the peasants houses in the valee of *Pragela*. In the end, the course of the Barons prosperities is stayed by the taking of *Vienne*, & of the Castle of *Pipet*, & by the two seuerall ouerthrows he had at *Beau-repaire*, whereof followed this change of sides, and the losse of the reputation and credit which he had gotten among his followers, as we haue heard. These losses caused the siege of *Grenoble*, whereof *Ponat* (being called away by *Adrets*) had left the defence to *La Coche*. Sixe thousand men campe before it. But a goodly desaigne, and easie to be effected is often made frustrate by the discord of the Commanders. Many heads are the cause that *Grenoble* holds firme. They assaile it, but slowly: their visualls now growing short, after three weekes siege, pressed *La Coche* to capitulate, when as Capitaine *Furmeier*, having assembled six or seuen hundred foote, and foure score horse, passeth the riuer of *Isere*, surmounteth the straight of the Mountaine, forceth them that kept it, and aduanceth vnto the riuer of *Dras* nere to *Grenoble*. Meaning to Ferry ouer, he sees the passage garded by three or foure hundred horse, with a great number of foote, & discouers an other troupe in ambush within the next wood, to charge him behind. He retires; and with a counterfet feare, makes shew to turne back: the enimie pursues him, he turnes

Ffff

Raided by
Furmeier.
head

1562. head against them, wades through the river of *Drac*, chargeth the first hee meeteth
& beakes them, and by the resolution of his passage, in the face of so many enemies, he
1563. mazes all the troupe, scattereth them, chafeth them, killing on all sides: and thus unexpected
annuall, strikes such a terror in the Campe, as euery one abandons the trenches: euery man flies, and stayes not vntill they haue recovered the marches of *Sauoy*. *Crusol* had recovered *Serignon* and *Auranges* in base *Daulphiné*. *La Coche* surprised the Tower of *Lemps*, in the beginning of the year 1563. whilst those of *Grenoble* victualled their place, and prepared to indure a second siege. About the end of February, there comes against them eight thousand men, foote, and horse: two great Cannons, and three field peeces: *La Coche* had to make head against them, besides the Citizens, six hundred good souldiers, nine braue Captaines, and some voluntarie gentlemen, who hauing repulsed the assaillants at the first assault, preferred, with the points of their swords, both the sacke of their Cittie, and the blood of their Citizens.

Prouence was betwixt the father and the sonne.

First Siege of *Cisleron*.

The second siege.

Mombrun decimated.

Let vs passe into *Prouence*. The Earle of *Tande* was Gouverneur, and of his two sons *Sommerive* (issued of the first ventrie) was Lieutenant for the King in his fathers absence. *Cipierre*, being then very yong, borne of the second wife, and the Lord of *Coriet* of the house of *Salusses*, sonne in Law to the said Earle, were (as many others did vntill in those dayes) mastiues which did defend the Protestants troupe. *Sommerive*, a valient man and too bloudie, did suddenly incense all *Prouence* against them: and being armed with force, he made his gouernment famous by a horrible and generall execution of men dismembred, hanged, burned, fled, cut in peeces being aliue, drawne, C through the streets, cast downe headlong, stabbed, starued, and such like miseries. The Earle his father, abhorring this generall desolation, and not able by his authority to diuert his sonne from this wicked proceedings, gathers together what force hee can: giues the command of the horse to *Cipierre*, and of the foote to *Cardet*, who by their armes kept all the Townes beyond the river of *Durance*, (except *Pertuis*) vnder their command. On the other side, *Sommerive*, after the executions of *Auranges* before described, hauing taken vewe of fiftie ensignes of foote, and some Cornets of horse, flies fiercely to the siege of *Cisleron*, being full of many Protestant families, that were retired thither, and manned with eleuen companies vnder the Lord of *Beauieu*, nephew to the Earle of *Tande*, and three hundred men commanded by *Furmeier*. The eleuenth of July, *Sommerive* giues three assaults, continued from three of the clocke in the eateer noone vntill night. Most of the month was spent in skirmishes: The prisoners on either side finding no mercy, nor grace of the souldiers. In the end, *Sommerive* (fearing some new checke by the hands of *Adrets*, who had lately wonne the battaile of *Vourdas*), he went and intrenched himselfe three Leagues from *Cisleron*. *Cardet* approacheth, but he cannot by any deuice draw his brother in law out of his trenches. So the Earle of *Tande*, dist. ckt for victuals, rayseth his Campe, puts some of his troupes into *Cisleron*, and sends the rest to *Adrets*.

Sommerive doubles his courage and force, and the 27. of August, followed by a hundred and two ensignes of foote, and many horse, beseegeth *Cisleron* anew, on three parts, and vpon an intelligence that was giuen him, that *Mombrun* approached to succour the beseeged (as we haue before specified) *Suze* marcheth against him, chargeth *Mombrun*, kills about a hundred and fiftie of his men, puts the other in route, and wins two peeces of Canon, which hee had lately lost. This victorie was to *Sommerive* a foretelling of a good successe. The 14. of September he ouerthrowes a hundred and fortie paces of the wall: he planted two small peeces, to batter the friars. Three and thirtie ensignes of foot, supported by a troupe of horse, go to the assault, and continue it with a wonderfull furie, vntill seuen of the clock at night: that powder failing them on either side, they fall to stones, swords, and handie blows: the greater number preuailling, the beseeged abandon the breach, retyring themselves with great losse, and des *Adrets* returned into *Daulphiné*. *Senas*, *Mouuans*, & other Captaines, seeing themselves vnfurnished of munition, without hope of succours, charged with a multitude of men, not trayned vppe in warlike affaires, together with the enemies obstinate resolution, they preferre the safetie of their liues and persons before the place: and

in the night recover the straights, and deserts of the mountaine, and so come safe to *Grenoble*, from thence they were conducted to *Lions*, and there liued vntill the Edict of pacification. *Sommerive*, at the breake of day, sends some troupes after them: but the difficultie of the waies, and feare to loose their part of the spoyle, stayed the pursuite. So the victors enter into this abandoned Towne, and put to the sword about foure hundred women and children, without distinction of age, or religion.

Sommerive is now master of *Prouence*, leauing in all places pitiful signes of a bloody victorie, whereof the originall notes (as principall instruments) *Carcés*, *Mentun*, *Flafans*, thrust forward especially by *Begarris*, *Chefne*, *S. Marguerite*, and others of the most seditious of the Court of Parliament of *Aix*, who with all impunitie gaue libertie to all thefts, spoyles, and murders: so as after the Edict of pacification, the Kings priuie Councell gaue commission to the President *Morsan* and some Councillors of the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to suppress such disorders: who by an exemplarie punishment of many, caused the following warres to bee managed with farre more moderation. But the qualitie of some, and the credit of others, saved many heads which were prepared to vomit vp in open vew the blood which their hands had too prodigally spilt.

As for the Duchie of *Bourgogne*, *Tauannes* Lieutenant for the King in the Duke of *Bourgoigne* *Annals* absence, loued siluer better then the blood of the Protestants, and the Parliament of *Dyon* hauing by vertue of letters obteyned the first of March 1562. forbidden the exercise of their religion, *Tauannes* disarmes them, puts the cheefe in prison, forceth some to depart with threats, others he expels violently. The Mayor and Sheriffs proceed farther: they thrust forth wiues, maids, and children, commaunding the peasants by proclamation the 7. of Iuly, to set vpon the rebels, not to receiue, lodge, nor feed them that are expelled the Townes: (a rigour which humanitie neuer vied to the most barbarous) they condemne them, as guiltie of high treason that had carried armes, or assisted them with ayd or counsell: and they giue libertie to kill them all with impunitie, that should hereafter assemble in any other places, but in their ordinarie Churches. This libertie bred many thefts and spoyles, at *Aussonne*, *Autun*, and *Beaune*: yet the people are commended to haue conteyned themselves within the bounds of modestie. *Chalon* vpon *Saone*, *Mascon* and *Belleuille*, seized on by the Protestants, serued them for a time as a Sanctuary and refuge. *Mombrun* commanded at *Chalon* with fiftie hundred hargubusiars: but being sodainly beleagard by *Tauannes*, and finding not the Towne furnished or defensible, by a dangerous, and (as the Originall saith) a detestable example, he left it in prey to *Tauannes*, and retired to *Mascon*.

Tauannes goes thither, with all speed, and presents himselfe at the gates, hoping by kind offers to perswade the people to receiue him, but he finds no admittance. So he gathers together all his forces, and the third of Iune beseegeth the Towne. His armie consisted for the most part of *Bourguignons* of the Countie, carrying openly red scarfs. The beseeged countenance themselves with this pretext, and make their profit thereof, to auoid this present storme that threatned them. They giue the King to vnderstand, That it was not reasonable, they being his naturall subiects, and desiring to liue in peace, vnder the obedience of his lawes, should bee forced to open their gates to *Tauannes*, armed with strangers enemies to the Crowne, who is suspected of them for many other great reasons. This admonition preuailed somewhat: for *Tauannes* straightwaies retired by the Kings commaundement, but it was to prepare for a second siege.

Those of *Lions* send *Entragues* to defend the siege. *Tauannes* makes his trenches, wins the suburbs of *Saint Laurence*, and the fourth of Iuly, beats downe the defences, makes a breach, and vews it, but to their cost whom hee sent. So (as if some important business had called him into *Bourgoigne*) hee rayseth his Campe, and making his account that the beseeged would follow him, hee layes a strong ambush: but *Entragues* had no men to loose. *Mascon* freed from this second siege, behold *Belleuille* is assailed. *Saint Poinet* with other gentlemen of *Daulphiné* came from the spoiling of

1563. some boates laden with the value of forty thousand Franckes in rebkes of gold and silver, which two Sheriffes of *Mascon* had sent of their owne authority to *Lions*, to be converted to their priuate vses. So the robbers are often robbed. This boote puts them in hope of an other. The 28. of Iuly, he comes with two hundred horse, sixe or seven hundred Souldiars, and the common people thereabouts, to beleagar this little Towne: but the night before, two companies parting from *Mascon*, were entred into it, by whom the assailants being repulsed with losse, turned their reuenge vpon their neighbours *Carrell*. The retreat of *Saint Poinct*, made *Entragues* seeke to extend the limits of his territory. Hee beseegeth the Castell of *Pierreloux*, forceth *Montsat*, and five and twenty Souldiars which hee commanded there, to yeeld at discrecion: and causeth them to be lead prisoners to *Mascon*: but this was to feed the Fox, who in the end shall eate the pullaine.

The third
siege and taking
of *Mascon*.
1563.

During these broyles, *Pontenat* comes to *Mascon*, with *Suisses* and *French*, draws forth the chiefe forces, beseegeth *Tournus*, and becomes maister thereof. But what can the furie of inciuill armes forbear? *Clugny* forced with the same rage, sees that exquisite and famous Library defaced: a most precious treasure, which made that Abbey to be greatly esteemed amongst others of *France*. *Tauannes*, aduertised that *Mascon* was vnfurnished, and that *Entragues*, to please *Pontenat*, followed his ensignes, parts from *Chalons* with foure Cornets of horse, and eight hundred foote, being assisted of a practice which he had within the Towne, whilst that his enemies, transported with their priuate affections, employed their forces elsewhere.

The 17. of August, many waines drawne with Oxen, enter by his meanes that kept the keyes of one gate, being of the intelligence: they passe the first and the second gate: at the third, the first Cartter ouerthrowes his waine willingly, and by this policie stays the rest. Twenty men coucht vpon their bellies behind a wall in a garden neere adioyning to the gate, runne thether: they kill some, bring in their men, ouerthrow a corps *de garde*, and become maisters of the Towne: the Souldiars of *Pierreloux* are freed from prison, and cut off heads, armes, and legges of the Protestants: they cast many into the riuier, spoile their houses, and ranfome the wealthiest. Thus *Bourgogne* returns to the Catholikes deuotion, and *S. Poinct* had the gouernment of *Mascon*, a violent and bloody man, who often times glured his eyes, after his meate, with the mournfull spectacle of such as he caused to be cast into the riuier. These confusions did pitifully afflict all the prouinces of this realme: when on the other side, the heads of both parties, being prisoners, did solicit the conclusion of a peace. The Admirall, by a simple letters to the Queene, purged himselfe of the accusation laid against him, touching the death of the Duke of *Guise*: whereof *Poltror* himselfe, in the midst of his most terrible torments at his execution, freed him. And the Queene mother (leaving this charge in the Admiralls foote, that she might raigrie among these combustions of the houses of *Guise* and *Chastillon*) did cunningly giue two stroakes with one stone: for she made the Prince of *Condé* beleue, That the restraints propounded vpon the Edict of January, tended only to content the Catholikes in some sort, and to open the way for the Protestants to haue greater liberty. She pleased the young Duke of *Guise* with the execution of *Poltror*, and his aduancement to his fathers offices: & the Constable, by the moderatiō of the edict: for he had protested neuer to yeeld to the edict of January. So the iudicious reader may see, by the course of the history, which party did first break it. But that which did most import *Katherine* in disarming her enimies, she entertained a discord betwixt two mighty families, whereby she maintained her authority.

1563.
The chiefe
Articles of
the peace.

In the end, a peace concluded the 13. of March, gaue liberty of religion to Noblemen, hauing al manner of Iustice for them, their families & subiects. To other Gentlemen that had inferior iurisdiction, for them and their families, with permission of the Lords of whom they held. In al Bailiwikes & iurisdiccions depending on the Parliaments, a place appointed for their assemblies, at the election of the prouince: besides al other places where the exercise had bin since the 7. of March. The Vicountie of *Paris* onely excepted. Euery one restored to his former possession, of goods, honors, and offices.

A ge-

A A generall abolition of all things past for matter of armes. All offences (except robbing) pardoned: and a forbidding to iniurie one another, either for war or religion. This treatie did please and displease many. It reioyced such as made an account, that this sweet and pleasant name of peace should make an end of all their calamities, and restore euery man to his former estate. It grieved such, as of three mightie enemies, seeing two preuented by death, and the third a prisoner, esteemed that the gouernment of the state was lawfully fallen to the Prince of *Condé*, who by consequence did derogate from his authoritie, subscribing to so weake and easie conditions of peace: foreseeing also, that the secret oppositions of the Parliaments, and the violences of the most mutinous, (who being armed slue daily some of their men with all impunity) would in few yeeres giue cause of new confusions.

So by this peace, the *Germaine* was sent home. *Elizabeth* Queene of *England* held *Newhauen*, whereof the Prince had put her in possession, as a pawne and securitie for the money, wherewith she had assisted his partie. To make a breach betwixt her, and the Protestants, the *English* must be chased away by them that had called them in. The King goes thither in person: they likewise vrge the Prince to go with most of his partie, and cause them to make the point. The place is strong, both by nature and art, but the fresh water being cut off, and the plague hauing wasted about three thousand men, the Earle of *Warwike* entred into Capitulation the 28. of Iuly, and the next day yeilded the place to the King. One of the chiefe motives, that induced the Prince

Newhauen
recovered.

C to yeeld so easily to these conditions of peace, was the Lieutenant Generall, which he expected by the King of *Nauarres* death, and the Queene mothers goodly promises. But to confirme her Regencie, she puts the Prince from all his hopes. She causeth the King to be declared of full age, being yet but fourteene yeares old: carries his Maiestie to the Parliament at *Rouan*, makes him protest, That he will not hereafter endure the disobedience that hath beene used against him since the beginning of these troubles that his pleasure was to haue the Edict of pacification duly obserued, threatening such as should oppose or make any Leagues. And afterwards, by an admonition made in writing, by the Parliament of *Paris*, touching the Edict of his maiortie, confirming that of pacification, the Queene mother causeth her sonne to name her overseer and President of his affaires: and for an answer to the Court, according to the instructions of his mother: I do not meane (said hee) you should deale in any other thing, but with the administration of good and speedie Iustice to my subiects. Vnderstand hereafter, that you are not confirmed in your offices by me, to be my tutors, nor Protectors of my realme nor Gouernours of my Cittie of *Paris*, as hitherto you haue perswaded your selues.

The King being returned to *Paris*, the Duke of *Guises* widow, his children, and kinsfolke, came solemnly, and demanded iustice, of the murder committed on the person of the deceased, taxing the Admirall, as the chiefe author thereof. But it was not yet time to suffer these two houses to incur ter. That of *Guise* might receiue as much, or more, losse then the other, and *Catherine* pretended, to make her profit of the first. E To auoyd this brunt, she causeth the King, to command them to surcease this quarrel, & appoints the another time to aduise thereon. In the meane time, she honours them with the chiefe charges, and giues them all acceffe and countenance neere his person. The rest of the yeare was spent in the confirmation of many Edicts, touching the Ecclesiasticall and ciuill causes, and then was the Iurisdiction of Iudges and Consuls among the marchants erected, and the notaries of consignations established.

As these things passed in *France*, the Prelats assembled at the Councell of *Trent*: provided for the support and maintenance of the Catholike religion, namely in this estate. The Cardinall of *Lorraine*, a man greatly practised in the affaires of the realme, catcht all he can to root out the Protestants. To that end, they find this expedient, F That the Kings of *France*, and *Spain* should make a strict League, and hee of *Spain* should giue the *French* such forces as were requisite for the execution thereof, and in the meane time, they should seeke all meanes to abolish the Edict which allowed the exercise of the pretended reformed religion: that this treatie made for the preseruation

1564.
A generall
Councell at
Trent.

The holy
League.

1564.

tion of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish religion, should bee called, *The holy League*. The Cardinall promisseth to imploy all his indeuours and meanes to this effect, and assures the assemblie of the willingesse, and good affection of the Queene mother, and the Lords of the Councell. The cheefe of this League were the Pope, the Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, the Princes of *Italie*, the Common weale of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Sauoy*. Of the Emperour, and the house of *Austria* they speake diuerfly.

So from the beginning of February, they labour to produce some effects. Their Ambassadors come to *Fountainbleau*, demanded the obseruation of the decrees of the Councell throughout all *France*, whereof the reading should be the first. The twentieth of March at *Nancy*, in the presence of the Ambassadors of all Catholike Princes, asssembled to make a general League against those estates that were false from the obedience of the *Romish* Church. They require also, that in fauour of the Clergie, the King should cause the alienation of Ecclesiasticall goods to cease, as against the law of God, and prejudiciall to his Maiestie and the Realme. That the Edict of pacification should be disannulled, and heretikes rooted out, namely, such as had bene partakers of the Duke of *Guise* murder. Behold new firebrands to cast this monarchie into the flames of a second ciuill warre. But the fires of the first did yet smooke. And things not being so soone prepared to enter into new homebred combustions, the King answered: *That he hath graunted the Edict, to free the Realme from strangers: and that hee hopes henceforth to maintaine his subjects in peace, according to the institution of the Church.*

The Edict of peace ill observed.

In the meane time, such as were worst affected to the publike peace, attempted many things contrarie to the Edict. The Comissioners sent for the obseruation thereof, had small credit in many places. The Estates of some prouinces sayd plainly, that they could no more endure two religions, then two Sunnes: the execution thereof had small or no effect, in places where it was proclaymed: the Magistrates delayed to appoint the Protestants places for their exercises, and by their slacknes caused many to seeke their dwelling elsewhere, to liue in quiet and safetie. The complaints and discontentments which fountained in the Kings cares from all parts, gaue *Catherine* (vnder colour to lead the King in progresse through the Prouinces of his Realme, and by his presence to end many controuersies, which euen then seemed to threaten him with some eminent confusion) a goodly pretext of conference with the King of *Spain*.

The voyaging of Bayonne.

Charles begins his voyage by *Champagne*, and through *Bourgogne* comes at *Lions*, forbidding the Protestants, the exercise of their religion, following the Court, yea euen in the Townes that were assigned them for their assemblies, whilst his Maiestie should bee resident there. The Protestants were here in great numbers, and might well fortifie themselves againe at need. To take from them all meanes, they build a Citadell, and the King sties not before it be in defence. By the example hereof many other Townes receiued the like restraint, whilst on the other side, they dimanteled *Orleans*, *Montauban*, and some others. The Edict of peace is greatly impugned by an other made at *Roussillon*. The King forbids all Iustices to allow the exercise of the pretended reformed religion, but in places specified by the Edict. For the first time, he banished such ministers as had exercised their charge, in places not comprehended in the Edict: and for the second time, punished them with death. He commaunded all Priests, religious men, and Nunns that were married, to make separation, and returne to their Couents: if not, to depart the Realme, forbidding the Protestants all their Sinods, as making Monopoles vnder that pretext, and stirring vp the greatest part of the Realme.

Murder of Creuan.

From wordes they fall to deeds. Those of *Creuan* in *Bourgogne* murder many assembled for their exercise, with all impunitie. And the Kings absence from those places where they were accustomed to see him, caused many seditions, and mutinies: amongst the which *la Curre*, Gouverneur of *Vendosme*, a Protestant by profession,

Was

A was murdered, by the command of *Chauigni*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Montpensier*, as he sought to suppress some, who vnder fauour of the troubles, had purpoiedly murdered many men, women, and children, in the Countie of *Maine*, and places thereabouts.

As this insolencie increased, a Licentious rage transporting them of *Tours*, to lay vpon the Protestants of their towne, coming from their exercise, they murder some, hurt others, and with the same rage, bringing their weapons bloodie into the towne, they kill, drowne, and spoyle, without distinction of age, sex, or qualitie. The Marshall of *Uille uille* was sent to suppress this mischeefe, before it spread farther. Hee was readie to carrie himselfe therein, according to the tenure of his charge: but *Chauigni* opposing by open force, caused all this premeditated punishment to turne into smooke, as if the examination thereof should discontent both great and small, and make things tend to new troubles. In the end, at the importunate sute of the Protestants, who complayned of these horrible insolencies, and that they were forced in all places to furnish holy bread at the parish masses, to hang tapistrie before their lodging on *Corpus Christi* day, to contribute to brotherhoods, and such other things: and at their instant sute, not to bee forced in their consciences against the conations of the Edict, the King staying in *Dauphiné*, commaunds all gouernours (i) Prouinces by his letters patents, to entertaine and to cause the Edict of pacification to bee duly obserued, and to haue a care that no mutinies should grow within their Governements.

This voyage of *Bayonne* is famous, by that notable sute of those which with a presumptuous and partiall title, termed themselves of the societie of Iesus, decided in the Court of Parliament, *Steuens Pasquier* pleading against them, for the Vniuersitie of *Paris*: a vehement and most graue Aduocate of so rare a cause, and master *Peter Perfortis* for their company: their pleadings are read, and their beginnings, and first entrie into *France*, their aduancement, and all that concernes their sect, is so leauendly expressed in an epistle of the fourth booke of the sayd *Pasquier*, and in his pleadings, as it is needlesse to insert here.

This new yeere bread new troubles at *Paris*, and was likely to haue stretched farre. D The Cardinall of *Lorraine* coming from the Councell of *Trente*, accompanied with his nephew, and a number of men with hargubuses, contrary to the Edict, & followed at hand, by the Duke of *Aumale* his brother, went to *Paris*. The conclusions of the Councell, and this carrying of armes, did much disquiet the Protestants. It is giuen out, that their meaning is to offer them violence: they flic to the Marshall of *Montmorency*, gouernour of the Ile of *France*, a wise man, & louing the publike peace. He intreats the Cardinall not to enter in this maner. This request neglected, he resolues to vie his authoritie. The Cardinall growes obstinate, and offers to enter with all his force. But the Marshall (as the Kings Lieutenant) opposeth himselfe, being followed by the Prince *Fortien*, and about fortie gentlemen of account. The Cardinall growes amazed, giues himselfe with his nephew in the next houses: and after some dayes of stay at *Paris*, he goes into *Champagne* to attend the Kings returne from *Bayonne*. Hereafter there is nothing but associations, Leagues, and conferences. They must bee reuenged of this affront. But they finde too strong a partie for the two houses of *Montmorency* and *Chastillon* (most straightly allied by consanguinitie, doe likewise vnite their wils in this defence. The Marshall assisted by the admirall his Cousin, contains the *Parisians* in peace, and makes the Parliament and the Kings Councell to approve this act. The Queene mother (fearing least this mutinie should hinder the effects of the voyage of *Bayonne*, and by that meanes the fulfilling of her desseins would bee made frustrate.) makes the King to commaund by his letters patents, such as were not yet entred into *Paris*, not to approach any neerer, and to such as were there, to depart vntill that his Maiestie had ended this quartell, after his returne out of *Gascogne*.

Now the court was full of complaints. The Protestants accused the Catholiks of violence and

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and

1565.

A royall
League.

and breache of the Edict. To content them, the Queene assigns them deputies at *Toulouse*: but they returne without any satisfaction, but a discovery, that they mean no good vnto them. There it was concluded, that all Princes and others, of what qualitie soever, (whereof many were very farre engaged by their promise in a certaine League made in *France* without the Kings priuie) should renounce all confederations, both within and without the realme, and should binde themselves by othe to the King onely, vpon paine of rebellion. This was the aduice of *Montluc*. But the difficultie was to draw the *Arrieles*, for to make a Soueraigne Prince to enter into association and company with his subiects. Was it not by a pernicious consequence to blamish his authority royall, and ouerthrow that which should serue as a fundamentall lawe, for the quiet of the realme, the obseruation of the Edict?

In the end, the King having visited all *Aquitaine*, he arriues at *Bayonne* in June, and thither comes his sister *Elizabeth*, wife to King *Philip* of *Spaine*, to meete with him, accompanied with the Duke of *Alba* and others, to the end (saied she) that the matter should bee lesse suspected, and that their league might take sure hold. But the most cleare sighted did attribute it to ambition, least the *Spaniard* should seeme to vse any submission. How soeuer it were, the holy League was confirmed betwix the two Kings, by *Elizabeths* meanes: For the establishing of the ancient religion, and extirpation of the new. And for that this Doctrine did extremely afflict *France*, the *Spaniard* did promise the *French* such ayde and succours as he could, and the *French* to the *Spaniard* (for that he did see his estate of the Lowe Countries to hatch a great confusion, which the following ages did bring forth) the like assistance according to his power: but both doe promise ioyntly; to maintaine by all meanes the dignitie of the Catholike religion, to cut off (as much as in them lay) all lets, and speedily to seeke all occasions profitable for this desseigne, beginning first with the heads.

This businesse was not so secretly managed, but the Prince of *Condé*, the Admirall, and other Noblemen of that partie had intelligence. They stand vpon their gardes, aduertise their men, and for this time preuent surprisles. The end of the yeare brought the King home, much satisfied with the ioyfull entertainment his subiects had made him, plunging himselfe with his yong brethren, in masks & delights, whilest the Queene his Mother, with her Councillors, gouerned *France* at their pleasure, and layde plottes, which shall soone breed as dangerous stormes as the former. Whilest our Christian Princes studie by their enterview and League, to kindle horrible combustions in their estates, they giue the *Turkish* Armie the better meanes to land in the Isle of *Malta*, to besiege and take the Forte of *Saint Elme*, lately built by the Pryor of *Capoua*, and by this victorie to make the siege of *Malta* more easie.

The Turkes
army at Malta.The death of
the Pope and
Emperour.

Let vs obserue three notable things, before we conclude the yeare. The first was that braue attempt of *Peirot* the eldest sonne of *Montluc*, who weary to liue idle, rigged out some shippes, with a good number of Gentlemen, Souldiars and Mariners, to make a voyage into *Affricke*: hee tooke and sackt the Isle of *Madera*, but with the losse of his life, leauing his troupe excluded from all returne into *France*, by the pursute the King of *Portugall* made, demanding satisfaction of the outrages done to his subiects. The Earle of *Sanjay* was sent to pacifie him: and euen then was treated (but without any effect,) the marriage of *Marguerite* Sister to *Charles*, with the sayd King. The second was the death of *Ferdinand* the Emperour and King of *Hongarie*, deceased in September, leauing his Sonne *Maximilian* for his successor. The third was that of *Pius* the 4. in whose place was choiten to the Pontificall Chaire, *Michel Giseleo a Iacobin*, Cardinall of *Alexandria*, and tooke vpon him the name of *Pius* the 5.

The first fruites of this yeare were very commendable, and if they had giuen hope of the like proceeding, the harvest had bene very happy: but such as trust not but vpon good cautions, take not all kindes of money for payment, growing very suspici-

1566.

A suspitions, by reason of the conclusions taken in this voiage. To make it more glorious and lesse suspect, the King calls an assemblie at *Moulins*, of the greatest personages of his Realme, as well for the gouernment of Iustice, as for other causes concerning the good and quiet of the state, whereof followed that great volume of statutes, of the which they rightly say: That they were as iust and holy, as ill obserued. Those of the houses of *Guise* and *Chastillon* were called. The quarrell of *Paris* inuited the Marshall of *Montmorency*. And the Admirall hauing purged himselfe by oath of the crime whereof they pretended him to bee principall mortue, (the King had already pronounced him innocent by his letters pattents) the King, the Queene Mother, the Duke of *Angou* brother to the King, the Cardinalls of *Bourbon*, *Lorraine* and *Guise*, the Constable, the Marshall of *Bourillon* and *Vielleville*, the Bishops of *Kalence*, *Orleans*, *Limoges*, *Thou* and *Sguier* first and second Presidents of *Paris*, *Dais* the first of *Toulouse*, *Ligheaston* of *Prouence*, and many other Noblemen assembled to that effect: besides the aboue named Statutes, made a reconciliation betwix the two houses, whereof followed imbracings, protestations & promises, not to attempt any thing whatsoeuer against another. But the issue will verifie the saying: That there is no trust in a reconciled enemie.

In the meane time the resolutions of *Bayonne* appeared manifestly: the moderations they made of the Edict: the insolencies they committed in many places with all impunity, the threats they gaue the protestants amazed them on all sides. The Prince and Admirall were vigilant, obseruing the countenances of their enemies. The preparations of *Spaine* against the Lowe Countries, made them to foresee that this enterprife would in like sort preiudice their partis in *France*. The Prince of *Roche sur Yon* had before his death discovered many particularities: they complained, that about three thousand persons had perished of violent deaths, since the Edict, without any Iustice, and their complaints had no other satisfaction, but goodly words and gracious letters. To conclude, the winds (saied they) which did blow at *Bayonne*, must needs cause a strange tempest.

So the causes of their discontent were manifest and secret, and consisted in the dismantling of some townes, to take from them the meanes, in the building of *Citadels* in some places of their exercise: in the ordinary murdering of their men, in the massacring of men of accout without punishment, in the ordinary threats: That shortly they should not lift their heads so high: but especially in the leauie of six thousand *Suisses* made vnder a fained pretence, to gard the frontier against the coming of *Don Fernand Aluarez* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alba*, (who marched against the Protestants of the low Country with a mightie army) whom notwithstanding they caused to enter into the realme, & by some letters intercepted, being sent from *Rome* and *Spaine*, they had discovered many practises made for their destruction. And the intelligences they had from one in Court well affected (yet secretly) to their party: That it was decreed in a secret Councell to seize vpon the Prince & Admirall, to put the one to death, and keepe the other prisoner, at the same instant to bring two thousand *Suisses* into *Paris*, two thousand into *Orleans*, & the rest into *Poitiers*: & then by the abolishing of the last Edict, to establish one quite contrary. All these considerations made the chiefe heads resolve to stand vp to their defence, & to obserue four things in this new taking of armes. To seize on few townes but of importance. To bring a gallat army to field. To cut the *Suisses* in peeces, by whose fauor the Catholikes should be auaies masters of the field: & to chase the Cardinal of *Lorraine* from Court if they might, as the chiefe fire-brand of the confusions which would consume the whole estate. Man purposeth, and God disposeth: and of many resolutions fewe haue their desired ende. The pleasure of God doth often dispoint the desires of men which are most practised in knowledge, valour, discour, & wilidome: & some enterprises litle or not at all premeditated, do often fall out very successfully. For the execution of the first point, diuers considerations had made them to name three townes, *Lions*, *Tolouse* and *Troyes*.

A Father
at Paris.Causes of the
Protestants
discontents.The
army was
to arrive.

But

1567.

But a great desseine, imparted after the French manner to many meane persons, vncapeable of such actions, turne them easily into smoake. Not one of them that undertooke the charge could effect it. For the second, the Protestants being first armed, were in the beginning masters of the field, but within sixe weekes the Catholikes forced the Prince and the Admirall to flie to the *Germanys*, which the Duke *Iohn Casimir* brought them, as we shall see. Their proiect against the *Suisses* was likewise discouered, and the forces which should haue met at an appointed day, failed in their expedition. The fourth succeeded, but it imported least of all: but this separation was but in shew, and not in authority, nor credit.

The retreat of
Meaux.

The King is much incensed against them. He was at *Meaux*, and prepared to lemmize the feast of *Saint Michel*, according to the custome of the Kings of *France*. The Prince approacheth with five hundred horse, and by this attempt forceth the King to retire with some amazement to *Paris*, in the midst of sixe thousand *Suisses*, and a good number of horse, the which had beene in danger, if a hundred and fiftie horse comming out of *Picardie*, and the harguebuziers on horse backe which attended the Prince, had arrived betwixt *Paris* and *Meaux*, at the day appointed. At the same time the Protestants party arme on all sides: and this generall taking of armes vnlocked for, with that bold enterprize vpon the *Suisses*, and the taking of *Orleans*, *Soissons*, *Auxerre* and some other places, had wonderfully amazed the Catholikes. But that which augmented this alarme, the Prince being too weake, loath to engage himselfe in this sort of halbarbs, pikes and shot, went to lodge with his troupes in *Saint Denis*, where some others arriuing, in fewe dayes made vp the number of two thousand horse, and foure thousand shot.

The beginning of the
second troubles.

The King assembles his troupes, and had already ten thousand men. But this *Madaine* approche to *Paris* might perswade them, that the Prince expected speedie and great forces, and that he had good intelligences in Court and at *Paris*. *Paris* was the chiefe object of his armes. The *Parisians* were not accustomed to fast taking their vittalls from them, hee hoped of two things to effect the one, either to force them to fight, or to drawe his enemies to a more assured pacification then the first. To this end he sends *d'Andelot* with five hundred horse, towards *Poissy* and *Pontoise*, to seize vpon the passages of *Seine* beneath *Paris*: and other troupes to seize vpon such places as were about the Towne. Some companies were sent to ioyne with the forces that came out of *Guienne*, who should come to *Orleans*, being lately surprised by *la Noue*. He and the Admirall with about eight hundred horse, and twelue hundred harguebuziers keepe *Saint Denis*, and intrench *Saint Owin* and *Aubernilliers*, to couer *Paris* on that side.

But how could so many excellent Captaines vndertake so painfull and vnlike a desseine? May an Anteaissaile an Elephant? Howe many mighty armies haue in former times lost their labours, thinking to effect such an enterprize? To remaine idle, had impayred their reputation. They were suddenly drawn into it, and they must for their honours sake attempt that which occasion seemed to present vnto them. Their men being fresh and full of resolution, made difficult things easie. One thing onely staid in the course of their prosperities. Such places as the Prince hoped to surpris vpon *Marne* and *Seine*, (whether if he should be forced to abandon *Saint Denis*, he meant to retire himselfe and attend his *Germanys*) there were two onely seized on, *Lagny* and *Montrecau*.

On the other side, the Constable, Lieutenant generall for the King in this armie, resolved (hauing increased his troupes) to force theemie to fight. The great advantages he had, inuited him vnto it. He had fiftene or sixtene thousand foote, and two thousand Lances: he was furnished with artillery: hee had a commodious place for a bataille, and fit to lodge his troupes and Cannon. The *Parisians* felt famine, and were much grieued to see such tenants in their farmes. And many cried already against the Constable, as a great temporiser, and as firme a partisan to his Nephewes, as to the King his Master.

They

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A They were to blame: for he was no sooner advertised of the error the Prince had committed in dismembriing the bodie of his army, as we haue heard, but he presently embraced the occasion, sends seauen or eight hundred Lances, followed with some shot for their retreat, to discouer the certaintie of the Protestants forces: and the next day, the x. of Nouember, he goes to field, with all his army, and giues him bataille. The Constables foote men, for the most, did little good, and the Princes very much. The horsemen on either side shewed great resolution and courage. In the end the Protestants are forced from the place, and followed about halfe a quarter of a League, and it may be, but for the Constables hurt, (whereof he died within fewe daies after) they had bene chased more hotly: but the night fauored their retreat, and parted the battails. To conclude, the Catholikes were masters of the field, and had the spoile of the dead: and by consequence the honor of the bataille, the which shalbe blemished the next day with a great disgrace.

1567
The bataille
of Saint Denis.The Constable
hurt
whereof he
died.

This aduantage seemed to inuite the Catholikes to perfect their victorie the next day, but the losse of the Constable kept them within their walles. The Prince attended a second charge, not thinking his enemies would haue taken it for a repulic. hee therefore sends speedily for *d'Andelot*, who comes to *Saint Denis* at midnight, some to haue lost his part of the banker. Hauing rested a while, the Commanders conclude, to make an attemp to abate some of their aduersaries glory, gotten the day before. They bring their small army to field, present themselves before the suburbs of *Paris*: stand there some houres in bataille, burnt a village & many windmills, to vrge them. But no man comes forth. They bury their dead, dresse their hurt men. The Captaines viewe their Cornets and companies, and will hazard no more. What should the Prince then do, being incamped before *Paris* with a fewe men? The losse of one man did import him more then a hundred of his enemies: and to stay there, was his ruine. He dislodgeth, marcheth to *Montrecau*, and there augments his army with the forces that came to him from *Orleans* and *Estampes*.

The death of this incomparable olde man (but farre more happie in his age, if hee had shed his blood against the stranger, enemies to this Crowne, the which he had so freely employed, during all the course of his life, and not against his Countrymen, yea against his owne blood) gaue the commande of the royall army to *Henry Duke of Anjou* the Kings brother, a Prince of 16. yeares of age, vpon whose head shall wee see the Crowne after his brothers decease. Hee sought the oportunitie to fight: this elder Captaine prest him forward, taking the Princes retreat for a kinde of flight, and grounding their aduantage vpon the great forces newly arriued of twelue hundred horse and two thousand foote led by the *Comte Aremberg*, one of the famous Captaines of the Lowe Countries. Moreouer, if the Protestants did ioyne with their *Reistres*, the warre was like to continue long, or else to make the chance of a bataille doubtful. But they dissuaded him weighing the importance of their generall, and the constant resolution of the Contrary partie: who (sayd they) had then no other Councillor but despaire, and no other welth or riches, but their armes and horses.

The Princes
retreat.

To withstand the leuie of the Protestants *Reistres*, the Duke of *Anmale* was sent into *Lorraine*, to receiue the forces which were brought to the King, by Duke *Iohn William of Saxony*, the Marquis of *Bade* and other Commanders, and yong *Lansie*, into *Germanie*, to diuert those of Duke *Iohn Casimir* which were leuied in the Princes fauor. The Prince had ioynd with the troupes of *Guienne* and *Poitou*, consisting of eight Cornets of horse, and three regiments of foote, vnder six and twenty enseignes: and aduancing towards *Lorraine*, he forceth *Bray* & *Nogent* vpon *Seine* to open their gates, and to giue him passage, and seizeth on *Esparnay* vpon *Marne*, where he assembles the bodie of his army.

Experience reacheth vs now, that all pollicies and deuises are allowed in warre. To coole the heat of such as flie to the aide of strangers, to staye them, and (it may be, to surpris them). Vnder this pretext, they begin to speake of a peace, in the which the chiefe

A speeche of
peace.

1568.
The truce
broken.

chiefe of their partie are employed: and the better to conferre (saied they) of the point. A
propounded, they agreed vpon two suspensions of armes, eyther being of three dayes. But
whilest the Prince thought to enioye the benefit thereof, he had almost fallen into a
pitfall. The Duke of *Aniou* approached, and the Prince remayned nere vnto *Chalon*,
in a bad lodging far from his troups, & had it not bene for the route of the Captaines
Bois, Blasset and *Clerj*, defeated by the Earle of *Brissac* during the truce, the Prince him-
selfe had bene in apparent danger.

Misfortune is good for some thing. This furie of *Brissacs* teacheth the Prince not to
trust his enemy, but vpon good assurance. And not withstanding the injuries of the
aire and the difficulties of the waies, leauing the Duke twenty great leagues behinde,
he makes him to loose all desire to follow him, and goes on into *Lorraine*, to learne
some newes of his *Reistres*, the which hee receiued at *Pont a Mousson*. From hence
Duke *John Casimir*, the yonger Sonne of *Frederic Comte Palatin of Rhin*, Elector of the
Sacred Empire, being chiefe of this army, protests by writing vnto the King before he
enters into *France*, *That he comes not for any profit of his owne, or priuate respect: but on-
ly to assist those who afflicted for the same religion, had required his helpe. That if it please his
Majesty to assure them libertie of conscience, and free exercise of their religion, he is ready to
retire himselfe.*

Herevpon they renew the treatie of peace pretended the yeare before. The Queene
Mother comes to *Bois-de-Vincennes*, accompanied with the Cardinalls of *Bourbon, Lor-
raine* and *Guise*. For the Prince there came the Cardinall of *Chastillon*. He lets her vnder-
stand: That to settle a peace in *France*, the King must receiue all his subjects into
grace, impart his fauours and the offices of the realme indifferently vnto them, and gree
them conuenient liberty of their religion. *Katherine* answers, that such matches are
not to be allowed. that the Prince and those of his partie should before all things coun-
termande their *Reistres*, lay downe armes, and come and yeeld the King a reason of the
enterprize of *Aleaux*.

The Cardinall replies, that they onely defend themselves, that they oppose their
succors to all sorts of strangers called in by the Catholikes, and cannot lend them
backe, but they must presently subiect their throats to their enemies swords: that they
are ready to disarme when they shall see the Realme freed from *Suisses, Flemings, Ita-
lians* and *Germanes*, which were come to spoile them, and matters restored to their for-
mer estate. As for the enterprize of *Aleaux*, their intention was onely to before the
King (from whose presence the violence of their enemies deprived them of all access,
but by force) to reuoke that cruel sentence, which some determined to execute against
all their partie, being ready to preue by armes against all those that would maintaine
the contrary, That they had neuer any other will against their Soueraigne, but as his
most faithfull and obedient subjects.

During this negotiation, the Duke of *Aniou* sought for the comoditie which he had
lost to fight with the Prince, & the Prince receiued his strangers with a wonderfull con-
tentment to the whole armie, fearing least the heauineesse of the *Germanes* should make
them attend long in *Lorraine*. They expected a hundred thousand Crownes at their
entry, but they which had so suddenly drawne them to horse-backe, must haue leysure
to make money. At neede they make a vertue of necessity. And what might not two
Commanders, (whereof the one by his naturall pleasantnesse, and the other by his gra-
uity, tempered the excessive chollier of some, and the exceeding sulphurion of o-
thers,) obtaine of their men, amongst whom they had so great credit. The Prince by
their example summons both great and smal: the Ministers in their sermons moue
men, and the Captaines prepare their soldiars. Euery one contributes, some for zeale,
some for loue, some for feare, and some for shame of reproch. They gather, what in
money, plate, chaynes, gold and Jewells, some foure score thousand frankes, and by this
voluntary liberality satisfie the first and greatest hungar of their *Reistres*. Being ioy-
ned, the generall opinion was to make warre about *Paris*: an apparent meanes to haue
a peace. *Orleans* was their Nurse, neyther could they from any place else recouer
artillery,

The treaty of
Peace renewed,
but in vaine.

1568.

An artillery, munition, and money, to commodiously. They therefore take the way to
Beauisse, & for their first beginning, they defeat some troups of *Italians* and *French*, that
came to charge them in the rereward vpon their passage of the riuer of *Seine*. They
force *Irany*, and passe ouer the riuers of *Yone, Loing*, and *la Cure*: they draw diuers
commodities from all the small townes opposite to their passage, alwayes assailing and
alwayes assailed, and full with the losse of the one partie or the other.

Whilest this company (hauing the mightie army of the Duke of *Aniou* opposite vnto
them) marched into *Beauisse*, they fall to armes in other parts in fauour of their partie.
Aster, Sipierre, and others in *Languedoc, Prouence, Dauphiné*, and *Gascogne*, make diuers
assemblies, leize vpon *Nismes, Montpellier*, and many other places. *Poncanat* and *Verbe-
lay*, leane troups in *Bourbonnois* and *Auuergne*, whereas the forces of *Guyenne* which
marched towards the Duke of *Aniou*, incounters them, breakes them, and for that
time make their attempts fruitlesse. Moreover the Duke of *Neuers*, with an armie of
fourteene thousand *French, Suisses*, and *Italians*, besieged *Macon*, battered it, and
tooke it by composition, but being incountred by foure score horie, and some foote,
issied out of *Antrain*, vnder the commands of Captaines *Beauuais* and *Bourgoin*, as he
advanced with a hundred horie, to go see the Duchesse his wife, hee was shotte in the
knee with a Harguebuse, which made him lame all the remainder of his life. *Montluc*
Pons, the Bishop of *Tulles*, and many other Catholikes in *Guyenne*, being followed
with foure thousand foote, and seuen hundred horie, surprise and kill about foure hun-
dred men, spoile the Isle of *Ré*, attempt to besiege *Rochell*: but too long delays makes
their desseigne fruitlesse.

In the meane time, the Vicountes, *Mouuans, Rapin* and other Protestants, aduanced
with seuen or eight thousand men, of the bands of *Gascogne, Prouence, Dauphiné* and
Languedoc. *S. Heran* Gouverneur of *Auuergne*, *S. Chaumont, Gordes, Vrsé*, the Bishop of
Puy, Hautefeuille, Bresleux and others, assemble a troupe to stop their passage, and runne
as to a certaine victory, for bidding expressely all the neighbour Townes, *Not to receiue
any one that flies, what liucie so euer he beares.* The which shall cost them full deare. The
Vicountes charge these horsemen, kill a great number, and of the chiefe vpon the
place put the rest in route, and makes them seeke their safety by flight. But the pea-
D fants armed with the former prohibition, know no mā, neither do they spare any man,
and make of their countymen as great a slaughter as the victor did, and by this indif-
creet itaragem, open the way for the Vicounts to recouer *Orleans*. Being arriued,
they lay the inroads which *Martinenghe, Richelieu* and others made, euen to the gates
of *Orleans*: they take *Baugency*, attempt *Blois*, and take it by composition. The *Gascons* do
not easily forget their hands, and the souldiars of *Richelieu*, who was retired thither,
could not free themselves from the sword.

Herevpon the Princes armie comes into *Beauisse*. *Chartres* is one of the chiefe store-
houses of corne for *Paris*, and being taken, would much auaille the Protestants. *Liqui-
eres* was made gouernour for the King there, with two and twenty companies, fortifi-
E ed vpon feare of a siege, with a regiment of foote. The Prince besiegeth and batters it,
but to small purpose: fine Canons, and foure small Culuerins preuailed little against
so many men of warre, being intrenched with great aduantage. They found out a place
of small strength, where a breach gaue hope of victorie: but the Lord of *Valete*, a great
Capitaine, comes to succour the besieged, with eightene Cornets of horie. The
Admirall is aduertised: and not to faile of his prey, he made choise of three thousand
fue hundred horie, marcheth towards them, chargeth *Valete*, ouerthrowes part of his
troups, carryes away foure Cornets, and puts the rest to flight. The Duke of *Aniou*
incamped beyond *Seine*, and loth to hazard a battaile, left *Chartres* in apparent dan-
ger. But *Katherine* knew how (for so she did visually vante) with three sheetes of pa-
per, to effect more then her warriours with their armes.

A good peace was no lesse necessary then desired. The Protestants did generally
believe, that the Catholikes would disarme with them, and the Nobilitie were parti-
cularly moued with a great desire to see their houses: it is a desire whercof wee can
hardly

1568. hardly stay the effects, in them that are voluntaries) Many whole Counties had already taken the way of *Xaintonge* and *Poitou*, they would not loose the season of their Vines: many other pretend, the lacking of their houses, where their presence was necessary: the footmen of some countries, lying farthest off, slipped away daily, their purses were empty, and no man payed. It was in *Marche*, when as armies are accustomed to go to field, and their *French* forces decreasing visibly, had driven them in short time to stand upon their defence: their enemies were whole and strong. To divide their strangers into townes, were to dismember themselves. These considerations and others, made the heads of the Protestants to accept of a second Edict of Pacification, concluded in *Louismeau*, saying: *That those of the pretended reformed religion, should purely and simply enjoy the first Edict, and that it should be executed according to the tenour, notwithstanding all restrictions, modifications, interpretations, and declarations made since the day of the date thereof, untill the publication of this second declaration made the 23. day of March.*

A second peace.

Discontentments of the Catholics.

It is counterfeited peace carried *John Casimir* with all his forces home into *Cermanie*: the Prince, and the Admirall, with all those of his party, retire every man to his home. But diuers breaches of this Edict, did suddenly open the gate to the third civil warres: and whilst that every one imputes the cause of this sodaine repull of armes to his enemy, the effects fall both upon good and euill. The Catholics grounded their discontents, for that in many Townes refused the restraint made by this last Edict. *Sancerre*, *Montauban*, and other Townes of *Quercy*, *Vivarets*, *Dauphine*, *Languedoc*, and else where, would not absolutely submit themselves to his Maiesties good pleasure. *Rechel* refused to receiue the garrison sent by *Larnac* their ancient gouernour: they continued their fortifications before begun, neither did they restore the Catholics to their offices, goods, nor religion: they armed out ships to keepe the seas, without the Kings allowance. They refused the ayde and subuention, which his Maiestie required for the affaires of his realme. Many Captaines (without the Kings Commission) lead Souldiers to the Prince of *Orange*, against the Duke of *Alba*, to draw afterwards (sayd they) the Protestants of *Flanders* into *France*, and ioyntly to oppresse the Catholicke religion.

The complaints of the Protestants.

The Protestants on the other side complained: That in steed of enjoying the Edict and libertie of their consciences, they gaue them declarations vnder the Kings authority, to hinder the exercise of their religion: That hauing dismissed their men, both strangers and *French*, with the least oppression of the people that might be; and deliuered into the Kings hands the Townes and strong places which they held: yet they receiued the *Suisses*, they entertayned many companies of *Italians*, they distributed their horse and roote into such Townes as did most import the Protestants, *Tours*, *Orleans*, *Amiens*, and others, to the end (sayd they) to take them like *Partriges* in a Net, being retired to their houses. That they sued in the Court of *Rome* for leaue to sell the temporall lands of the *French* Clergie, to the valew of a hundred and fiftie thousand Frankes a yeare, the money to be employed to the rooting out of their party. That this counterfeited peace ruined more of their men, then the rigours of warre. That they garded townes, bridges, and passages of riuers. These grudges were openly published, when as another occasion makes them both speake aloud, and to take armes. In a manner all the Duke of *Aniours* horse staid about *Paris*, with five or six thousand foot, vnder colour to fortifie the gardes of the King, the Queene mother, his bretheren, & the capitall Citie: and *Tauannes* sent towards *Bourgoigne* with many companies, made them suspect that it was to beset and surprize the prince at *Noyers*, a little & weake towne of his owne, & the Admirall at *Tanlay*, a Castle belonging to his brother *d'Andelot*. Some acquainted with this practise giue them aduice: they complaine to the King of the iniustice is done them, beseeching his maiestie to quench the fires kindled in his realme by the factions of the *Guisens*, & to free themselves they take *Rechel* for their sanctuary.

Practises to surprize the Prince and Admirall.

This brave prey being thus escaped, *Katherin* and the faction send forth commissions, and appoint the rendezvous for the troupes in *Guyenne* and *Poitou*. The Duke of *Aniours* prepares

A prepares: and for a reuenge of *Meaux*, he chafeth away the Protestants. The Queene of *Nauarre*, accompanied with three regiments of foote, and eight Cornets of light horie, (notwithstanding the endeouours of *Esars* and *Montluc*,) retires to *Rechel* with the Prince her sonne, (at this day our most Christian King *Henry* the fourth,) and the Princeesse her Daughter. The Cardinall of *Chastillon* is forced to leaue *Beauuoisin*, and to saue himselfe in a small Barke in *England*. The Nobilitie of *Poitou* arme with the first and repaire to *Rechel*. The Earle of *Rochefoucault* was armed some dayes before. *D'Andelot* marched with a thousand good horse, and two thousand shot, gathered together in the confines of *Maine* and *Brittaine*.

The Protestants arme.

The Duke of *Martignes*, gouernour of *Brittaine*, going with three hundred Lances, and five hundred braue shot, to *Saumur*, to the Duke of *Montpensier*, he is aduertited that many of the enemies troupes are lodged in his way. He sends to discover them, and finding them lodged at large, after the *French* manner, passeth brauely through them, with the losse but of twenty men, and with the gaine of an Enseigne, and the slaughter of about foure score of his enemies: and recouers *Saumur*, whilst that *D'Andelot*, *la Noue*, and other Commanders, ioyned with the Prince. If the Dukes of *Aniours*, *Montpensier* and *Martignes*, who assembled men from all parts to oppose a mighty armie against the Protestants, had in time foreseene, that those which dilodged in so great hast, went to seeke their fortunes a farre off, and had sought to crosse their designs: the Prince & all his part had in all shewes bin coopt vp in *Rechel*. But behold, of poore vagabonds, in two moneths they become maisters of *Niort*, *Fontenay*, *S. Maixent*, *Saintes*, *S. Jean d'Angely*, *Pons*, *Cognac*, *Blay*, *Angoulême*, and are strong enough for the continuance of a long war. While the Dukes arme, the King begins the warre against the Protestants by the Pen. He declares by his proclamation, that the Edict of *Lannuac* had bene but prouisionally, vntill he were of full age: that now he forbids all exercise of the pretended reformed religion, in all the territories of his obedience: forbids both the bodies and goods of them that shall breake it: commands all Ministers vpon penalties, to depart the realme within fiftene dayes. And by another, he suspends all officers making profession thereof, from their offices and charges, commanding them to resigne them into his hands within fiftene dayes.

The King makes a Proclamation against the Protestants.

The Protestants make their profit of these Edicts, and send them into *Germany*, *England*, and to the *Suisses* of their religion, to proue, That they are not pursued as rebels affecting the Crowne, (crimes by the which their enemies would make them odious.) And in truth these Edicts were spurs to hasten the League, which the Duke of *Deux-ponts* shall bring the next yeare, and for the heads of *Dauphiné*, *Prouence* and *Languedoc*, to go and oppose the forces of the sayd Prouinces against the Kings armie, which was ready to fall vpon the prince. To this end, *Acier*, *Mouuans*, *Pierre Gourde*, and others, draw forth sixteene or seuentene thousand shot, but few horse: seeming with this multitude of men to haue vnpeopled all that climate. But as they did fortifie the princes affaires on the one side, they did weaken them on the other: for after their departure, the Catholics seized vpon many places, the which they might well haue held, lodging halfe their forces in them, then marching in troupe close and speedily, they might haue arrived safe, where their presence was most profitable and necessary.

But the presumption of equalitie, doth commonly ingender a pernitiouse ialousie among great men: and the opinion one conceiues of his forces, and of his owne valour, with an obstinacie not to yeeld vnto another, is a dangerous plague in an armie. *Mouuans* and *Pierre Gourde*, finding themselves annoied by straight lodging, as they had done till they came neere to *Perigueux*, they meane to lye more at large at *Menignat*, not discovering that the Duke of *Montpensier* approached, who at his arrivall puts in route two regiments, and kils a thousand souldiers at their Colonels feete: who selling their liues deere, to tyre the Dukes troupes, as they could not charge *Acier*; yet they were amazed by the fearefull report of such as were escaped, who made the Dukes forces exceeding great, beyond all truth, who retiring to *Chasseleaud*, made the way

Mouuans and Pierre Gourde defeated and slaine.

Gggg 2 open

1568. open for *Aiers* troupes, which remained of this shipwreck, to fortifie the Protestants' armie: and to make it able, not onely to endre the shocke, but to attempt some thing against the Catholikes. The Prince did murther in his armie aboute eight thousand Harquebuziers, and three thousand good horse. The Duke had ten thousand foote, beside *Suisses*, and foure thousand Lances: the Souldiars of both armies were well experienced in warre.

Hee that takes not the *French* in their first heat, they are easily broken: the discomfited news of warre failing, might greatly coole this new vigour: and Winter approaching, withdraw the greatell part of them. The Prince therefore seekes to fight the number and courage of his men invites him. He comes within two Leagues of *Castelleraud*, and by his approach annoyes the Duke of *Amieu*. The Duke moved with like desire, and greued to see so many men at the Princes deuotion: knowing also that the forces of *Germany* would be ready to Marche in their fauour in the Spring, seekes to diuide his enemies power, and to overcome them by peccemeale. On all motions are sodaine, but they do not alwayes bring forth effects premeditated. To come to a battaile, was properly to cutt away the finewes of the realme, and by their mutuall weakening, to invite the forraigne enemy to the invasion of this estate. The foueraigne commander of battailes, did thew at this time a signe of his accustomed fauour to this Crowne, taking from both the Generalls the sharpnesse of their iudgements, and to loose in one day a notable occasion for eyther of them to prouide against his enemy, as we shall heere.

The Prince had intelligence, that the Duke camped in a place of aduantage, vnder the fauour of a medow, intrenched in diuer places: so not able to draw his enemy to fight, he dislodgeth, and goes towards *Lusignan*. The Duke takes the same counsell, and one not acquainted with the others designes, the Marshalls of both Campes meete in a manner at one instant, at *Pamprou*, five leagues from *Poitiers*, a great village, furnished with victuals, and in a very good countrey. They chafe and recheate one another, but loth to dispute this Rendezvous with more hazard, they both leaue (yet with an honourable retreat of eyther side) to put themselves in battaile, a quarter of a league from the place.

The Admirall and *d'Andelot* his brother, supported their men with five Companies of horse, set in order vpon a small hill, to keepe the Catholikes from viewing of the valen, and to giue them some apprehension of greater forces lodged there. The Prince at a League from thence, and aduanced with great speed. On the Dukes part there appeared ten or eight hundred Lances, commanded by the Duke of *Martignes*. Being approached within Canon shot, the Admirall carrieth a Capitaine of Anglenes to aduance alonge a hedge, who more valiant then discrete, falls presently to darraich, and then retreateth to second them. *Martignes* thinks that they meane to fight, and reals forth three or foure squadrons of Lancers: The Admirall and his brother greiued they had not prevented the indiscretion of their Capitaine, engaged them to fight vnderdressed, and contrary to their charge, calls back the Lancers, and with an affected countenance, couers the weaknesse of their troupe. *Martignes* taking a troupe of seruantes for a battalion of Harquebuziers which appeared behind a village, ites his Lancers, and for want of footmen, loseth the opportunity to fight. In the meantime the enignes of foote, and troupes of horse arrive in all parts: the night approaching, gaue them leisure onely to skirmish with the Duke of *Amieu* Foreward. The Dukes Foreward was too weak to endure the shock: the Commanders desire a poffey, whereby they perswade the enemy, through fauour of the night, that all their forces were present: their drums sound after the *Suisses* manner, they double their gards, make great fires, cast many matches amongst the bushes, keep their men close without any skirmish, least some prisoner should discouer their trick, & after they had refreshed themselves, they dislodge without any noise, some marching to *Isenmeil*, where the Duke lodged with the battaile, the rest to the village of *Sansy*. Seeking one another in suspence, they loose the opportunity of a great aduantage, the first the Duke, the second in the Prince.

They encounter at first with small though-ter.

A politike stratagem.

1568. Mans counsell without God preuailes nothing, and *The actions of great men, are in* *1568.* *happier, as those of the meanest.* So saith the Oracle. For, the next day many things changed more by hazard then by counsell. This retreat giues them courage to fight: to this end, the Admirall followes them at the heeles, and the Prince marcheth after. There were two wayes, one led to *Sansy*, the other to *Isenmeil*. At the break of day there riseth a great mist, which causeth the Prince to stray: after he had marched two leagues, he findes himselfe in the front of the Dukes armie. Necessitie giues him resolution: he puts his Harquebuziers before, which were aboute twelue thousand, and forced to make some shew of fight: salutes the Duke with his Canon, skirmishes with euers volleys of shot, sends to learne newes of his foreward, and wills the Admirall to make hast.

He had already turned head vpon the discharge of the Canon; but the Sunne setting at his arrival, preventing a generall fight, caused all to passe in sharpe skirmishes, with losse on cyther side: and after a dayes breathing, eyther part retired, the Duke to *Poitiers*, the Prince to *Mirebeau*. Few dayes after, they both returne to their first resolution to fight. The Duke goes to field, & recouers *Mirebeau*. Few daies after, they both returne to their first resolution to fight. The Duke goes to field and recouers *Mirebeau*. But he doth not obserue the composition, & giues *d'Andelot* cause for a reuenge, to cut in peeces the garrison he finds in *S. Florent*, an Abbey nere vnto *Saumur*.

The Prince held *Loudun*. It was in the Dukes way, and enjoying it, he held a fertile country from his enemies, which might feed his Armie a moneth together: and there was no reason, the Prince should hazard his forces for the keeping of a weak place. The Duke approacheth: the next day hee hath newes that the Prince puts his Armie in battaile alongst the suburbs: hee likewise arangeth his: the Canon playes on both sides, and passeth through their squadrons, doing some harme. About forty thousand men, almost all *French*, beheld one another in the midst of a champion field: without any aduantage, and with an equall courage and countenance, attend but the signe of battaile. But the outward cold did quench much of this inward heat: the frosts were great, continuall mists, and the wayes so slippery, as no man could hold his footing. It was dangerous for the first that charged; the slippery wayes stayed their horses, and the maine ditches (made to diuide their lands) serued them as trenches. So as either of them being loth to hazard any thing, stands firme, beholding one another, expecting when the most rash should begin the charge. Such as go to the skirmish, eyther brake or put some member out of ioynt: their falls hurt more then the shot.

Three dayes passe in this sort. the fourth the Duke retires to warme his troupes benumbed with colde, and for the most part lodged in the open ayre (of twenty yeares there had not bene felt so sharpe a winter) in his retreat three companies were cut off in a village, one of *Suisses*, and two of *French*, and the sicknesse falling amongst the Souldiars, diminished both the armies of eight thousand men. This fruitlesse aboad caused a generall murmure, and both Nobilitie and Souldiars on eyther party did threaten, if they were not lodged in safe and well fortified places, they would prouide for themselves, not able to endure the extreame frosts and colde without any effects. Their Commanders agree. The Duke goes to winter beyond the river of *Loire*, about *Saumur*, and the Prince at *Thouars*, *Montheuil-Bellay*, and places thereabouts, eyther hauing some secret pretence against his enemy, but with small effect. This retreat gaue the Prince leisure to deuise meanes for the maintenance of the warre. The goods of the Clergie of *Poitou* were ingaged, and sold to them that durst buy them: the *Recheleis* contribute foure foure thousand Frankes, and the Queene of *England* sent a hundred thousand Angles, six Canons, poulder and shot, for the which she was paid in Salt, Wax, oil, and Bell-metall, for the most part at the Catholiks cost.

Succours of money and munition in England.

The Abbey of *S. Mitchell* alone, amongst all the other places of base *Poitou*, bridled the Protestants. They besiege it, batter it, and take it at the third assault, and cut foure hundred men in peeces which defended it. *Martingues*, *Entraigues* and *la Chastre* gouernours of *Oren*, *Orleans*, and *Bourges*, besiege *Sancerre*, giue many assaults, loose

Sancerre besieged.

1568. loose many men, and finally tyred with many fallies, leaue this small Towne in quest, A to be hereafter a mirrour of singular patience, in the preservation of their liues and families. But those of *Sancerre*, seeking to enlarge themselves, & to build a fort vpon *Lare*, suffer themselves to be surprized, loose both fort and some fifty men, and are enforced to shut themselves within their walles.

During the sharpenesse of winter, and this small surceasing of armes, the Vicomtes of *Bourniquet*, *Montclar*, *Paulin*, *Gourdon* and others, with seven thousand shot, and some horse, made war, especially against them of *Tholouse*. *Montauban* was their chiefe retreat, and experience had lately taught them: That it were better to defend this Prouince and their countreymen, against *Montluc* and their enemies, then transporting their armes into a strange country, to leaue them againe in prey. *Piles* was commanded, to perswade them to ioyne with the Prince. At their refusal, he armes twelue hundred shot, and two hundred horse, takes *Bergerac* and *S. Foy*: passeth into *Perigord*, burning all the villages: and to purge the death of *Mouuans* and *Pierre Gourde*, hee kills all that were suspected of their ouerthrow: and so hee marcheth towards the Prince.

The Prince had now taken breath, and hearing that the Duke marched towards *Angoulesme*, fortified with threethousand foote, and some horse, which the Earle of *Tende* brought him, and two thousand *Reisfers* led by the *Reingraue* and *Bajompierre*, he retires along the riuer of *Charant*, to viewe the Dukes countenance, and to fortifie the places of his obedience: but with the preiudice of his armie. The Duke comes likewise to *Chasleauroux*, a towne vpon the riuer of *Charente*, and at the first takes a Castle by composition, which was kept by a *Scottishman*. The Admirall likewise arrives, followed with seven or eight hundred horse, and as many harguebusiers: and to hinder the Dukes passage, he lodgeth two regiments of foote neere vnto the bridge, seconded by the horse: charging them, to vex the enemies guards, with continuall alarms: to make them thinke, that all the Princes vanguard was lodged there, and then he retires to *Bassigny*, with the rest of the vanguard.

But this commaundement wrought no effect. They had forgotten the manner of camping, every one would lodge, liue, and forrage at his ease: so as the most part going to quarter elsewhere, and leauing the passage vnsurrounded of men, make the possession easie for the Duke. The Duke, through the care of the Lord of *Biron*, repairs the bridge: makes another of boares, and in the night passeth the riuer of *Charente*. At the breake of day, fitye horse beeing in garde, a quarter of a league off, discover the enemies troups that passed, and aduertise the Admirall: (the Prince being a league beyond at *Larnac*) the Admirall sends for his men dispersed in their lodgings, to come vnto him, and to make their retreat together, & in the meane time, he attended them at *Bassac*.

In a great action, all delayes are dangerous. He spends three houres to attend them, and might easily haue rettyred, if his troups had bin ioynd. Hee had nine Cornets of horse, and some Enseignes of foote. *Montgomery*, *Acier* and *Punault* were Colonells, whom he was loth to loose. Beeing all ioynd with him (except *Acier*, who could not arrive in time with his fixe thousand shot) hee findes all the Dukes armie past, making shewe by their skirmishes, that that day, being the thirteenth of March, should not passe without a battell.

The Prince was aduanced halfe a league in his retreat, but hee was too well bred, to see his friends engaged, and to fight in his absence. Hee turnes head towards the Admirall, with those fewe horse hee could sodainely drawe out off his battell: for he camped not, but his armie dispersed into quarters. The Admirall making his retreat, incounters a small riuer, which could not bee passed, but in two or three places. Then the Duke sends forth the flower of all his horse, beeing seven or eight hundred, who at the first ouerthrow foure Cornets, take *la Noue* and *la Loue*, fighting, vanquish *Punault*, charge *d'Andelot*, but with the death of *Montalez*, and fiteene or sixteene others of account.

In

A In the ende, the Prince and the Admirall see themselves in a manner engaged be- 1569. twist all the Dukes forces and the riuer of *Charente*: they go to the charge, first the Admirall and then the Prince, and at the first make them turne their backs that were before them: and now they endured a second charge, more fierce and of longer continuance. But suddenly all the army falls vpon them, their horsemen are in route, the Princes horse slaine, he ouercast vnder him, abandoned by his troups and prisoner to the Lord of *Argence*, to whom he had yeilded, but he was shot in the head with a pistoll by *Montesquieu* a *Gascon* and Capitaine of the Princes gardes. A lesson for great men, and a maxime of warre: That a generall should not fight, but being forced, for that in the losse of his person consistes the ruine of his army. This Prince hath left this memorie of him, to haue yeilded to no man of his age, neyther in courage nor curtesie, eloquent in speech, liberall, affable to all the world, and a most excellent commander in warre.

The Protestants lost in this battaille neere foure hundred men, most horsemen, & few footemen of account, *la Tour* a *Poitouin* Capitaine of *Marine*: yong *Chasteliers*, *Lorant*, *Chandenier*, *Mesambert*, *Prandaniere*, the eldest of the *Bessons*, the yonger of *Tabariere*, *Barrete*, *la Mesleraye* and a great number of other gentlemen of diuers Prouinces, many wounded, and many prisoners: the amazement and disorder beeing so great, as they could not flie fast enough. Of Catholikes there died about two hundred, amongst the which were *Montalez*, the Barons of *Ingrand*, and *Prunoy* of the house of *Billy*, the Earle of *Mirande*, of *Morte*, *Montanure*, *Limieres*, and some other of make.

Many Protestants would haue gathered together againe: but they pursued them too neere, and the *Reisfers* arriving in the pursute, so hastened them that fled, as night surprized them in the midst of their flight. The Admirall and *d'Andelot* not able to pacifie the amazement, nor repaire the disorder, tooke their way towards *Saint Ian d'Angely*, and gaue the rendezvous for them that escaped at *Xaintes*, whether the yong Princes of *Navarre* and *Condé* were retired. The bodie of the army was entred into *Cognac*. The footemen with their Commanders, *Acier*, *Beaudiné*, *Blacons*, *Chellar*, *Mirabell* and many others, and of the horse *Montgomery*, *Chaumont* and others. To dislodge them from *Cognac*, the victorious Duke sends to beseege it: but his attempts against *Cognac*, his intelligences within *Saint Ian d'Angely*, and his fruitlesse threats that he vsed against *Angoulesme*, stayed the course of his victorie.

In the meane time the Protestants gather together the peeces of this shipwrecke: the Admirall led the Princes to *Tonay-Charente*, hee tooke viewe of the horse: *Henry* Prince of *Navarre* was declared generall, and *Henry* Prince of *Condé* an assistant, foure thousand masters tooke the oath, *d'Andelot* gathers the footemen together, provided for money, and staid the enemies courses, when as a burning feuer tooke him out of this world the seauen and twentieth day of May, in *Xaintes*, leauing for euer a famous name purchased by him of a *Knight without feare*. *Acier* did succeed him in his charge, *Beauuais la Noe* had his company of men at armes, but the Admirall the care and government of the whole army, with the managing of the chiefe affaires which concerned the protestants estate.

The Dukes army did ouerrunne *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois* and *Limousin*, vnder the conduct of the Earle *Brissac* Colonel of the Interior of *France*, Having recovered *Anteberte* and some other places from the protestants, hee attempts *Mucidan*, beeing vigorously battered and valiantly defended. In the ende it is burnt to ashes, the Castell endures some assaults, the most worthy men of the regiments of *Brissac*, *Montluc* and *Escars* loose their liues there, and finally *Brissac* himselfe approaching to viewe the breach and the defences, is shot into the head and slaine vpon the counterscarpe, leauing a wonderfull grieve to them that knewe him, beeing now but fiae or fixe and twentie yeares olde, and might in time haue proved one of the valiantest and greatest Captaines of his age. Yet necessitie forced the beseege

The battell of
Bassac.Cont Brissac
slaine at Mucidan.

1569. beleeged to a composition, to depart with bagge and baggage. But the impatient A
haue lost their *Colonels*, and so many braue soldiars, made most of them to be slaine,
issuing out of their walls. *Filles* recompensed this losse by the taking of *Medoc* betwixt *Bordeaux* and *Rochell*, the spoile whereof enriched all his troupe. Then
The Duke of
Deuxponts in
France.
Vuolfgang Comte Palatin of Rhin and Duke of *Deuxponts*, brought vnto the Princes a-
bout sixe thousand *Reisires* and siue thousand Landsquenets. Ciuill warres alway
make the way open to a neighbour stranger, the which he durst not attempt without
the support of one partie. The difficultie was to ioyne with the Princes being farre off
and without a *French* conuoi, it could hardly be done: but see what chanceth vallo-
ked for.

Mouy, Tenlis, Moruilliers, Fequieres, Estrenay and others, had in the beginning of this
third inciull warre, assembled siue or sixe hundred horle, and two thousand harque-
busiers, whome the difficultie to passe into *Guyenne* had transported into *Brabant* to
the Prince of *Auranges*: the *Comte Lodowike* his brother, and *Comte Volrad of Marfeld*,
who hauing for a time entertayned the warre with a variable successe against the *Spani-
ard*, passed the *Meuse*, and offered battaile to the Duke of *Alba*: but he fought onely
to consume them for want of victualls, whereof they were so scantied, as necessitie car-
rying them backe into *France*, they came to *Vitry*, and so strooke vp into *Germanie*, and
by their annuall gaue *Vuolfgang* the helpe he desired.

We must nowe begin anew. The Duke of *Anjou* leaues *Guyenne*, and takes the way
of *Berry*, to keepe the Duke of *Deuxponts* from ioyning with the Princes: but it had C
beene better to haue preuented his entry into the Realme. To this ende, the King
commits two armies, the one to the Duke of *Aumale*, the other to the Duke of *Nemours*:
(neyther of them being verie fortunate in warre) both strong in footemen, but wea-
ker in horse then the *Germanie*. They aduance vnto *Sauerne*: coast the *Germanie* Duke,
who crost through *Bourgonne*, presse him on the flanks and behinde with sun-
drie skirmishes, and often times encounter goodly and fauorable occasions, which
they let slippe for want of iudgement, and good correspondencie, the true bond
of the brauest exploits that may be practised in warre.

But was it not a want of iudgement in these two great Commanders, fortified
with twelue hundred horse and foure thousand foote sent by the Pope, to leaue D
la Charité vnfortified of men, knowing well that the Protestants could nor passe the
riuer of *Loire*, without getting by force or surprising some of the passages thereon.
Vuolfgang attempts *la Charité*, it, terrifies it and takes it, before that any
succours can come, and thereby shortens his way about three scoore Leagues,
where hee must haue passed at the head of *Loire*, and frees himselfe from a passage full
of wood and mountaines, where as the horsemen would haue beene but an incum-
brance.

The Admirall could by no meanes fauour these succours (for hee had the Duke
of *Anious* armie in front) and holding it as a matter impossible for the *Reisires* to
get a passage vpon the riuer of *Loire*, hee attended hourelly newes of their route. E
But advertised of the successe: Behold (saied he) a good signe: let vs make it absolutely
our diligence and resolution. So the Princes aduance towards the marches of *Limo-
sin*, to keepe the Dukes army occupied, whilest that their *Reisires* marching through the
Country performed the funeralls of the Duke of *Deuxponts*, who being lately deceased
of an ague, left the command of the army to the Earle of *Manfield*, and in the ende of
Iune both the Protestant armies ioynd, the which vnited together made about siue
and twentie thousand fighting men: and in the Kings, they numbred about thre
thousand.

The Country of *Limosin* is vnfrutefull, and the sterilitie of the soile forced the
troupes to lie disperfed, the which might easily cause some surprise: but the Admi- F
rall desired rather to preuent, then be preuented. The Dukes armie camped at *Ra-
cheabeille*. To surprise him, they march resolute to giue him battaile, and are in
vewe of the enemy before he hath taken any alarum of them.

There

A Three hundred harquebusiers of *Colonell Streffes* kept the principall approach to this
place, being strong both by situation and nature, and happy were they to be so
a place of defence. At the first brunt *Streffes* releues them with nine hundred
soldiers who the space of an houre held good against foure thousand of the Princes men,
while the Dukes armie was put in battaile. This passage being vncasie to force, the
Admirall sends forth foure Cornets of horle, which renew the charge: they breake
vp certaine passages which couered *Streffes* regiments, kill two or twentie *Can-
ons*, and siue or sixe hundred men vpon the place: take their *Colonell* (without
whose resistance the Princes foreward had passed euen vnto the Canon without any
lesse the rest to flight, and nothing but the raine that fell, hindered the successe of a
B great victorie, the which was continued the next day by a skirmish against two hun-
dred *Lahans*, and some horsemen of the Duke of *Nemours*, whereof *Mouy* slaine some,
took others, and chased the rest being mounted vpon horses of aduantage fier for such
a vtterate.

After this incounter, the Duke sent to refresh his troupes vntill the beginning of
October, in the garrisons neere to *Guyenne*: giuing the Princes by this meanes, op-
portunity to seize vpon many places, both by force and composition: *Tiniers, La Roche,
Ramonne, Chateau Euefque, la Chapelle, Consolant, Chabannes, S. Genis* and others.
Which the Duke rested, the Earle of *Lude*, gouernour of *Poitou*, promised to surrender
but more in word, then in effects. He had siue thousand foote, and some *Canons*,
C whereof he had foure ouerthrowne by *la Noue*, neere vnto *Niort*: the Princes
absence encouraged him to bessege *Niort*: where *Puissant* entered in despite of the
assaults: hee sustained three assaults and some scaladoes, forcing *Lude* after the losse
of siue hundred men, to raise the siege.

In the meane time the Princes approached to *Poitou*, and at the first had taken *Ch-
braud* by composition, the 12. of Iuly, and the 21. following, *Lusignan, Cour, S. Ma-
j. d'Angoune*, and other small places about *Poitiers*, to cut off victualls from the townes.
At the same time, the subjects of the Queene of *Nauarre*, had their part in the *Ch-
Touide*, Gouernour of *Quercy*, had accepted the Commission, to summon the *Ch-
Queene*, and the Prince her sonne, to leaue the party of the pretended reformed
D gone: if not to invade the Countries of *Bearn, Foix*, and *Nauarre*, so neere
joined with *Negrepelisse, Sainte Colombe* and others, hee had easily reduced
to the Kings obedience, and held *Nauarin* beleeged, the onely strong place that
remained to the Queene.

The Princes send the Earle of *Montgomery* to incounter him, who with a small
armie of siue hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, forced *Terride* to raise the
siege, and to retire himselfe into *Orthes*. His men were disperfed, and to preuent him
from gathering them together, the Earle pursues him, bessegeeth him, and in the
last, and forceth the towne, makes a great slaughter: and to beate *Terride* with his
owne armie, he sodainely plants the Canon he found in the towne against the Castle.
E *Terride* vanquished with these terrible stratagems, yeelds vpon composition, to re-
turne with their liues and goods: *Sainte Colombe*, the Baron of *Pardiac, Gohis, Ercis*,
and some other of the Queenes subjects, were excepted in the capitulation, and as
guilty of treason, (hauing seized vpon her places, and stirred her subjects to rebellion)
were put to death. This resolute repulie of *Terride*, and the execution of the above men-
tioned, did sodainely reduce all the other places to the Queenes obedience, and so *Terride*
hauing managed the townes of his new conquests, came to *Nersac*, made there a
with strong beaur garrisons, & so came to the Princes army. Let vs see the progress
of their armie. *la Charité* que the Protestants meanes to annoy the prouinces about
side *Loire*, & taking this place from thence, then the Duke of *Aumale* should reuerne
by commoditie to refresh his armie. To this ende, he appoints *Sinfac*, who was yet
more in commendations of such importance. Yet he gathers together out of the garrisons
of *Orleans, Bourges, Chartres, Neurs, Gien* and other Townes, about 7000. men,
and siue or sixe hundred horse, bessegeeth *la Charité*, being yet but weakly fortified,
challengeth

1569. changeth and rechangeth his batterrie, ouerthrowes a great part of the wall, and find A
to the assault, the which was so resolutely defended, that of a hundred of the assailers
scarce five returne to the Campe: and vpon a false bruce, that the Princes came to re-
courage it, the beseegers display their ensignes, and without any farther inquirie, reco-
uer their garrisons, after a moneths sege, & the losse of about a hundred men. With in
few dayes after, *Blaslet, Boys*, and others disbanded from the Campe to visit their fa-
milies, fortifie the Towne, spoyle the Countrey, and by the taking of *Douzy, Pouilly,*
Antrain, S. Leonard, and other small Townes, they made the way open to *Berry, Ni-*
uernois, and the neighbour Countries.

Poitiers be-
sieged.

The sege of *Poitiers* was lesse fatal, and of as small successe for the Protestants. B
The Admirall held opinion to force *S. Maxent*, then *Saumur*, and to fortifie it speedi-
ly, to haue a passage vpon the riuer of *Loire* neere vnto them, and to transport the war
towards *Paris* in the time of harvest. *Poitiers* was then very well furnished: the Dukes
of *Guise* and of *Maine* had put themselues into it: many Captaines, and companies
both of horse and foot shewed a great resolution for the defence thereof, vnder the en-
seigns of the two yong brethren: these great and spacious Townes being commonly
the sepulchre of armes. Yet all these reasons were of no force. The Nobilitie there-
abouts preferring profit before honour, vrged the contrary: That *Poitiers* was indeed
strong of men, but weake of defence, and to be forced: that this place taken, would be
the conquest of all *Poitou*, a rich Prouince, the which would disaioynt the Duke of
Anjou of an assured retreat. But the hope of spoyle was an enticing bayte to drawe C
the vnto it: for the more men are within it (saide the Nobilitie) the greater shal our bootie
be. Yet the respect of their priuate profits made them forget the constant resolu-
tion of such as had vndertaken to gard it, the great meanes they had to defend them-
selues, and their small prouision of artillerie, munition, pioners, and other thing neces-
sarie for the sege.

Chastellaine
besieged.

In the end, pluralitie of voyces carries it. The Princes loose some weekes before
Poitiers. The Towne is commaunded by hills, which annoyd them much: but their
slow batterrie giues them time to fortifie the breach, and force the assaillants to make
new attempts elsewhere, and with the like successe. Hungar oppressed the Citizens,
hauing lost many Captaines, with a great number of souldiars: and the plague afflict-
ed the Princes Campe: those within find a good meanes for their libertie: and the
Princes an honest cause to dislodge. The Duke of *Anjou* vnderstanding the extre-
mitie of the beseege, and that the Protestants armie began to dissolue, propounds two
things to the commanders, either to free *Poitiers*, or to suffer a place of that im-
portance to be lost, in the which were many of their confident friends. He beseege
Chasteleau, and makes a breach: the *French* will haue the point: the *Italians* contend
for it. In the end, the chance of the dice giues it them. They come brauely to the as-
sault. the *French* disdain to follow them: and they within defend the breach. They ou-
erthrow the most resolute with a fierce vollee of shott, and force the rest to retire in
confusion, leauing five ensignes vpon the breach, about two hundred and fiftie slaine, E
and a great number wounded, whereof many died. This was the 7. of September.

They prepared for a second attempt, when as the Princes taking this second as-
sault for a lawfull occasion, raise their sege, wherewith they were no lesse troubled to
depart with their honour, then the beseege were prest with extreme necessitie. The
Duke hauing no complete armie, and seeing his dessein succed, dislodgeth all night,
retyres to *Celle* in *Touraine*, passeth *Vienne* and *Creuse*, lodgeth his troupes and artillerie
in a place of aduantage, gathers together all his dispersed bands: and now the way is
prepared for a second battaile, and a notable victorie.

The Princes being aduertised of this sodaine retreat, takes it for a kind of flight:
march all night after them, passe the riuers, put themselves in battaile, to force the
Duke or to make him to retire to *Tours*, where the King then remainend. Both the ar-
mies are in battaile. but betwixt them is a small riuer, which makes the Countrey
Moorish and very vnfit for a Generall fight, so as they could not ioyne their battalies,
and

And no meanes to bring the Caanon without hazard to loote it. The Duke who was
lodged in *Celle*, a village well intrenched, flanked, and gabiond, covered on the one side
by a riuer, & on the other with a wood, could not by any skirmishes be drawne to fight,
vntill he had assembled all his forces.

The Princes, for want of victuals repasse *Creuse* and *Vienne*, lodge at *Eze la Vineuse*,
and from thence (the Countrey being spoiled, and ill to lodge in) passe to *Montcon-*
tour, a lodging of aduantage, both for the situation and commoditie of victuals. The
Duke pursues him, and by his speede deceiues the enemies. His forward led by *Brion*
meets them vnlooked for at *Saint Cere*, chargeth *Mouy*, who made the retreat with
300. horse and two hundred harguebuziers, kills about fiftie men at armes, and almost
all of his footemen, so amazeth the Princes army, as they all begin to wauer, and had
not a straight beene, where onely twenty men might march in fronte, the whole army
had then beene in route. The Admirall makes hast to repaire this disorder, and by his
presence renues their daunted courages. They charge and recharge twice or thrise at
this passage, and not able to be forced, the two armies campe within shot of murther:
leauing it betwixt both. The Duke had eight or nine thousand horse, seauenteene or
eighteene thousand foote, *French, Suisses* and *Italians*, and fiftene peeces of artillerie.
The Princes had six thousand horse, *French* and *Reistres*, ten thousand harguebuziers
French and *Langquenets* and eleauen peeces of Caanon.

Art vnto
for accid. m.

As these armies beheld one another, two gentlemen following the Dukes campe,
present themselves to the first they meete of the protestant party. *Aduertise the Ad-*
mirall (saide they) *that he forbear to fight, for the succors newly arrived haue greatly for-*
tified our army: let him temporise a moneth onely: it is the time the Nobilitie hath giuen vnto
the Duke, with protestation to serue him for that time, but not afterwards. then shall hee bee
forced to a peace, to your aduantage. Of two Councells those which hasten to their owne
ruine do commonly followe the worst. They aduertise the Admirall hereof he apprehends
it, and desires to followe it, so do the most modest, and that at nine of the Clocke
at night they should take the way to *Ernaux*, putting the riuer that runnes there, be-
twixt the two armies. Others of a more boyling humour, inferre: That these nightly
retreats terrifie them that make them, preiudice their reputations, augments the ene-
mies courage, and that they must do it only at the pointe of day. Moreover, this might
be a practise to amaze their troupes, and that coming from suspected persones, ac-
cused to deceiue, it was also suspected, and to be reiected.

This diuersity of opinions troubled the Admirall, but see what assisted him more
nerey. The *Reistres* did mutine for want of pay, the *Langquenets* refused to march:
three or foure *French* regiments of the most remote Countries, had already asked
leue to depart, many gentlemen were retired to their houses. And the Duke appro-
ched. The Admirall then beseecheth the Princes that were at *Parthenay* to come to
the amic, that by their presence they might conteyne them in obedience. They
bring a hundred and fiftie good horse. But whilest the Admirall labors to pacifie
the mutinie of the *Germanes*, two houres are spent, so as the troupes cannot re-
couer a place of aduantage nere vnto *Ernaux*, where they could hardly haue charged
them.

These broyles appeased, the armie takes the way to *Ernaux* the third of October,
and discouers the Dukes which aduanced. They cause the Princes to retire, being
yet too yong, (but vnder colour to conduct them with more assurance, many retire
with them), and arange themselves in a vallee, being couered from the Caanon.
And vpon the approche of the Dukes forward, consisting of nineteene cornets of
Reistres in two squadrons marching directly against the Admirall, the Admirall
sends to *Comte Lodewike* who led the battaile, to send him three Cornets. The
Earle obeyes, but hee leads them himselfe: who hath no sooner leste his place, but
hee remaines engaged in the skirmish, the which continued three quarters of
an houre: the Admirall was hurt in the face, his horsemen ouerthrowne, leaue
the field.

Error of
Comte Lodewike
in the

1569. The battaile makes a great resistance, but vnfurnished of a head, it is forced to yeeld to the greater number: part of the footemen are cut in peeces, and part dispersed here and there, the artillery lost, and the ensignes carried away: all flee, every man saues himself. *Comte Lodowike* retires with three thousand horse in one company, turning head still against them that pursued, & recouers *Parthenay*, the refuge of the remainders of this shipwracke.

Battle of
Dismontour.

Four thousand Lanquenets died in this battaile, fiteene hundred French soldiars, about three hundred men at armes, many horses, seruants and Lackeys of men of marke, *Pugressier*, *Biron* brother to him that led the foreward, and *Saint Bonel* Cornet of the Admirals company. *La Nouë* was prisoner againe with *Acier* and others the *Reistres* baggage was spoiled, that of the French being more aduanced towards *Niort* and *Parthenay*, was saued. The Duke lost fewe foote, but five or sixe hundred horse, & twice as many hurt, wherof the most part died, as the eldest *Reingraue*, the Marquis of *Bade*, *Clermont* of *Dauphiné*, and fewe others of quality.

Notable Errors.

Seldome doe we reape the fruits of an absolute victory. The Protestants footemen were dispersed: and their horsemen (for the most part *Reistres*) were discontent for want of pay, and losse of their baggage. A hot pursute had in shewe produced one of these two effects, eyther their defeate, or their retreat into *Germanie*: two monethes pay had drawne them vnto it. To leaue the remainder of these forces at the Commanders deuotion, was to giue the Admirall meanes (being a wife Commander in the warre,) to gather together the remnant of this shipwracke, to repaire his broken vessel, and in the spring to go to field with newe troupes, to spoile diuerse Prouinces, and in the ende to bring the warre to the gates of *Paris*. Moreover these daunted spirits would be soone reuiued by the presence of their Princes, whereas vpon this fresh defeate they might shut them into some place whereby the warre should be soone ended.

Victories after
the battaile

Thus discoursed the most iudicious: but others finding the recouery of those places easie in this amazement, which the Princes held in *Poitou*, *Xanterege*, and *Argoulmis*, the Duke follows their resolution, and for the first fruits of his conquest marcheth to *Parthenay*: but there he finds nothing but the neast, the place emptie, and the gates open. The Princes vpon the first brunt had recouered *Niort*, and so to *Saint Iean d'Angely*. The Baron of *Mirebeau* kept *Lusignan*, a place sufficient to winne much reputation, yea for a Captaine of no great valour: yet the parles of yong *Lansac* prevailed more with the Baron, then five thousand Cannon shot which the Dukes of *Martiques* and *Aumale* spent against *Piles*, as we shall here after see. *Niort* being summoned, began to wauer, and *Mony* who had the gard of it (being gone forth against some scouts that were approached to the gates, and trayterously shot with a pistoll by *Mareucl* a gentleman of *Brie*, who had newly put himselfe vnder his Cornet, and shall within fewe yeares make himselfe famous by an act equall to the first in trechery, and detestable villany) retyring himselfe by the aduice of the Princes to *Rochell*, where soone after he died of his wound, the Towne being abandoned returned into the Dukes power without any difficulty. *Puuiault*, also leauing *Fontenay*, the garisons of *Chasteleraud*, *Chauigny*, *Rochepele*, the Castle of *Angely*, *Prutilly*, *Cleruant* and other small places, dislodged in company, and vnder the conduct of *Briquevault* came to make head in *Sancerre* and *la Charité*, being set vpon in their way, by the Commons of *Berry* and *la Chastre* gouernour of the Country.

Soldiers taken
by the Protestants.

Mombin, *Mirabel*, *Verbelay*, and some six or seauen hundred horse of *Dauphiné*, *Guaretz*, *Auvergne* and *Languedoc* recouer their houses, vnder colour to prouide for some places of importance in their marches, and to make the way easie, which the Princes pretended to followe, for to winter in *Limagne* of *Auvergne*, if they had not altered their desseine. We shall see shortly what course they tooke after their defeate. *Nismes* returns into the Protestants power. An aduenturous soldiard, did with a secrete file, in fundrie nights, file asunder a grate of iron, which stopt vp a hoale at the foote of the Towne wall, by the which did flowe a fountaine for the benefit of the inhabitants. The passage

A passage being made, *Saint Cosme*, *Chastilly*, *Mingelle* & other Captaines enter, they cut in peeces a corps de garde, towards the *Carmes* gate, force an other nere to that of the Crowne, open the gates, bring in their men that remayned without the Towne, and become masters thereof, to the preiudice of *Saint Andé*, being gouernour, who having no leyfure to slip into the Castell, brake his necke leaping ouer the wall, and his Lieutenant his thigh. *Astout* Captaine of the Castell kept it almost three monethes against the townesin the ende being vnfurnished of men, some lost by fundrie accidents, some dead or languishing of sicknesse, and a good number oppressed vnder a mine, he yeelded, to depart with bagge and baggage.

1569.

On the other side *Sanjac*, by vertue of a Comission granted him frō the Duke, to take from the Protestants whatsoeuer they held on that side of *Loire*, had taken *Louza* a place abandoned, then *Noiers* by composition, the which was ill obserued: most part of the soldiars were led to *Troyes* in *Champagne*, and about threescore, passing through the streetes were abandoned to the peoples rage. But *Vezelay* is seated too high vpon the toppe of a stepe montaine, hauing but one approach. *Tarot* and some other gentlemen, Protestants his neighbours had lately seized thereon, and *Blosset*, *Sarasin*, *Besançon* and *Ribompierre* Captaines defended it. *Sanjac* makes his approches with three companies: but at the first the Captaines cut off two companies, kill the captaines and fortie soldiars, the third being scattered in the vinyards retire in the night. He returnes with greater forces, makes his batterie, opens two breaches, giues an assault and scalado, but in vaine: he loofeth about three hundred men: and the beseege lost *Sarasin* with some thirtie soldiars: *Sanjac* doth change and rechange his battery, hee tries an other assault, & as (at the first) he is shamefully repulsd with losse, but not discouraged. Some of his confident friends within the Towne giue him aduice, that most of the gentlemen are gone to field: he returnes with newe artillery, (his owne being broken or crackt) newe munition, and newe forces. Twelue Cannons begin a long and furious battery, takes away the defences, inlarge the first breaches, and makes the rampars euen with the ground. They giue a generall assault, but the sege of *la Charité*, made the assaillants attempts cōtemptible to the beseege: the more earnest he is, the more obstinate they growe. Three thousand Cannon shot doth nothing abate their courage: contrariwise fiteene hundred soldiars of the assaillants being slaine, inflame the *Vezelois*, they kill the brauest of them vpon the rampars, at the breach and in the trench. Then *Sanjac* forced to retire, is contented to blocke them vp in the end of the yeare. *Briquevault* and *Guerehy* gouernour of *la Charité*, do afterwards releue them with some refreshings.

Vezelay be-
seeged: it was
shut out for
Sanjac.

Ciuitil warres are but a perpetuall ebbing and flowing of losses and conquests. *Poitiers* had been the Theater whereon the Princes had to their ruine played the first act of their tragedie, and now *Saint Iean d'Angely* must end the victories of the Duke of *Anjou*. The Duke putt vp with the happie successe of his victories, comes the 16. of October to beseege *Saint Iean*: but he finds not so easie approaches as at the rest. *Pyles* commanded therein, who by fallies & diuers skirmishes, shewes that they must come well armed. At the first assault hee kills many of their Captaines, and of their best soldiars. *Montesquieu* (he that grew so famous by the murder of the Prince of *Condé*) died there, but too honorable for him.

In the end *Biron* generall of the artillery, (seeing the resolution of the beseege,) did mediate a truce, at the end whereof *Piles* should yeeld the Towne, if within a certain time succors came not, or an answer from the Princes. The day comes, when as *Saint Seuerin* leading fortie horse, doth polittikly deceiue both sentinels and gardes, and vnder the name of a friend, slippes into the Towne. So the hostages deliuered on both sides, they begin againe to play and batter with their Cannon, and the Townesmen to carrie earth, make rampars, and to shoote with such a greate and mightie furie, as *Sebastian* of *Luxembourg*, Duke of *Martiques* and gouernour of *Brittaine* found this Towne fatali to lodge him in the monument of his Ancesters.

Saint Iean
d'Angely be-
seeged.

Hhhh

During

1569.

During this batterie, the Queene would honour the seege with the presence of the King her sonne, being then nineteene yeares of age. But this bred a jealousie betwixt the two brethren. *Charles* was quicke, vehement, and somewhat forward; *Henry* more tractable and curteous: and *Charles* euen then perswaded himselfe that his mother would make him receiue a disgrace at *Saint Iean d' Angely*, to fauour the Duke her yonger sonne, whose aduancement she made shewe to desire. The succeeding yeares will teach vs, that this impressiion made *Charles* to loue his brother best being farther off in the North, then by his presence to enioye the Mothers affections, & to haue authority within the realme.

Saint Iean
yeeded.

Finally, the second of December, after two monethes seege, the King signed their capitulation: *That they should depart with their goods, armes, horses and Enseignes displayed, and of foure monethes should carrie no armes for the pretended reformed religion.* But as this seege is famous for that it was valiantly followed and defended, so is likewise famous by the breach of faith giuen by his Maiestie. At their going forth, they spoile them of their armes, apparell and money: the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Marshall of *Uelleuille* are notable to make good the Kings promise: nay, the Duke of *Anjou*, his presence can not restrayne their intolencies.

The compo-
sition.

They robbe their baggage, they take away their horses, they spoile their men. And to encrease their villanies, the regiment of *Sarricn* being lodged at *Saint Iehan* hate a League off, comes ouerthwart, beats, kills, murders and casts them into the river: and happy is he that can escape in his shirt to recouer *Angoulesme*, where *Piles* and some others holding them selues (by reason of this treacherous and vnworthie vslage contrarie to the Lawe of armes) freed from the conditions wherevnto they were bound by the capitulation, went to the Princes, to vnderstand their pleasures. The historie obserues aboue ten thousand men of warre lost before *Saint Iean*, fise thousand Cannon shot spent, fise and twentie or thirtie Commissaries of the artillerie slaine in their charge, many shronke away, and in the end the Campe was diminished eightene or twenty thousand men.

The army tired with labour, and prest with want of victualls, and other discommodities, dislodging from *Saint Iean d' Angely*, gaue the Princes leysure to determine of their voyage, and the King retyring to *Angers*, assigned the Princes deputies ther, to begin the yeare following by the continuance of a treatie of peace begun in the moneth of Nouember.

A treatie of
Peace

1570.

Beauuais la Noelle and *Teligny* come thether in February, and returne with another answer to the Protestants, but a libertie to liue within the Realme free from search in their houses, and for their safetie two Townes which *Biron* should haue vnto them, in the which they might do what pleased them, without their impugning the Kings authoritie, nor the quiet of the Realme: his Maiestie offering to restore them to their charges, except such as had bene dismissed by the order of Iustice, and the money (growing by the sale thereof,) received by the Kings commandement: but forbidding all exercise of religion, but the Catholike Apostolike and *Romish*: banishing all ministers out of the Realme, and requiring them to disarme, to send backe presently their forraigne forces, and to yeelde vnto Townes possessed by the violence and force of armes. In the meane time postes flie into *England* and *Germanie*, and to diuert or staie the succours and strengths which the Protestants might expect from thence, the brute flies, that a peace is made in *France*.

Enterprise
vpon Bourges
faill to the
vndertakers.

The Princes and Admirall, thinking they were but deuises to hinder their affaires, euery one prepares againe to put on harness: their forces were dispersed into diuers Prouinces: those about *Bourges* had an enterprise vpon the Towne, by the practise of a souldiar, who by treacherie makes them to loose thirtie men at the entrie, and as many prisoners. So hee that thinkes to take is often taken himselfe.

The reduction of *Poitou*, had likewise brought *Marans* and the Castell of *Beauuais* vpon

1570.

At the sea to the Kings obedience. *Angoulesme* and *Rochel* only remained to the Protestants. They had lost *Lusignan*: but *Blaye*, *Taillebourg*, the Isles of *Xaintonge*, *Marannes* and *Brouage*, were yet at their deuotion. To trie *Rochelle*, the King threatens them by his letters, and by promises he seeks to winne the Gouernours of *Flaye* and *Taillebourg*, *Pardailan* and *Romégou*. They answer (saith the Historie) the King wisely, and *Lansac* courageously: *You cannot be more greued (saith Pardillan) to attempt to force mee in this place then I shall be, for the shame, losse, and confusion, which I shall cause you to receiue, or another that shall attempt it.* *Romégou* speaks in the same sence. The effect was more to be feared then words: yet *Lansac* attempted nothing against them. The Islands had much annoyed the seege of *S. Iean d' Ang.* ly, and the *Lansqueniers* escaped from *Montboulour*, were dispersed there. The Earle of *Lude*, *Puigaillard*, and *la Riviere* *Puitaillé*, gouernours, the one of *Angers*, the other of *Marans*, with eight Corners of horse, and twentie enseignes of foote, force the said Islands, and make such a slaughter, as there remained not aboue three hundred fighting men.

La Noue the Princes Lieutenant in *Guienne*, studied to recouer *Brouage*, a place of great importance for the *Rochelois*, when as the Baron of *la Garde* attempting vpon *Tonne-Charente*, made both their enterprises to proue vaine. *Rochelle* is now blockt in on all sides. *Lude* and *Puigaillard* had an armie in *Poitou*: *la Riviere* *Puitaillé* the elder held *Marans* and other places thereabouts: the yonger commanded in *Brouage*. *Landerneau* Viceadmirall held *Olone*. The Brittons and *Bourdalois* cut off the *Rochelois* victualls by sea. *La Garde* then Generall of their galleyes, did runne often times, euen into their hauen: but to presse them on all sides, hee would gladly haue bene maister of *Tonne-Charente*. *La Noue* had vnderaken the defence thereof, who vnderstanding the Barons practise, so planted his shot, as at his enemies first landing, he slue their commanders, and many others, gaue libertie to the slaues, and became maister of the galley: and if heate had not too soone transported them, the rest comming to enter into *Charente*, and resolute to land, they could not haue escaped death or prison. This galley did afterwards serue *Romégou* to beate the Catholikes in many places. And if *La Garde* preuailed nothing by force, his pollicies were of as small effect. So as he lost his time, men, and money, and did nothing of moment.

Contrariwise, the defeat of some troupes at *Nouaille* by the hargubuziers of *la Noue*, vnder the leading of *Scipio* an Italian Ingener, and the recouerie of *Marans* by *la Noue*, vpon *Chaparon* Gouernour of the place, after the death of the elder *Puitaillé* lately deceased, was the cause of the winning of tenne or twelue other places thereabouts, and gaue the *Rochelois* meanes to enlarge themselves. The spoile of *Olone* did enrich them, furnished them with fortie good vessels, with some armes and Canon, and a good number of prisoners, and diminished their enemies strength of about foure hundred fighting men. This reuiuing caused *Puigaillard* and *Fernacques* to make enterprises vpon *Langon* and *Gué* of *Nelugre*, and by the recouery of *Luson* to molest *Marans* and *Rochel* againe, if that *la Noue* had not speedily taken this Fort from them that came to seize on it, and slue *Sforce* a valiant Gentleman, the head of a company of *Italians*, who were come to charge him behind in his retreat.

The tower of *Morie*, the Castle of *la Graue*, *Talmonde*, and the Castle of *Chife*, being taken againe by *Puigaillard*, recompenced the losse of *Luson*: and the conquests of *Puigaillard*, were at the same time crost by *Puinaut* Gouernour of *Marans* by the death of Captaine *Dante*, who scoured all *Poitou*, by the route of their companie: and wounding in a manner, of all the members thereof, and by the ouerthrow of *Chaumont* and *Goulenes*, issued out off *Angoulesme* with two Corners of horse: by the death also of *Guiniere* Gouernour of *Saint Iean d' Angely*: by the ouerthrowe of young *Riviere* *Puitaillé*, the route of his men, and the losse of two Enseignes.

But the death of Captaine *Herbelete*, commanding a company of French, and two of
Hhhh 2
Italians,

1570. *Italians*, and the defeat of his troupes by *Coignes* issued out of *Angoulême*; this then A held for the Princes, made the mid-may famous, a season when as the second peace of peace was renewed.

The Protestants fortified.

Time brings many changes, now it favours the Protestants, revives their courage, fortifies their hopes, and the Catholics are new to beginne the King was weary of this variable continuance of warre, it drew his subjects from his obedience, ruined his Provinces, wasted his treasure, and consumed his forces. The Queen Mother, since the battell of *Meaux*, did still nourish in her breast a fire of revenge. She was wonderfully discontented, that the Protestants in the beginning of the first troubles had so violently opposed against her desire to rule, by the mutuall ruine of one and the other. But there was paine and perill to suppress the heads of the Protestants: many murderers and many poisoners, offered themselves, but the most part drew backe when it came to the effect. Moreover the Princes grew in rage and indgement, they framed themselves to affaires, they began to knowe the friends and enemies of the Common-weale.

And on the other side many Noblemen of eyther partie, labored to temper the humors, both of such as were best affected to the publike quiet, and others in during these incivill confusions, made a way for their ambitious desires, which at *Iron* and *Teligny* chiefe deputies, the one for the King, the other for the Princes, labour about a peace. Let vs see what course the Princes tooke since the battell of *Montcontour* until the peace. A small ball of snowe rowled from a high mountain, grows great in a short time, and becomes able to endure a great force. So the Councell whereby the Princes resolved to retire farre from the Conquerors army, did much awaye them. for they assured their men, fortified themselves with new troupes, and consumed their enemies, in the taking and retaking of places which they had possessed.

The Princes voyage after the battell.

But still the poore people suffer for great mens follies. *Agnois* and *Quers*, serves now as a good retreat for the Protestants. They find there a far & a fruitfull Country, where by the spoile of the contrarie party, they refresh their persons, and make newe bodie. There is nothing but inroads, spoiles and robbings of the enemy but there was violent warre about *Tholouse*, and horrible fires in their houses which belonged to the Court of Parliament. They have *Leone* (saied the Protestants) *re-violent to burne them of our religion, beheaded Captaine Rapin, who carried from the Edict of peace from the King, and to commit many other insolencies, whereof opportunitie nowe cries for vengeance.* Doubtlesse the iustice of God doth sometime send a wished encounter to be revenged of an indignitie received. The Marshall of *Daxville*, *la Valette*, and some other Commanders of qualitie, made some battles with diuers variable euent, but not stryng farre from their walles for feare of surpris.

Carmain, *Oriae*, *la Faye*, *Lesbos*, *Montestruc*, and generally all they beseege (except *Saint Felix*, from whence the *Gascions* were repulled in the assault, with the losse of five men, and the *Vicomte* of *Montclar* hurt whereof he died at *Chastres*) is forced, and the garrisons cut in peeces. During the armies aboade in *Albigois*, the Princes (notwithstanding the crosses of *Escars*, *Pompadour*, *la Vanguion* and others commanding three thousand men) being fortified with five or six hundred horse, brought from *Rochelle* by *Beaudin* and *Renty*, send *Piles* into the Countie of *Roussillon*, where he did spoile and greatly annoy the *Spaniard*, whilst the Kings deputies conferred nere vnto *Carcassonne*, with *Teligny*, *Beauvais* and *la Chassetière*, who going afterwards to his maiestie, considered what we shall see in briefe.

Languedoc, *Vivarox* and *Daulphiné*, having fortified the army with about three thousand harguebuzies, most of them mounted at the Countie mens charge, in steede of those which *Moubrun* had (through fauour of the fort which hee built vpon *Ryze* right against *Pajin*) led away to refresh themselves in their Countie: having

surmounted

A surmounted the difficulties of the mountaines: and the Admirall being freed from a grievous sicknes, which had brought him to death's dore, at *S. Effienne la Forest*, the army comes into *Bourgongne*, where being fortified with fiftene hundred light horse, come from *la Charité* and the neighbour garrisons, vnder the command of *Brique-mault*, they encounter a good occasion to aduance the peace.

It seemed to the Protestants a matter of some difficulty, to obtaine a peace, vnlesse they approached nere vnto *Paris*: and to that ende, the Admirall had suffered almost all his footemen to furnish themselves with horses, and aduanced by great iourneys into the heart of *France*, whilst his troupes were fresh and lusty, and free from diseases. But he had before him, the Marshall of *Cosse*, the Kings Lieutenant in the absence of the Duke of *Antou*: who, to hinder the Princes approach to *Paris*, seeks means to fight with them. They incamped at *Renéle Duke*, a place not very strong of situation, from whence they thought to dislodge them with their Canon, whereof the Princes were vnfurnished, and by diuers volleys of shot, to make them leaue certaine passages which they held. The Marshall, *la Valette*, *Strossy*, and *la Chastre*, come with all speede, charge and recharge them, and at the first, they force them from a passage. *Brique-mault* Marshall of the Campe, *Montgomery* and *Ienlis*, endure the shooke, they kill, hunt & take many: and by this firme resolution, make it knowne, that their lodgings are not to be forced.

So the Marshall sounds a retreat, and the Princes to whom all stay was preiudicial, being strengthened with newe companies drawne out off *Sancerre*, *la Charité*, *Antrath*, *Vezelai*, and other places of their partie, and furnished with some artillery: they turned head towards *Paris*. But a truce of ten dayes, stayed all exploits of war, betwixt them, and the Marshall. While the Barron of *la Garde*, *Puissillard* & *Rimiere* *Puitaille*, chiefe enemies to the Protestants, laboured to become Masters in *Guyenne*, & the neighbour country. To that ende, after they had overcome the troupes of horse and foote, led by *la Noue*, *Soubize*, and *Puissault*, and by a shamefull chase shut their companies into *Rochelle*, they recouer all the forts and places which had bene taken from them since the surpris of *Marans*. And the more to restraine the *Rochelois*, they build a fort at *Lusson*, vnder the command of Captaine *Mascaron*. They hoped this fort should be a bait to drawe the Protestants to field, but having built it without contradiction, *Puissillard* tries another stratageme. He retires his forces into high *Poitou*, giues out, That the Princes had gotten a great victory, and that he must by the Dukes commandement, leade away his troupes with all speed: That by a strong ambush and turning head suddenly, he might charge the Protestants, & defeat them at their first approach. Notwithstanding, *la Noue* & his companions keepe themselves quiet, giuing their troupes (amazed by their last fight) time to take breath, the which causeth *Mascaron* to slacke the gard of his fort.

la Noue being aduertised, that the fort was to be forced, goes out off *Rochelle* with foure Corners, eleuen Enseignes of French, and three hundred *Lansquenets*, which remained: *Puissillard* gathers together speedily what troupes hee can, which now began to leaue him: and to shut vp *la Noue* betwixt *Marans* and *Lusson*: makes them to march two dayes & a night to *S. Gemme*, halfe a league from *Lusson*, but with one light repulse. Here his second policie of war preuailes as little as the first. He saynes himselfe sicke, & giues out, that a burning ague detained him in his bed: then vnder colour of the deliuey of *Roussiere* a gentleman of *Poitou*, & others whom *Puissault* had lately taken in an encounter: he sends a trumpet to assure them of this pretended sicknes, & to discover the strength of the beseegers.

But this spie was not cunning inough: he trips in his answers, and by his faintnesse discovers his maisters practises. *Puissault* extorts the truth by force: then shewing them, that they had to do with men that were toyled & broken with their great march, they dislodge from *S. Gemme* to ioyne with *la Noue*. *Puissillard* is aduertised that the enemy flies, and retires in disorder to *Marans*. He approacheth, enters the Bourg, and finding nothing but the nest, some run to the victuals, others to the spoyle. But they

H h h h 3

haue

1570. haue a contrary aduice. That the enemy is neere and in bataille. *La Noue* had aduised A his men by the fauour of the ditches, hedges, and bushes, which compassed in the Villes of that Country, where as *Puigaillards* horse could not passe but by small companies. *La Noue* commanded the charge. *S. Etienne* and *Bruneleire* begin it, against a hundred and fifty maisters, of the chiefe troupes of *Puigaillard*, and makes them to stagger. *Puigaillards* forth through them, kills some, and amazeth the rest. *Puigaillard* and made that were best mounted, flye vnto *Fontenay*, foure leagues from thence: the footmen hemmed in on all sides, and broken by the hoise, presently giue way, and remaine at their mercy, without mercy, namely of the Lanquenets, who reuenge vpon them the blood of their countrymen, shed neere to *Montcontour*: Sixteene Enseignes, and two Cornets were taken, five hundred old souldiars slaine vpon the place, and thirty men at armes, with many Commanders and Officers of Regiments and Companies. Seven or eight hundred prisoners were sent away with white wands in their hands. The Fort being valiantly assailed, and yeilded by *Mascaron*, added foure companies to the victory, and this victory caused the conquest of *Fontenay la Comte*, from whence the besieged retired to *Niort*: *La Noue* hauing lost his left arme in the siege, *Oleron*, *Mareennes*, *Soubize* and *Brouage*, yeilded to the victors, where as the death of *Riniere*, *Puitailé*, recompensed *La Noue*s hurt. So as by the recouery of all that which the King held about *Rockell*, the Protestants coopt vp the Catholikes within the walles of *Saint Jean d'Angely*. The Prince *Daulphin* came into *Poitou*, to repaye *Puigaillards* losses, and to strengthen the forces of the Earle of *Lude*, for the making C of some new attempt, when as a peace concluded betwixt the King and the Princes, stayed the course of theyr triumphes, the eleuenth of August, and caused a suspension of armes, to renew it againe two yeares after, with a more vnworthy and horrible proceeding.

By this third Edict of peace, they had foure Townes of safety, *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, *Cognac* and *La Charité*, to be held two yeares in the Princes names, and the Princes, with the chiefe Commanders of the Protestants, attending the full execution thereof, retired to *Rochelle*: the armies were dismissed, and the strangers conducted into *Lorraine*. Soone after, the Emperour *Maximilian* the second, gaue his eldest daughter in marriage to *Philip* King of *Spain*, (so the Vncle married his Niece, D and the house of *Austria* hath oft times obteyned such dispensation) and so our *Charles* in the Towne of *Metz* in the end of Nouember, tooke to wife *Elizabeth* the younger sister, a wise and vertuous Princeesse.

There was a peace concluded, but no full obseruation of the Edict: wherevpon the princes sent *Briquemault*, *Teligny*, *Beauuais*, *la Nole* and *Cauannes* to Court. The King at their instance, sent commissioners throughout all the prouinces of his realme. But there were some amongst them, who (not many yeares before) had condemned the Admirall to be hanged. Amongst others, the Marshall of *Coffé*, and *Prouitiere* master of Requests, were at *Rochelle*, to consult with the Queene of *Nauarre*: and the Admirall about the meanes in generall, to mainteine the realme in peace: & particularly E to treat of a marriage betwixt *Henry* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Nauarre*, and *Marguerite* of *Flois* the Kings sister, and then to conferre with the Admirall touching the warre in which his Maiestie seemed to pretend against the *Spaniard* in the Lowe countries, to the protection whereof, he was greatly sollicitud.

The Kings good countenance, and the gifts hee gaue to the Deputies (namely to *Teligny*, who seemed to be greatly in his Maiesties fauour) (& likewise might do much to perswade him) is rather in Lawe to come to Court, makes them at their returne to *Rochelle*, to extoll the Kings singular loue and affection to the Queene of *Nauarre*, the Princes, the Admirall, and to all the rest of their party, and to assure them by his commandement, that he will not onely mainteine the peace, but also confirme it by the alliance of his owne sister; and that he desires to conferre by mouth with the Admirall, touching this new expedition of the Lowe countries, and therefore they should make haste to go vnto him.

And

A And the better to confirme them in this beleefe, the King sends *Biron* after them with the same charge, and that hee would procure the Queene his mother and the Duke of *Angion* his brother, to moderate their spleens and discontents, and would worke a reconciliation betwixt the Duke of *Guise* and the Admirall.

This apparent meanes to confirme a publike concord did please the Admirall, beleieving this marriage should be the ground of a most happie peace, and the Queene of *Nauarre* feared least delay should alter the Kings good meaning. But the accomplishment of the marriage was hindered by some letts: The Pope made some difficulty to dispence therewith, as well by reason of the consanguinity of the parties, (the one being petie Nephewe, the other grand-child of *Francis* the 1. King of *France*) as also, for the difference of their religions. The Queene of *Nauarre* likewise made some scruple of this disparity of religion, of the ceremonies, and of the place of the solemnizing. She would not haue the marriage celebrated after the manner of the Catholike Church, and feared the City of *Paris*, as most affected to their religion, and of long time an enemy to the house of *Nauarre*.

Contrariwise, the King would haue *Paris* to be the Theater, where this notable act should be solemnly celebrated in the vewe of the Capitall Cittie of his Realme, without changing any thing in forme of royall marriages. In the end the respect of ciuill reason preuayled. As for the motives of this warre pretended in the Lowe Country: (they were goodly in shew), for besides this hereditarie hatred of the *French* against the *Spaniard*, being reuiued by the outrages and warres made in *France* by *Charles* and *Philip* his sonne, the remembrance whereof was yet fresh, they renewed the ancient quarrells of many possessions in the Lowe Countries, depending of this Crowne. Moreover they pretended newe causes, which seemed lawfull to breake the alliance betwixt the two Kings. That his Maiestie had most certaine intelligence of poyson giuen by *Philip* to his wife, the Sister of our *Charles*, vpon some discontents and sildie jealousies.

These reasons had a shewe of truth, and the Admirall to the end the *French*, (who cannot liue long together in mutuall concord, and that by a long vse of warre breathed nothing but warre) should not seeke some newe seeds of ciuill diuision, held it D good to diuert this vehement heate against some stranger and nation a farre off. Many necessarie considerations fortified this ciuill Councell. The forces of the Prince of *Orange*, and his bretheren, who spoiled by the *Spaniard* of many rich possessions both in the Lowe Countries, and in the Countrie of *Bourgogne*, had long time sought to recover it by armes. The credit and fauour of the Lowe Countrie men in *Germany*, by reaso of the exceeding crueltie of the Duke of *Alba*, *Lodowike* of *Nassau*, brother to the sayd Prince, a man of great courage and resolution, prest it forward, and his presence was a spurre to the Admirall. Moreover, to the end it should seeme this warre was managed with the Kings consent, his Maiestie did suffer the Prince of *Auranges* fleet to ride about *Rochelle*, annoying the *Spaniards* and *Portugalls*, which E failed vpon that coast for the trafficke of the Lowe Countries: and for the *Comte* *Lodowike*, to sell the bootie hee had taken from the enemy freely and pubbkely at *Rochell*.

So the Admirall, a wydower by reason of *Charlotte* of *Laual* deceased in the second troubles, after he had espoused the *Coutesse* of *Antremont* in *Sauoye* at *Rochelle*, and giuen his daughter *Louyse* to the Lord of *Teligny* to wife, he comes to Court, relying vpon the Kings assurances, so often confirmed by messengers: and especially by the Marshall of *Coffé*, whome the King had sent to accompanie him, presuming the Admirall would giue more credit to the Marshalls words, by reason of their familiarity.

F The King receiued him with all demonstrations of loue (those of *Guise* leaue him the place, not to yeeld any thing vnto him, but to returne soone after with greater authoritie) and to take from him all jealousies & distrusts which were giuen him from al parts: the King at the first doth recopence the losses which the Admirall had sustained

Hhhh 4

during

1571. The Kings distimulation with the Princes and Admirall.

Pretexts for the Lowe Countie warres.

The Admirall comes to Court.

1571. during the former warres, by the gift of a hundred thousand frankes, and grants A him for one whole yeare, the reuenues which his brother the Cardinall of *Chastillon* enioyed (being lately deceased in *England*). He giues him a place in the priuy Councell, doth ofte times conferre with him touching the warres of *Flanders*, and makes shew to be gouerned therein by his aduice and Councell: he honours him with that plausible name of father, and treats with him so familiarly, as the Countries tooke this familiarity for a seale of his Masters affection to the Admirall, and the people began nowe to murmure, that *Charles* not onely fauored the *Huguenots*, but would shortly himselfe become a *Huguenot*. A Cunning bayte to free the Admirall from suspicion by the aduertisements which had beene giuen him to the Contrary. Hee could nowe tast no admonitions, his spirit was so transported with the Kings Countenance and words.

Doubtlesse the wisdom of man failes euen in the wisest, when it pleaseth him that giues it, to weaken the strongest spirits, and (by a iudgement incomprehensible to man) to cast a vayle before his eyes, and to make him vnable to conceiue the iustice and horror of the iudgement which hee meanes to display. For the better aduancing the enterprise of the Lowe Countries, the Admirall thought it fit the King should make a peace with *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*. They might treat with a very honest colour, to the preiudice of the *Spaniards*. *Elizabeth* was not married, and *Henry* Duke of *Aniow* had no wife, the dignitie of so high an alliance was honorable for the Duke, and the qualitie of a Kings Brother was not to bee contemned by the Queene: hauing also in his yong age purchased great glorie and reputation.

Peace with the English.

This charge is giuen to the Marshall of *Montmorency*. But the issue did shewe, that besides this negotiation of peace, their meaning was to abuse both the Admirall and all others whome it was expedient to abuse for the execution of the Councell of *Saint Cloud*, and by the same practise to send the Marshall farre from Court, least by his ordinary conuersing with the King, hauing a good iudgement, and smelling out the complots of this pitifull Tragedie, hee should discouer them to the Admirall his Cousin: and by meanes of this newe peace, the English in the midst of this indignity, should bee restrained from attempting of any thing in fauour of the Protestants, as it chanced. During this time the Admirall retires to *Chastillon*: and in the meane season they prepare a fleet at *Bordeaux* and *Brouage*, vnder the Commande of *Stroff*, *Landereau* and the Baron of *la Garde*. The pretext was the warre of *Flanders*, yet had they expresse Commission to attempt vpon *Rochell*, and by open or secret practises to get it in their owne powre.

The Queene of Navarre comes to Court.

The Admirall hauing founded the fount, vpon his assurance to the Queene of *Navarre* of the Kings singular affection to her and to all her house, in the ende she goes to *Blois*, where as the Court remayned. Here vpon falls out an accident, which made the aduancement of the sayd marriage more easie: The death of Pope *Pius* the 5. *Gregorie* the 13. succeeded him, where vpon the King sent the Cardinall of *Lorraine* to *Rome*, to assist at the new election, and to procure of his successor a necessary dispensance, for the accomplishing of the solemnity.

Letters intercepted.

Some letters of the Cardinall of *Pelue* (sometimes a scullen in the College of *Montaigne*, and then seruanto to the Cardinall of *Lorraine* during his studie, and afterwards growne to be a Cardinall) written vnto his maister, beeing intercepted by the way, conveying among other things: That the Court of *Rome* did wonder greatly at the familiarity the King vsed to the Admirall, during his abode neare his Maestie: that it was fit to use such policie, attending the execution of the priuie Councell, the which discovered sufficiently that which was generally spoken of throughout all *France*.

This had beene concluded at *Saint Cloud* neere vnto *Paris*, amongst fewe persons, but it was common in many mens mouthes: and *Lignerolles*, gouernour of *Bourbonois*, one of the Duke of *Aniow*s mignons, for that hee had blabbed out something which hee had learned in secret of his master, hee did expiate the rashnesse of his

licentious

A licentious tongue, with the price of his blood. But wee shall see in our daies a more strange effect of Gods iustice, for that the last of our Kings of the race of *Valois*, shall end his life miserably in the same chamber where the fatall Councell had beene held in his presence.

Neither could the aduice of *Peine*, nor any other, stay the Admirall from coming to *Paris* as soone as the King: being solicited by his Maestie, by many and iudicious letters, to conclude fully of the marriage (besides they treated the marriage of the Prince of *Conde* with the Marquise of *Lisle*, the yongest daughter of the house of *Nauarre* and of the voyage of *Flanders*. The Queene of *Navarre*, to whome this long delay was very troublesome, prepared all things necessary for so famous an act, but shee falls sicke of a quotidian feuer, the fourth of Iune, eightene dayes after her arrival, and dies the fift day after her sickness, growing (saide the Physicians) of an extraordinary hardnes of the lungs, with a great impostume, augmented by the great heat of the season, and her continuall trauell in the time of her health. A Princess of a notable courage, inuincible in aduersitie, of a ready wit, iudicious, absolute in her actions, capable of Councell, comprehending things with a great viuacity of spirit, and deliuering her mind with an admirable grace, either by word or by writing: of a beautilfull complexion, and very pleasant in conuersation. But happie chiefly in this, that shee hath left to vs a lawfull heire for to inherite this Crowne, to redeeme it out off the hands of the stranger, and to preferre it with happinesse and C prosperitie.

The Admirall comes to Paris.

The death of the Queene of Navarre.

Her vertues;

Many are amazed at this sodaine death, as an assured foretelling of some future mischiefe. The King, the Queene mother, and all the Kings house shew a wonderfull sorrow: and to take away ail suspicion of poyson, *Charles* commaunds the bodie to be opened, and to search the causes of her death. The Physicians report, there is no shew of poyson, but her braine was not opened. Some hold opinion, that an *Italian*, the Kings perfumer, presented her with a paire of gloues, which prevented her from beholding of that pitifull and bloodie Tragedie, which shall bee shortly acted. The continuall messages sent from *Charles*, had likewise drawen the Princes to Court: and this death did seeme to aduance the marriage, for shee gaue vnto her sonne the kingdom of *Navarre*, and now hee began to enioy the title of King, and all his mothers succession. The Popes dispensation was necessary, without the which the Cardinall of *Bourbon* vnckle to *Henry*, who was appointed to marrie them, refused to proceed therein. In the end it comes, and the day of the consummation is appointed to bee kept the eighteenth day of August.

Suspected to be poysoned.

Such were the actions of the Court, whilest that Count *Lodowike*, *la Noue*, *Saucourt* and *Tenlis*, to whome the King had giuen cheefe Commissions for the *Belgic* warre, had by the taking of *Monts* in *Hainault*, drawne all the Duke of *Albaes* forces against them. *Flussegue* had slaine their Gouernour, with the most part of the *Spanish* garrison, and repulsed thote the Duke had sent to recover the Towne. Many other Townes of the low Countries followed the like example. *Holland* and *Fland* insisted for their libertie. Beginnings which seemed to draw after them a long continuance of great consequence: and the authoritie the King gaue to the aboue named to provide for the succour of *Monts*, and for the continuing of other like exploits, induced the Admirall to beleuee firmly, that the King embraced this businesse without dissimbling. According to this authority, *Tenlis* led five hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, whereof the Duke of *Alba* being aduertised, he surprised him sodainely, defeated his troups, tooke him prisoner with many others, and slue many of his men.

Beginning of the warres in Flanders.

Tenlis defeated

The King seemed displeased with these newes, hee sends to *Monduet* his Ambassador in the low Countries, to procure the libertie of the prisoners, and suffers the Admirall to send such succours as hee could, to ioyne with the armie of

Meanes to reuine the Admirall.

1572. of *Resfres* which the Prince of *Orange* had leuied: he caused money to be made, eadie for the entertainment of the foote, which they esteemed foure regiments, and little companies of men at armes. The Ambassadour of *Spain* was gone out of *France*. The Queene Mother likewise playing her part, seemed to bee ignorant of the Kings desseignes, and being informed thereof, she seemed ready to retire from Court. These reasons did still confirme the Admirall, *Teligny* and the rest in that beliefe: That the King concurred with the Admirall in one will, to send the warres faire off into the King of *Spaines* countries, the which he had before kindled in the foure corners, and in the midst of this realme, pretending to entertaine it there, and to maintaine himselfe with the shipwrack of this Crowne, and to seize thereon in time, as the attempt of his desseignes in our dayes haue testified.

The Marshall of *Montmorency* returned from his Ambassage, bringing a mutual league offensive and defensive, with and against all men, not naming any one: but the marriage, whereof he had charge remained fruitlesse: which made many beleue that it was but a meere fiction, fit for the season, where they prepared a scaffold, on the which they should soone present a horrible spectacle. The Marshall eyther not to be a spectator nor councillor, or doubting to beeing engaged in these publike and private furies, retires himselfe to his house. *Roebell* was in the meane time belagard, soldiers arrived hourly, giuing terrible threats against the Towne, who began to crie to the Admirall for succours. In other Townes they heard secret murmurings, which terrified the most cleere sighted among the Protestants. These aduertisements found continually in the Admirals eares. But he continues alwayes like vnto himselfe, constant in the midst of all motions, and grew resolute against all such as laboured to call him from Court, eyther by mouth or writing. As for the house of *Guise* (sayd hee) whereof they will put me in feare, the King hath taken order, making vs to sweare before him to continue friends: and as for them of the religion, the marriage of *Madam Marguerit*, whom his Maieslie giues not to the King of *Navarre* alone, but as it were to all those of the party, to ioyne himselfe vnto them by an indissoluble union, is the finishing of their quiet and safetie. To conclude, he will be no more troubled touching the Kings ill meaning, nor the Queene Mothers, the Duke of *Aniours*, the *Guisens*, nor any others.

Negotiation
of Poland.

And that which fetles the Admirall the more in his conceit, he finds the King, after the death of *Sigismund* King of *Poland* to affect the pursuite of that Crowne in fauour of his brother. *Charles* was cleere sighted in affaires of State; he was young, yet of a quick and ready wit, and (if bloudie and furtious counsels had not peruered him,) without doubt he might haue brought forth better fruites, and this Monarchie had bene freed from the miseries which haue since ruined it. His brother had great credit generally in *France*: his mildnesse made him pleasing to his Mother, and his liberality, to the people. He desired rather to see him command farre off then nere. And the Admirall, who knew the Duke of *Aniours* to be an irreconcilable enemy to the Protestants, supposed that the King would by his absence settle a firme peace. That *Henry* being confined in *Poland*, his adherents would grow more milde: that the house of *Guise* disappointed of this support, would feare the Kings lookes, the which sometimes appeared terrible: and that *Charles* would soone discharge the Queene his Mother from the government of affaires, and take it wholly vnto himselfe, as already he made some shewes of his intent.

The Admirall seeing *Iohn* of *Monluc* Bishop of *Valence*, a man of iudgment, and practised in negotiations, departed for this Ambassage, hee fed himselfe with new hopes. And contrarywise, *Monluc* (foreseeing the imminent storme,) was very glad to be neither a councillor nor a witness of the miseries that were like to fall vpon the Protestants. And indeed he had before counselled many of the principalls amongst them, not to meddle in this imaginary warre of *Flanders*, but to retire in time to their houses, and not to trust ouermuch in the goodly shewes of Court, considering the enuie of the great, and the ill will of the people of *Paris*. But thus God confounds the iudgment, and blinds the vnderstanding of such as he referues for an example to their posterity.

Apoteryty. O *France*, my haire stands vpright, and I tremble, to enter into the relation of so inhumaine a tragedie. And shall wee neuer bee satisfied to heare the lamentable and continuall slaughter of our countrymen? what man would not be troubled? what minde would not be oppressed with heauinesse and griefe, to see so much bloud vnprofitably spilt in our Citties, which should be carefully preserved for the defence of our country against strangers and common enemies? yet let vs passe this dangerous pillage: the course of times inuities vs to proceed.

A great number of Noblemen, both Catholikes and Protestants, repaired from all parts, to the solemnizing of this marriage. Those of *Guise* come, bringing with them a large traine of persons, of all qualities faithfull vnto them. The water which moues by little and little, the birdes which houer aboue it, and the ayre colder then of custome, foretelt a storme to come. So the common murmurings, the stirring of the quarter maisters, and other Captaines of *Paris*, the Kings guards dispersed through the City, the ordinary threats against the Protestants, were certaine testimonies, That this marriage should be seasoned more with bloud then water. The day appointed comes: the Cardinall of *Bourbon* marries the parties vpon a high scaffold, built before the doore of our Ladyes Church at *Paris*. Foure dayes are spent in playes, feasts, dancing and masks: which finished, the King protests to the Admirall, that he will answer and satisfie the Protestants requests. Euerie one of their Churches had their Deputies in Court, for many affaires, wherein the Admirals authority was very necessary. They ought a great summe of money to the *Germanes*, due for their entertainment in former warres: for the payment whereof, the King had suffered them to tax themselves to the fifth part of their estates. The Commissioners and Receiuers prest the collection, being desirous to make an end of that businesse, the day of payment being past. Hereon the Admirall treated with the Priuie Councell, on Friday the two & twentieth of August, where the Duke of *Aniours* in the Kings absence was president.

The marriage
solemnized.

At the rising of the Councell, the Admirall hauing attended on the King, who went to play at Tennis, he retyred himselfe to his lodging at dinner time, being accompanied with fiftene or sixteene Gentlemen: and reading a petition, when as being about Da hundred paces from the Louvre, a Harguebuse shotte from the window of a lodging neere by, belonging to *Villemur*, sometimes Schoolemaister to the Duke of *Guise*, carries away the forefinger of the right hand, and wounds him in the left arme. They brake downe the doore of the lodging: they finde the Harguebuse, but not him that discharged it. This was *Maureuel* (vnder a counterfet name of *Bolland* of the Kings gardes) a fitte man for such murders: who mounting vpon a Genet of *Spain* which was provided ready for him, fled by Saint *Anthones* gate, to a place of safetie.

The Admiral
hurt.

The King played, and vpon the first report of this hurt: Shall I neuer haue quiet (said he) shall I dayly see new troubles. And casting his Racket to the ground, he retyred to the Louvre, and sweares with an execration to the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*, (who were come vnto him to complaine of this outrage) to take such exemplary iustice of the offender, his fautors and adherents, as the Admirall and his friends should haue cause to rest satisfied. Hee presently commands to pursue him that shotte, (but they go slowly after him) hee appoints three of the Parliament to make informations against the culpable, *Thran*, *Morsan* and *Viole*: hee leaues onely two gates open with great gardes, vnder colour to search for such as were priuie with this outrage, putting the whole City into armes. The Queene Mother seemes to bee discontented. They doe great wrong vnto the King, (cries she): if hee should suffer this crime unpunished, they would in the end attempt against his owne house. These counterfet speeches retein the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, who had desired leaue to retyre themselves, but then they made no more mention of leauing the Court.

Charles himselfe & *Katherin* his mother, come in the aftermoone to visit the Admirall. The

1572. The Admirall shewes vnto them the miseries which the breach of the peace would bring vnto France: beseecheth him to chase away these mutinies, and to mainteine his promised faith, whereupon he was come to Court, and to prouide for the preferuation of the realme. But the Queene Mother knew well how to prevent him, least he should acquaint the King with some secrets, touching the preferuation of his Estate. The King protests againe to be exceeding forry: that this acte toucheth his honour, and that he will be reuenged, so as the memory thereof shall remaine for euer. Hee perswades the Admirall to suffer himselfe to be carryed to the *Louure*, for the safetie of his person: that it was to be feared, least the multitude stirred vp by the authours of his hurt, should fall into some greater mutinie. He also aduiseeth the Gentlemen Protestants, to lodge about the Admirals lodging, least (sayd hee) that being disperied through the City, they should receiue some wrong. But to shew that hee would not forget any thing that might concerne the Admirals safety, seeing the grieve of his wound would not suffer him to be transported, hee commands *Coffeins* Captaine of his gardes, to giue the Admirall as many of his garde as hee pleased, and to suffer no Catholike to enter. And least any man should grow amazed hereat, the King writes to the Gouvernours of the Prouinces, to the chiefe Townes, and Magistrates: *That he would take such order, as the authors of so wicked an acte should bee knowne and punished.* And to his Ambassadors with forraigne Princes: *That they should make it knowne to all the world, that this outrage doth displease him.* The Queene mother writes in like maner, but this was onely to keepe euery byrd within his nest.

Treachery in
a King.

In the meane time the Dukes of *Aniou* and *Guise*, tooke counsell of that which they had to doe the right following. Saterday in the morning, it is bruted through out the City, that the Protestants did threaten the house of *Guise*. Herevpon the Dukes of *Guise* and *Amale* go vnto the King, and say vnto him: That of late they haue found their seruice to be little agreeable to his Maiestie: that if he were pleased to see them reryed to their houses, they were ready to depart. *Go* (saith *Charles* vnto them with a frowning countenance) *where you please, I will haue you at all times, if you bee found guilty of the Admirals hurt.* So making shew to be discontented, they go to horse, and many with them, yet meaning to lye in *Paris*.

The King re-
solves to mil-
litate the Pro-
testants.

Paris was a pit-fall to intrap the chiefe of all the Protestants: they being dead, the baser sort of that party, would in all likelyhood remaine quiet. The time now offered a fitt opportunity of reuenge, the which should not be lost. This counsell was taken after dinner at the *Tuileries*, by the King, the Queene Mother, the Dukes of *Aniou*, *Neuers*, *Rejts* and *Tauannes*. The King of *Nauarres* life, with the Prince of *Condes*, were put in ballance, the warres had bene managed in their names: If they liue (sayd one) they will serue as an Enseigne, to reuiue those *Huguenots* which shall remaine in diuers Prouinces, and shall euery day minister new motiues of confusions. Contrarywise, the Admirall and the principals being taken away, it shall bee easie to retrain the young Princes, not onely not to attempt any inuouation, but also in time to win the Kings good fauour by their seruices: also the indignity of the fact would purchase an insupportable hatred among strangers. God disposed the hearts of the Councell to this second aduice, so as they will imbrace the Catholikes religion, and liue vnder the obedience of his Maiesty. As for the rest (whom the fury of their armes should touch,) they might with a goodly pretext, leaue to the ancient quarrell of the *Guise*s against the Admirall, and take for an excuse, the feare they had least the *Huguenots* should seeke a reuenge for his hurt. To lay all the hatred vpon the *Guise*s, they giue the charge of this businesse to the Duke of *Guise*: they appoint him the meanes, the time, and the ministers of the execution.

The Duke of
Guise giues
order for the
massacre.

The night being come, the Duke calls vnto him the Captaines of the *Suisses*, and other companies, (whom to that end they had drawne into the City, and deliuer his charge vnto them, which was, to roote out the Admirall and all his Partisans. He exhorts them to bloud and spoile, and disposeth his troupes in some speciaall places. Then he giues aduise vnto the Prouost of the Marchants, the Sheriffes and quarter maisters: That

That throughout all France, the like should be done to the *Huguenots* as at *Paris*. That the Palace Bell ringing at the breake of day, shall giue the signall: and the marke of these executioners should be a handkercheffe tyed about their armes, with a white crosse in their hartes, That they should put their men in armes, and be at midnight in the Towne-house, to receiue order what they had to do.

They assemble at midnight, and place many gardes in the streetes. Some Gentlemen lodged neere vnto the Admirall, rise at the noise of their armes, and the light of their Lampes, and going into the streetes, they inquire of the first they meete, what this assembly of armed men meant at so vnseasonable a time. A doubtfull answer being giuen them, makes them to repayre to the *Louure*, to discouer more. Here the gardes go from words to blowes, and fall vpon them. The Duke of *Guise* parts second, the Duke of *Amale*, *Coffeins*, *Sarlaboux*, *Gous*, *Attin* a *Piccard*, *Hausfort* an *Au-negne*, and *Besmes* a *Germaine*, with some Harguebuziers of the Kings, and all the Duke of *Anious* garde. The Alarm Bell rings at *Saint Germaine Auxerrois*, and they publish throughout the City: That the *Huguenots* had conspired against the King, the Queene Mother, and all the chiefe in Court. *Coffeins* knocks at the Admirals gate: hee enters at two of the Clock in the morning, the 24. of the moneth, stabbes him that comes to open it, forceth the dores of the lodging, enters with seuen or eight armed men. *Besmes* a household seruant to the Duke of *Guise*, offers the Admirall the point of his sword. Herevpon the Admirall being risen vpon his secte, and covered with his night gowne, sayd: *Yong man, thou shouldst haue respect vnto my olde age, and infirmite, but thou shalt no way shorten my dayes:* he thrusts him through the breast, and then doubles it on his head. *Attin* shootes him through with a Pistoll: and when as the three wounds were not able to ouerthrow him, *Besmes* wounds him on the legges: euery one of the rest giues his blow, and thus they cast that body miserably to the ground, whom liuing and in health they durst not looke in the face. The Duke of *Guise* hearing the noyse of their armes in the base Court, enquires if it bee done, and commands them to cast him out at the window: who yet breathing, layes hold on the pillar: but these butcherly murderers hurle him downe headlong, where the Duke wiping his face with a handkercheffe. *I know him* (sayeth hee) *it is the very same:* and so spurnes him with his foote, then going into the streete: Courage companions, we haue begun happily, let vs proceed to the rest, the King commands it. An *Italian* of the household of the Duke of *Neuers*, cutts off his head, and carryes it to the King and Queene Mother, which causing it to bee imbaulmed, sent it to the Pope and the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, for an assurance of the death of his most capitall enemy.

The chiefe
murderers.

The Admirall
murdered.

The Palace clocke strikes, and the people flie to the Admirals lodging like madde men, one cutts off his hands, another his priuie members: and for the space of three dayes, they dragge this poore carcasse with all indignity through the streetes, and then they carry and hang it by the feete at *Montfaucon*. His lodging is spoiled, his household seruants murdered. Those which attended on the King of *Nauarre* and Prince of *Conde*, are driuen out of their chambers: (they were in the *Louure*, where the King had lodged them, to the end, (sayd he) that those of *Guise*, hauing the people at their deuotion, they should not in like maner feelee the effects of their violence) and murdered in the base court, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lodged in the Admirals quarter, vndergo the like fortune. The like furie oppresseth the other Protestants throughout the City and Suburbes, of all ages, conditions and sexes, men, women, and children, riche and poore. There is nothing to be heard in *Paris*, but a horrible noyse of armes, horses, and Harguebuses: a lamentable crye of people going vnto death, a pittifull complaint of such as cryed for mercy, and the pittiflesse showts of murderers. The streetes are strewed with carcases, the pauements, market places, and riuer dyed with bloud. One day alone (by the murderers saying) hath ended the quarrell, which neyther Pent, Paper, decrees of Iustice, nor open warre, could

The Protes-
tants massa-
cred.

1572. see determined in twelue yeares. About ten thousand soules makes this Sunday famous A for euer, polluted with the spoyle of goods, and the effusion of their blood that were asleepe, disarmed, and at such a season as they thought themselves most safe. And doubtlesse the horrible catastrophes happened since to our *Charles*, to his brother and successors, and to the bretheren of the house of *Guise*, in the last acts of their liues, and generally to all this realme, euen vnto our dayes, forceth vs to confesse, That mans blood violently spilt, when as the manner of it may not lawfully be qualified with the name of Iustice, cannot please his sight, who hath created them to his owne image and likeness, and sels them deerly to the authors of this effusion.

The same of this massacre, had already passed from the City to the Suburbes, when as the Earle of *Montgomery*, *Iohn of Ferrieres* Vidame of *Chartres*, *Beauneville*, *Noële*, *Fontenay*, and many Gentlemen, lodged in the suburbs of *Saint Germaine*, perceiuing a number of men to crosse the riuer, to make them equall with their companions: they abandon their baggage, go sodnly to hoise and saue themselves with speed, being pursued halfe a dayes journey by the Duke of *Guise*. But he that should haue brought the Keyes of *S. Germain* gate, hauing mistaken them, gaue them some leisure to get the aduantage.

The King
aduowes the
murder.

The King sends for the King of *Nauarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, and gives them to vnderstand: That hauing been crost many yeares with a continuance of warre, he had in the end found an assured meane to cut off all motiues of confusions to come, that by his commandement they had slaine the Admirall (the pernicious author of pasted C troubles:) that now they did the like to others in the City, that were infected with the poyson of heresie, and the ministers of his wickednesse. That he remembered well the discommodities hee had receiued by their two meanes, making themselves the heads of a troupe of desperate men. That now the cause and opportunity gives him meanes to be reuenged of such outrages: but notwithstanding hee doth pardon their offence, by reason of consanguinitie and their young age, beleeuing that all had bene committed, not by their fault and counsell, but by the Admirall and other wicked subiects, who now haue suffered and doe suffer a iust punishment due to their desert, so as hereafter they repair their faults past, by fidelity and obedience, and renouncing the doctrine of their prophane superstition, they cleaue to the Catholike D religion, and returne into the communion of the Church. That hereafter he will haue but one religion within his realme, euen that which hee hath receiued from his Ancestors: That they should aduise whether they would obey him in this point, if not, let them resolute to yeeld their heads to the like punishments of their companions.

The King of *Nauarre* beseecheth his Maiestie to remember his promise, and the alliance lately contracted, and not to force him in the religion which hee hath learned from his infancie. The Prince of *Condé* answers: That the King hath giuen his faith, to all them of the religion, and that he cannot perswade himselfe hee will breake to solemne an othe. As for the obedience (saith he) you require of me, I haue faithfully performed it vnto this day, neyther will I hereafter straye in any thing from my duty. E But as for my religion, my Lige, I am resolu'd to continue constant, (and with the hazard of my life) mainteine it to bee true: you haue granted me the exercise thereof, and God hath giuen me the knowledge, to whom I must yeeld an account, leaving my body and goods to the disposition of your will. This resolute answer puts *Charles* into choller, who full of threats, giues the Prince but three dayes liberty to aduise, whether he would soone loose his head vpon a scaffold. In the end, both abjure the doctrine they had followed, and by the intercession of the Cardinall of *Bourbon* their Vncle, they obteyned pardon of the Pope, and were receiued into the bosome of the Church.

A noble resolution of a
young Prince.

After the massacre, those of *Guise*, according to the conclusion of the Councell, F should retyre themselves into some one of their houses out of *Paris*, and *Charles* should expresse charge and command the *Gouernours* of Prouinces and Townes, to obserue the Edict of peace, and to punish the breache thereof seuerely, to the end

A the people of *France*, and their neighbours, should impute all the fury of this massacre, to the ancient quarrell of those of *Guise*, with the house of *Chastillon*. But the foulness of the fact might heape vpon them and their posteritie, the hatred of all men, with whom humane society and vertue is in recommendation. For they had not spared an infinite number of learned men, of reuerent old men, honest virgins, honourable matrons, women with child, chaste maydens, young Schollers, and little infants hanging at the breasts of their mother.

The *Guiseans*
denie to take
the massacre
vpon them.

Arming themselves therefore with the peoples loue, they refuse to go out of *Paris*, handling the matter so politickly, as they cause the King to auouch all that had bene done. So *Charles* writes other letters to his Ambassadors and *Gouernours*, aduertising them. That the tumult which had happened concerned not religion, but the preservation of his estate, his house and person, against the practises of the Admirall, and some other seditious persons; who had ioynly conspired his death, his Mothers, and his bretherens, and therefore he would haue his Edict of pacification religiously obserued. Yet if any *Huguenots* (moued with these newes of *Paris*,) should assemble armes, they should roote them out, as perturbers of the publike peace, referring the surplusage of his will, to the credit of the bearer. And the better to authorize this approbation, the 26. of August, *Charles* with his bretheren assits in Parliament, all the chambers being assembled, where sitting in his seate of Iustice, he declares openly, that those things which had chanced in *Paris*, were done by his owne proper motion and commandement, yet making no mention of the cause. *Chrislopher of Thon* the cheife President, commended his zeale in the name of all the company.

The Admirall
accused of
conspacie.

But to what end did he write the contrary the next day, to his officers and the Magistrates of Townes; That to his great grieve, the Admirall his Cousin, and some others of his party, had bene slaine at *Paris*: commanding them to preuent all murders and murders, and to proclaime, that every man should remaine quiet in his house, without taking of armes, or giuing any offence: and to giue order that his Edict of pacification be exactly obserued: and yet the same day to publish a declaration of the former tenour, containing, that by his expresse commandement, the Admirall and other his complices had bene slaine, not for matter of religion, but to preuent the execution of a wicked practise made by them, against the Kings person, the Queene Mother, his bretheren, the King of *Nauarre*, (this was for a colour of excuse, to such as would object, why then was this Prince saued from shipwrack, and it may be for the loue of him, the Prince of *Condé* his cousin,) and generally against their houses, and the houses of *France*?

Doubtlesse there was small likely hood, that a little troupe of men, dispersed some in the suburbs, others within the City in small numbers, should presume to attempt any thing against the Estate. *Charles* had both night and day his ordinary gardes, *French*, *Swisses*, and *Scottishmen*: the most of the Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the realme were in Court to honour the marriage. Those which had accompanied the King of *Nauarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, had no other armes but their swords: and for a gage of their innocencie, had brought for the most part their wives, children, sisters, and kinsfolke, studying onely to shew themselves at the Tilt and Tourney. The accusation made no mention of time, place, or adherents, neyther of the meanes, or any witnesses of this conspiracy. If it had bene plotted since the Admirals hurt, three hundred Gentlemen vnarmed, which had accompanied him, could they haue effected any thing, vnder a Commander, tyed by both the armes, and ready to see the one cut off by the aduise of the Physitians and Chirurgians, in a mighty City, and against about three score thousand men, ready to be opposed at the first alarm?

F Moreouer, the King of *Nauarre* and Prince of *Condé*, who had bene still present at all councells, would they haue blemished their honours and houses with so great an infamie? And if their innocencie had freed them from the common danger, the consultations of the Admirall and his followers, had they not bene very childish at such a

1572. time, in such a place, among so many naturall Frenchmen come with him, who had neither goods, kinsfolke, pleasure, nor content without the Realme? Besides, if the Admirall were suspected of this attempt: might they not haue committed him presently to a safe prison, informe of his practises, and take such conclusions as the crime might deserue according to the Lawes? To conclude: admit the Admirall after his hurt, or else his friendes had giuen forth some bad speeches, must the same punishment deuoure so many persons, who conuersed onely with their bookes and papers, with their traſlike, and with their worke, so many women, who dreamt but of their husewiferye, so many virgins and infants, whose age and condition kept them from the conference of any counsell?

As for the attempt against the King of *Nauarre*: that accusation is frivolous. Had not the Admirall him in his power, for the space of three yeares? what benefit should he reape by his death? Haue they not conuersed long together with an humble & sincere respect of the Admirall towards him, and a perfect loue of the said King to the Admirall? Let omit all other reasons that might refuse this slander: let vs onely obserue the testimonie which *Monluc* giues in the 7. booke of his remembrances, vpon this subiect. *The Queene mother* (saith he) *did me the honour to write vnto mee, that they had discovered a great conspiracie against the King and his Estate, the which was the cause of what had happened. I knowe what my belief was, it is not good to offend ones master. The King did neuer forget, how the Admirall made him retire in hast from Meaux to Paris: mee loose our iudgments soberly, and doe not dreame that Kings haue greater harts then we haue, and doe sooner forget seruices then offences.* And a little aboue: *My Lord the Admirall was ill aduised, to thrust himselfe into Paris, to shew that hee gouerned all. I wonder, that so aduised and wise a man, should comit so grosse an errour. Hee payed deere for it: it cost him his life, and many more.*

The particularities of such as, during this horrible butcherie, haue shed their blouds for religions sake, at *Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Bourges, la Charité, Lions, Tholouse, Fourdoux, Rouan*, and other Townes, in villages, and in the open fields, as they sought to saue themselves without the realme, haue bene obserued in other workes that are extant, and the bloud of these murdered persons, which amount to about thirty thousand, hauing died the earth, and made the waters reddy, haue cryed so loude, that the heauens haue continued their vengeance, ouer great and small, for so many yeares, as there remains scarce any one of the authors of this violent fact. *Brittanie* and *Picardie* remained reasonably quiet: *Champagne* and *Bourgogne* shed little bloud, through the pollutione of them of *Guisse*, that all the blame might light vpon the King, (as also they had saued many of the chier Protestants in the midst of the furie of this *Parisien* euent.) In *Auuerne* *Saint Heran* put more money into his cofers, then he shed bloud in his gouernment. In *Daulphiné* there were some murders committed. In *Prouence*, the humanitie of the Earle of *Tende* restrayned the hands and swords of the bloud minded.

In the end, the people (glutted with the bloud, and cloyed with the spoyle of the murdered protestants,) growe quiet, and the King appoints an extraordinary *subtile* with generall processions, where his Maiestie assisted with the Queene his mother, his brethren, and the Court, of purpose to giue thanks to God, for that which had so happily succeeded. There were yet some thornes stucke in *Charles* his feet: *Rochel, Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes, Aubenas, Millaud, Priuas, Mirebel, Anduze* and other small Townes of *Vinrets* and *Seuennes*, serued as a Sanctuary for the Protestants that were escaped, to keepe them from danger. *Rochel* was not to be dealt with all, and it seemed that industrie and secret practises should preuaile more then open force. *Strossy* and *la Garde* will relecue the inhabitants with men to keepe it, and vsfurnish them of victuals, requiring a quantitie to refresh their armie.

But they had men inough: a great number were fled thither, and many Protestant soldiars, whom the hope of the voyage of *Flanders* entertained in the Kings army, slippt hourelly into their Towne. Their priuileges likewise did free them from garnisons, and

A and as for victuals, they had for their prouision, but could not spare any. *Strossy* and *la Garde*, spent both time and money in vaine about *Rochel*: they therefore send *Biron* vnto them for their Gouernour, with expresse commandement to receiue a garrison. They answer: That they cannot beleue that that charge comes from the King, who commanded the strict obseruation of the Edict, and grants them the vse of their ancient priuileges vnder his obedience. And for a testimony, they produce the Kings letters of the 22. and 24. of August, whereby his Maiestie layes the motives of the sedition vpon them of *Guisse*, saying; That he had much adoe to mainteine himselfe in the midst of his gardes, in his Castle of *Louure*. As for the reasons which made them to auoyde all the surprises and baits, of such as *Biron* sent to treat with them, they vsed the meanes which politicke wisdom doth vsually furnish in such incoun- ters: offering notwithstanding to accept *Biron*, so as the troupes may bee retyred from thence; the exercise of their religion to remaine free, and that he bring no forces into the Towne.

Biron summons them by vertue of his authority, and vpon refusall, proclaimes war against them: and euen then, vnder colour to giue the armie at Sea meanes to disperse itselfe, he labours by all meanes to cut off their victuals and prouisions, and to weaken them of their men. The King by his Letters Pateents of the 8. of October, calls home all that were fled out of diuers Townes, saying, that as a good father of a family, he had pity of his poore subiects, being out of their houses: and for not coming, he did seize and declare their goods forfeit. Yet the excuses which the King made vnto the Pope, to the Duke of *Alba*, and to the Ambassador of *Spaine*: That the brutes of the *Belgique* warre, and all the former Councils had tended to no other end but to the ruine of the *Huguenots*: that his intent was to liue in peace and good correspondencie with the Catholike King: and the Commissions he had sent to the Gouernours of Provinces, to degrade all Protestants from their offices and publike charges, although they were ready to renounce their religion, except such as aduanced to meaner offices, were continued by the King, abiding according to a forme set downe by the College of *Sorbonne*; and to search for all Protestants, that during the troubles had had the command of armes, or Townes of warre, made this repeale of *Charles* to be wonderfully suspect.

Hereafter they vse all acts of hostilitie against the *Rochelois*: such as they know to be of the Towne, are kept prisoners, and put to their ransome: ships that sayled towards their Port were stayed, all marchandise belonging to the *Rochelois* seized and confiscated. They therefore hasten the succours which the Counte *Montgomery*, the Viscount of *Chartres* and others, prepared for them in *England*. The 25. of October they set sayle, but not able to approche, they returned back. Those of *Sancerre* hauing refused to receiue a gouernour and garrison from the hands of *La Chastre* gouernour of *Berry*, were beleagard in the beginning of October. *Cadaillet Grome* of the Chamber and the Kings Huntsman, very well knowne in the Towne as an ancient seruant to the Earle of *Sancerre*, was sent to conferre with them: hee brought the inhabitants to that point, as some desiring, and others refusing: the Lord of *Fontaines* being a Catholike, his brother surpriseth the Castle, by the meanes of some inhabitants, who shutt themselves into it with him: but the resolution, and the greater number of the Protestants displaced them within foure and twenty houres, as *Fontaines* came to their succours. So as *La Chastre* prepares now for open force, whereof we shall see the progresse in the beginning of the following yeare. This vnworthy and strange proceeding against the Protestants, had made the *French* name hateful to strangers, especially in *Poland*, and did much trouble the negotiation, in fauour of the Duke of *Anton*. Moreover the Protestants both within & without the realme, laid plots which in short time might produce dangerous effects. To make the Bishops negotiatio more easie, and to crosse the proiects of others, they obserue hereafter some forme of iustice against any one that were found after the furie of the massacre. *Briquemault* a Gentle- man of three score & ten yeares old, and *Canaignes* maister of Requests vnto the King, (both

Wane against
the *Rochelois*.

Briquemault
and *Canaig-*
nes executed.

1572. both inward friends vnto the Admirall, and of great reputation) were of the number. A They threaten them with an extraordinary torture, if they set not downe vnder their hands, to haue conspired with the Admirall, the death of the King, his brethren, the Queene mother, and of the King of *Nauarre*, promising them pardon if they demand it, in aduowing that wherewith they are charged. *We will neuer* (said they) *accuse innocents, nor our selues of so execrable a crime.* The Commissioners not able to extort from them any such confession: they were both by sentence of the Court, as guilty of high Treason, vnrorthily hanged the 27. of October, in the presence of the King, Queene mother, her two other sonnes, and the King of *Nauarre*.

A decree against the Admirall.

To the same execution was added the like decree against the Admirall. His bodie had bene taken from *Montfaucon*, and secretly buried: the which the greatest water of his enemies could neuer discouer. They therefore make the forme of a mandragora it through the Cittie, and then cause it to be hanged. Moreover the King commands by his letters patentes, That those of the pretended religion should be maintained in safetie in their houses, bodie, goods, and libertie of consciences. And to excuse what was past, they cast abroad many libels, defaming the memory of the Admirall and his followers. They giue new charges to the Ambassadors being in *Germanie, Poland, England, Swisserland*, and other forraigne Countries, to iustifie the actions of the King, and of the Catholikes, to the confusion and shame of the Admirall and his party. But all these proceedings were meanes to discouer the iniquitie of their penitious Councils.

For, the intent of this declaration in fauour of the Protestants was presently discovered by the tenor of the letters which the Duke of *Guise* did write vnto his wife, the day that *Briquemaunt* was executed. *The King* (said he) *hath decreed in Council, utterly to roote out this felitious vermine.* But few would be taken, and the practises against the Prince of *Auranges* and others being discovered by this letter, vanished into smoake. In the meantime they continued their attempts against *Rochell* and *Effars* being chosen cheefe of the warre for the *Rochelois*, hauing taken one of the *Faron* of *la Garde* galleys, who had approached too neere vnder colour of bringing a letter to the whole bodie of the Towne, caused *Biron* to publish the Kings letters patentes, giuenthe sixth of the moneth, and to make open warre to the *Rochelois*. But *Charles* was not willingly drawne to armes: hee sees well that hee had kindled a fire which hee should not quench when hee would. Hee now tries the last stratageme. *La Noue* sent home by the Duke of *Alba*, after the taking of *Monts* in *Hainault*, had great credit among the Protestants, as one of the cheefest Captaines which remained. The King solicits him to bee a meanes to bring the *Rochelois* to composition. *The impossibilitie of the thing* (saies hee) *and my conscience will not suffer mee to aduise the Rochelois, to offer their throats to them that will cut them.* Yet the Kings authoritie makes him to accept of it as charge: but rather with an intent to serue the *Rochelois*, and to retire himselfe from Court, then to hurt them of his religion. After hee had given an account of his Ambassage to *Biron*, who was then at *Saint Jean d'Angli*, hee returns to *Rochell*; where hee performed his dutie so well and carefully, as they acknowledged him for one of the cheefe Instruments of the preferuation thereof during the siege.

A Comet.

Then appeared there a new starre in heauen, hauing the forme of a *Lozenge* of foure points, and continued (beginning the ninth of *November*,) the space of nine moneths, immovable (by the saying of the Astronomers) the first three weekes, resembling that which serued as a guide to the wise men that came out of the East, to worship Iesus Christ in *Bethlem*. The nineteenth of the said moneth, the King by an other Edict, called home all his subjects to their houses, vpon paine of losse of their goods, and solicited the Protestant *Swisses*, to chase away such as were fled to them for succour.

But the Ambassadors instance was of no force, & the taking of *Sommiers* by the Marshal of *d'Anville* from the Protestants, the perswasions of *Gourdes* to drawe into the

A some of the Catholike Church *Monbrun, Mirabel, and Les Diguieres* (who euen 1572. then made shew of a most valiant, most wise, and most happy Captaine for their party, and shall hereafter haue a good share in our History) the assurance hee gaue them. That the King was resolu'd to suffer but one religion within his realme, with all the preparations for the destruction of them in diuers Prouinces, tooke from them all desire to returne.

Seeing then, that no *Edicts* can draw them home to their houses, and that *Rochell, Sancerre*, and other places (being threatened) prepare for defence, they must at the least take from the Protestants such refuges as they haue within the realme. To that vpon *Rochell, Biron* enters into the Country of *Onis* in the beginning of *December*, with seven Cornets of horse, and eightene Enseignes of foote. Those of *Sancerre* runne yet at libertie: but the opinion of their chiefe Commanders, that they would attempt some other thing, and the vaine presumption they had of the situation of their hilly place, made them the more negligent, both to furnish it with victuals, and to reparaire the necessarie fortifications to endure a siege, against the which they should haue foreseene the small hope of succours, and the constant resolution of the assaillants. Leys consider of these circumstances, and prepare our selues to see the greatest reformation of men, lead by Captaines to whom the necessitie of the time gaue more credit, then their beginning, gaue them authority. *Martignon, Pilard, Martinat, La Har, Chailon, Montauban, Buissou, Paquelon, La Mince* and *Dorival* commanded there six hundred and fifty men, and for Colennel they had *Andrew Jonneau* Bayliffe of the Towne. A hundred and fifty strong labourers in the Vines, wrought great effects with their shingls (which were called the *Pitols* of *Sancerre*,) for seruices vpon the wall assaults, scalladoes, and sallies.

In January, *La Chastre* Lieutenant for the King in the government of *Berry*, and general of this armie, came before it with about five hundred horse, and five thousand foot, sixteene enseignes of Pioners, and a great number of peasants gathered together: at the first he offers a reasonable composition to the besieged, if they will accept it. As the beginning of the Generall was courteous, so was the proceeding of the besieged incivill, disdainfull, and contrary to the lawe of nations. They reteyne the *Drum*, and make no answer. To make his approches, *La Chastre* builds a fort within three hundred paces of the Towne towards *Fontenay*, another vpon the way of *S. Eustache*, a palisadoe in the field of *S. Ladre*: intrenched the approches and wayes about the Towne planted ten peeces of Artillery in the field of *Saint Ladre*: and fixe others at *Orme au Loup*: (it is a high mountaine vpon the South side of *Sancerre*, which commands the Towne) he shootes against the walls and houses at random; and spends in two moneths about six thousand Canon shot (and yet the besieged lost not above five and twentie men) giues an assault, but with the losse of many that were slaine, and a great number hurt.

1573. Siege of Sancerre.

The 18. of March, *La Chastre*, by a second battery in three diuers places, beates downe the defences both of Towers and wall, makes a breach of about three hundred paces, giues a generall assault, presents a scallado on an other side, mines and saps on the third, that the *Sancerrois* (wearied with so many difficulties,) might thinke vnder their burthen. But well assayed, and well defended, the besieged with the losse of seuentene Souldiars, not onely repulse the enemy, but also make them leave about three score of their most resolute men slaine in the ditches, about two hundred wounded to the death, and as many maimed for euer, then coole their heate calling them to change this hasty fury of Canons and assaults, into a more long, but a more violent war. They make many forts neerer vnto the Towne, & notwithstanding the sallies and ordinary skirmishes of the *Sancerrois*, they furnish them with artillery & munition sufficient to cut off all reliefe: so as being shut vp on all sides, they begin to want ordinary victuals in the beginning of Aprill they eat their Asses & Moiles, then fat they kill horses, dogs, cats, mice, moales & kether & in the end to parchmin, hornes, trapping, of horses, girdles, and wilde rootes. And in the end of Iune, three parts of them had no

Sancerre in great extremities for victuals.

1573. bread to eate, some make it of flaxe seede, others of all kinds of hearbes mixt with branne, beaten and ground in morters, and others of straw, of nut shels, and of flax greafe and tallow serued for portage, and frying, yea some (a strange thing and neuer heard of,) laboured to incounter the crueltie of their hungar, by the excrements of horses, and men. But a horrible thing to see, the nineteenth of Iune, a labourer in the vines and his wife, satified their hungar with the head and intrayles of their young daughter about three yeares old, being dead in languishing, giuing no other grane to the members of this poore carcase, but their bellies. But the magistrate aduertised of this inhumanitie, did for examples sake shorten their dayes, finding them guiltie of other crimes. neither were they forced hereunto by any extremitie, seeing the same day they had bene releued with portage made of hearbes and wine, whereof there was store in the Towne.

An admirable
meane for
the deliuerie
of Sancerre.

To conclude, foure score men died by the sword at *Sancerre* (saith the Historie) but of hungar both within and without, aboue siue hundred. And euen now the King began to see his threats to take effect: *I will make them,* (saith he) *eate one another.* They were hopelesse of all humane helpe: such as they sent out for succours, either fell into their enemies hands, or died by the sword, or returned no more, or could not reenter. So as they could not hope for any helpe, but in dispayring of helpe, when as the providence of God brings them a strange and far-bred nation, to giue them the libertie of the fields, and the vse of bread.

Sancerre yeelded by capitulation.

The Estates of *Poland* had chosen *Henry* Duke of *Anjou* brother to our *Charles* C for their King, (as wee shall see in the end of the siege of *Rochell*) but with a promise and oth taken by the Bishop of *Valence* and *Lansac* in the name of the King their master: That all the Townes and persons in *France* molested for the cause of religion should be let at libertie. At the request thereof, the Ambassadors of *Poland*, this poore people languishing for hungar (yet resolute to die one after another, rather then to fall into their enemies hands, who threatened them with a generall massacre) the nineteenth of August they obteyned of *la Chastre* in the Kings name: *To depart with their armes, and baggage: impunitie for such as would remaine still, permission to dispose of their goods, promise to preserve the honour of women and maidens, and to pay la Chastre forty thousand franks, by the inhabitants that were absent.* So *la Chastre* ending D the last of the sayd moneth, dismantled *Sancerre*, beate downe some houses, tooke away the Clocke, Bells, and other markes of a Towne: but the other pointes of the capitulation, were reasonable well obserued: the Bayliffe *tonneau* was massacred the 12. of September neere vnto *la Chastres* lodging.

Siege of
Rochell.

Nowe followes one of the most memorabie sieges that hath bene in many ages. A siege where many of the Commanders, and most part of those, which were noted to haue forced the Admiralls lodging, began the butchery, and committed for many murders at *Paris* and else where, came to seeke their graues. The Kings army was held to be fifty thousand men, by land and sea, and three score peeces of artillery. The besieged had a good number of gentlemen and horlemen, eight companies of inhabitants, nine of strangers, one of the Mayor, one of voluntaries, consisting of twenty Musketeers, siue and twenty armed with corselers of prooffe, and thirty harguebutiers: the two thirds thereof, were Gentlemen, and such as had the charge in the former warres. Yet the mildest way is the best. And therefore *Biron* in the beginning seekes some meanes of an accord, but the *Rochelois* discovering every day some new practise, beleued that their preservation consisted in distrust. And a gentleman being in *Rochell*, reuealed the intelligences which *Biron* had with him for the surprising of the Towne, hauing already drawne into the Towne some souldiars of *Puigalliers* and *Saint Martins* companies, and was readie to drawe in the most resolute Capitaines, if the Mayor and Councell had not held it more fit by a small exemplarie execution, to breake off a great and dangerous enterprise.

To incounter the enemy, *la Noue* is chosen chief of the forces within the Towne, without any diminution of the Maiors rights and authoritie in other things. *Montgomery*

1573.

These succors could not passe. *la Noue* sends newe deputies into *England* to the same end: but the league confirmed of late yeares, betwixt our *Charles* and *Queene Elizabeth* was againe renewed by the baptisme of the Kings daughter (whereof *Elizabeth* was Godmother with the Empreisse,) seemed to withdrawe the affection which was wont to come from beyond the seas, for the releefe of the Protestants, whilest the false and daylie skirmishes, at *Rochell*, inflame both the one and the other: where by the reason of the nereness of their retreat, they do greatly wast the number of the assistants.

The Duke of
Anjou comes
to campe.

The eleuenth of February the Duke of *Anjou* arrives at his army, accompanied with his brother the Duke of *Alanson*, the King of *Nauarre*, the Princes of *Condé* and *Daulx*, the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Boulon*, *Neuers*, *Aumale* and *Guise*, the yong Earle of *Bretagne*, the *Grand Prior*, and many other Noble men, bringing with them a great trayne of men, who for the most part would haue bene greued, they should haue taken this Sanctuarie, and succor from the Protestants. This siege was great, and seemed to be of long continuance. Every man runnes thether, every one will haue his share. They prepare things necessarie for the batterie, and in the meane time make many skirmishes. Before they come to their greatest force, the Duke solliciteth the gentlemen and inhabitants by letters, conteyning both promises and threats. They humbly shew vnto him the necessity of their defence, knowing no siter meane to preserve their liues against the enemies of the peace, then to oppose force against violence, and to retire themselves into well fortified places, vntill it should please the King to provide for a lawefull assemblie of the Estates, and a free Councell.

The King on the other side, protesting of his sincerity in matters lately passed, and laying the fault of the outrage happened vpon the pretended conspiracie of the Admirall and his partisans, he summons the *Rochelois* to open their gates to *Biron*, or to any other hauing charge to enter into the Towne, as they ought to maintayne his royall authoritie, and so to order it as the place may be no more at the disposition of mutins. Which doing, hee graunts them exercise of their religion, with the like libertie as hee had graunted by his Edict of pacification, and withall hee takes from them all hope of succors from *England*.

Biron, *Stroffy*, *Villequier* and the Abbot of *Gadagne*, carrie the Kings promise to the *Rochelois*: which now neglected, he would neuer be perswaded by any intreaties or reuocalls, considering howe much the King abased himselfe vnto his subiects. They insuing the equity of their defence, and the tyrannous iniustice of the Baron of *la Garde* and others, accept the articles offered by the King: but they request that the Edict may not onely be maintayned for their priuate respect, but also generally for all of their religion in *France*. But these were words without effect on either side. The *Rochelois* are aduertised, how the enemy approcheth with two and thirty peeces of battie, and that after dinner they should keepe them in skirmish. They preuent them, they sallie forth at noone, kill and hurt in one skirmish of sixe houres, a hundred and fiftie men, amongst the which were many Capitaines: *la Noue* had two horses slaine vnder him, three Capitaines, siue soldiars, and twentie hurt. Thus their counter-batterie is set on fire, and the batterie begins: the one prepares to assault, and the other to defend. The chance fell vpon *Claude* of *Lorraine* Duke of *Aumale*, Vncle to the Duke of *Guise*, slaine behinde a gabion, with a peece planted vpon the bul-warke of the *quartier*: and the Townesmen issuing forth at the end of the batterie, kill many, and close the enemies heate.

The Duke of
Aumale slaine.

In the beginning of March they trie againe, whither they may winne the *Rochelois* to combat. They offer them the exercise of their religion within their Towne, and continued in all other places of the Realme. Those of the partie might haue taken them for double dealers. One day of parle was more hurtfull vnto them then many peeces of warre. They resolute therefore to preferre a iust warre before a shamefull and doubtfull peace.

The batterie is renewed: about thirteene thousand Cannon shot spent in that moneth, shakes

1573. shakes both the fortifications and walls: many skirmishes are made: every one flours A to surprize his enemy, and *la Noue* (seeing his presence of no import to the besieged, where he must yeeld all, or in a manner all, to the popular government, comes to the Dukes army, where he effected more in fauour of the *Rochelois* being absent then present, as they afterwards confessed. The ordinarie sallies of the besieged, waited the Dukes troupes daylie, losing in fewe weekes about 20. good Captaines. The batterie continues in Aprill, & with such violence, as a long wal frō the olde fountaine vnto the ende of the bulwarke d' *Euangile*, was beate downe to the ground the bulwarke warrmed, and the Towre of *Cognees* beaten downe. In the euening the enemy cast a bridge of wood into the trench, aduancing euenvnto the bulwarke: they come to the assault, and winne two casemats. But they dislodge them, from the one with the Cannon, from the other with a furious charge: some of them remaine for a gage, the rest saue themselves by flight. Two hundred rondaches and coselets passe by their budge of wood, and the Cannon playing without intermission, seemed to keepe the besieged from their defence. But the women and maides, running with an incredible resolution to cast wild fire and stonnes, inflamed the courage of the soldiars. They kill and wound, and in the end force them to abandon the trench, but they loose about threescore men and some Captaines.

The *Rochelois* endure nine assaults.

Hereafter there is nothing but thundring of the Cannon both by land and sea, furious assaults, showers of shot, planting of ladders, ruines of bul-warkes, sappes and mines, most fatal to their authors: and vntill the ende of May, all the attempts that might be deuised in a mightie and obstinate sege. On the other side, men, women, and Children, without feare, endure the rough charges of the enemy, fill vp their breaches, ouerthrowe the first that mount, beate backe their enemies into their trenches, followe after them, and fight with variable successe: but most commonly to the aduantage of the Townesmen, hauing endured nine assaults no lesse courageously, then valiantly giuen.

Victualls began to growe short in the Towne, the Cannons continued the battery daylie, the number of the soldiars decayed, they had no meanes to refresh them, and many retyring themselves, bred an amazement in the Towne. Some of the chiefe winne many men to their wills, and alreadie there were three hundred men, who weary of the warre, will haue a peace at what price soeuer. Others deuise to seize vpon a gate, to depart when they please. These murmurings and diuisions cause newe parties, the Duke of *Anjou* being desirous to retire with honour. But before the Ambassadors of *Poland* arrive, they must trie their last force. The 12. of Iune the assaillants giue a fierce scaldoe, at the little breach nere to the old fountaine. About a hundred or six score gentlemen mount with targetts and courtelas: some get to the toppe of the mount, and viewe the trench and the counterscarpe gabioned within the trench. A vollee of shot, overthrowes fiftene or twentie vpon the place, and makes the rest retire. The Duke himselfe is in danger, but the prouidence of God referued him for a more exemplarie ende.

The last charge giuen to *Rochelle*.

As he beheld the breach made at the olde fountaine, a soldiar shoots at him from the Towne: but *de Vin* the master of his horse, seeing the fire in the cocke, steppes before him, and with the willing losse of his life saued his masters. In the end the Ambassadors of *Poland* come the 17. of Iune, to carrie away their new chosen King. God with this meanes to deliuer *Rochelle*, being vnfurnished of victualls, of munition for the warre, and of many hundreds of their men. The King, by his articles of peace made in forme of an edict, grants to them of *Rochell*, *Montauban*, *Nismes*, and other Townes which had mainteyned themselves, free exercise of their religion, and to others permission to liue in their houses without search, to solemnize Christenings and marriages after their manner, without any greater assemblie then ten persons besides the parents: but the said exercise was forbidden in Court, and ten Leagues round about. An other meanes did greatly ease the besieged, the diuision in the Dukes campe, and the aduertisements they receiued from their friends following the armie. So the ende of

Peace of *Trechade*.

A of this sege, being of exceeding charge, and the graue of aboute twentie thousand men, layne in skirmishes, encounters, surprises, assaults, and dead of hurts, hungar and diseases, caused the King to make great desseins for the repaying of many errors, into the which the priuate ambition of some, abusing the youth and the violent passions of this Prince, had drawne him: But too late for him, for hee sees his Realme inflamed with the same fire, which they perswaded him should haue beene wholie quenched with the blood that was shed at Saint *Bartlemewes*; and the warres of ciuill diuision vterally extinct. So the seeling hee had in himselfe of these actions whereinto they had drawne him, shall soone lodge him in the sepulchre of his Predecessors.

B The other exploits of warre done else where in diuers Prouinces of the Realme, require some place in our historie. The Baron of *Serniac*, a wise man, vertuous and louing martiall discipline, with some others of *Quercy*, *Foix* and the neighbour Prouinces, hauing caused *Montauban* to resolute to armes, go to field with their troupes, put garrison into *Terride* whereof *Serniac* named himselfe *Baron*; tooke *Euzet* vpon *Tar* three Leagues from *Tholouse*, by icaldo, assure themselves of *Villemur*; seize vpon many other places, fortifie those they had held during all the former troubles, warrant the passages: then at an assemblie held at *Realmont* in *Albigais*, they made a diuision of their charges and governments. The Viscount of *Gourdon* had a part of *Quercy* towards *Cadenac*; and *Serniac* the other towards *Montauban* and *Gascogne*, the Viscount of *Paulin* *Lauragais*, the Viscount of *Panas* and his brother *Rouergue*, the Viscount of *Caumont* the Countie of *Foix*, and the mountaine Countie.

Warre in diuers Prouinces.

They were equal in their Commands: but to auoide ieaousie, they decreed that one of them wanting succour, the other commanders should succour him with all their forces, and be commanded by him. So they all retire to their governments, euerie one giues order for the preferuation of their estates. *Serniac* occupes some neighbour places, then hee campees with two thousand shot, and some horse before *Monricou*, makes a breach, giues three assaults and one scaldoe, & is repulsed with losse. *Vouze* and *Realuille* make him receiue the like disgrace, and kill many of his men. But he is reuenged to the benefit of one of his Captains, besieged in a village with foure score men: he slue about two hundred men, and put the rest to flight.

In *Languedoc*.

The Earle of *Villars*, Admirall of France and Lieutenant for the King against the Protestants, in *Quercy* and the Countries there abouts, gathers together his troupes, dispersed into garrisons, beseegeth and takes Saint *Geniez* in high *Quercy*: carries away the Lord of the place, notwithstanding the cōposition made to depart with their liues and goods: who was sent prisoner to *Cahors*. It is better to hunt a farre off, then nere at home. The pursute of many, against whome he had made cruell warre, brought him to a scaffold, as a spectacle and triumph to his enemies. *Brifenell* in high *Rouergue* had a capitulation better obserued: but the Admirall lost in counterchange, in the moneth of May, *Soreze* *Montesquieu*, two Leagues from *Tholouse*, *Lodeue* a Bishoprike and riche in the mountaines of *Languedoc*, and *Mus Saintes Puelles*, nere to *Castelnau-dary*.

The Marshall d' *Anuille* did likewise arme against the Protestants, fixe Cornets of horse and ten thousand foote, with foureteene peeces of battery, pretending to beseege *Nismes*, and then *Vez*, but the surprise of *Sommieres* nere to *Beziers* and *Montpellier*, called him from his enterprise. He beseegeth it, makes a breach and giues two assaults, which were defended to the losse of the beseegeth. The Earle of *Candale* brother in Lawe to the Marshall, arriues with a hundred horse and twelue companies of *Gascons*, who desire to haue the forward at the third assault: but with the losse of three hundred of the most resolute. This checke amazeth the Earle. What socks are wee, (saierth hee to the Marshall his brother in Lawe) to cause our selues to be thus beaten, murdered and layne, for their pleasure, who haue murdered our kinsmen, friends and allies, and will one day paie us with the same money?

The sege of *Sommieres*.

Hee

1573. He had reason, and the issue will teach vs soone the effect of this true deuination. if the Marshall of *Montmorency* had bene present, this farall 24. day of August, the same furie had interred him with all his house vnder this common ruine, as many others, yea Catholikes suffred the like violence by the practises of their priuate enemies, to whome the time and force gaue meanes to reuenge their priuate quarrells vnder an other pretext.

There were foure moneths alreadie spent at this seege, aboue fise thousand Cannon shot had beaten the walles of *Sommiers* to powder, victuals fayled, and the beleeged demanded nothing but composition. But the Marshall would haue it by force. He exhorts his brother in Lawe to reuenge the death of his Capitaines and soldiers, who suffers him selfe to be perswaded: but as he goes resolutely to the breach, performing the dutie of a braue Commander and a resolute soldiari, hee sees the place covered with a great number of his men, and himselfe in the ende ouerthrowne dead vpon the carcases.

This hens roust might haue bene the sepulcher of many more, but *Grenier* (to whome the honour of the taking, and keping of *Sommiers* is chiefly due) after they had performed the duties of valiant men, accepted the composition was offered by the Marshall: To depart, their droms sounding, Ensignes displayed, their marches light in their cockes, with seauen daies libertie to carrie away their bagage, and to retire where they pleased. So the Marshall seeing the resolution of them of *Nismes*, and having lost two thousand fise hundred of his best men, dismissed his troupes, and proceeded afterwards against the Protestants, by seizures and sale of their goods within his gouernment. The Admiralls army had an other successe. *Terride*, *Flaignac* and generally all which the Protestants held beyond the ruer of *Garonne*, recompensed the losses he had receiued. But *Caussade* stayed the course of his victories, and made him vnable to do any thing worthe of fame. *La Motte-Puissols* kept the Towne with fise hundred barguebuziers, and the repulse the Admirall receiued after a long wasting of his forces, caused in the end the ruine of his army, the which the *Viconte* of *Gourdon* shortned of a companie at the passage of *Dordonne*, chafing the rest which marched to the seege of *Rochelle*.

The King of *Navarre* had lately inuited his subiects of *Berne* to returne into the bosome of the Catholike Church. They answered their Prince with excuses, thinking it proceeded from an other motion, then his owne: and protest to other Churches of that partie, to perseuer and maintaine them elues with them in the same religion. See nowe the effects of their protestations. The Baron of *Grandmont*, marcheth into *Berne* to plant the ancient religion. They troupe together within the Countie, retayne him prisoner, and cut the most of his men in peeces. Saint *Romain* was chiefe of the Protestants in *Vivarez*, *Mombrun* in *Daulphiné*. The first held *Villeneuve*, the last seized vpon *Orpierre*, *Serres*, *Meuse*, and by diuers courtes he became terrible in the Diocesse of *Die* and the neighbour mountaines.

These newe broyles thrust their neighbours into like reuolts: and the King who thought by the abolition of the Edict, of the yeare 1570. at the least by the departure of his brother into *Poland*, and a peace granted before *Rochelle*, to enioy an assured rest, finds himselfe incombred with newe and generall combustions. Those of *Quercy*, *Languedoc* & their neighbors, planting an order and rule for the warre, and the administration of Iustice, protest against this Edict, terming it captious, and a forerunner of newe massacres. Our Capitall enemies (saied they) the authors of forepassed disorders, remayne the onely Councillors and gouernours of the King and his estate: all the Churches of *France*, are deprived of the publike exercise of religion solemnly graunted, and nowe by this Edict abolished: all the contents of this last pacification, and whatsoeuer else is promised vs, are but words without effects: it is a generall abolition of what is past, the murderers are absolved, and no mention made of any iustice to be done to them: All Ecclesiasticall discipline being forbidden vs, they will plunge vs in *Atheisme*. This treaty is but coloured by some priuate persons without any generall

In Gasconie.

In Tuscany & Dauphiné.

Protestations against the peace of Rochelle.

A general aduow: whose approbation cannot preiudice the vniuersall bodie, neither ought they to yeeld to any thing without the common consent of our Churches. These complaints and Protestations cause them to assemble at *Milland*, and after at *Montauban*, and there diuiding *Languedoc* into two gouernments, they make *Montauban* chief of the one, & the *Viconte* of *Paulin* gouernour in that part, & *Nismes* of the other, for the neerenes of *Seuennes* and *Vivaraux*, vnder the command of Saint *Romain*: but by this subject to the authoritie of the Estates of the Countie, who gaue them counsell, and furnished them with money, being chosen in either gouernment of the worthiest men of the Countie, yet in such sort, as the particular estates of euery Diocesse, did in matters of importance, confer by their Deputies with the estates of the whole gouernment, and according to their conclusions, the gouernour should carrie himselfe, and receiue money from their hands. To fortifie this order, they decree: That the soldiars should be content with his entertainment, without spoiling of the Countie: that the Townes and villages of the contrary partie, should be taxed and forced to contribute for the enterainment of garrisons, to the end, their labour & reaping of their fruits might be free. The reuenues of benefices was appointed to make a stocke of money, to be employed in their greatest affaires, the which they had leytire to effect: for the election of the King of *Poland* busied the Court and Counsell in feasts, dancing, & pleasure. So they man many places, from whence they might at need draw forth almost entie thousand men, and by seising on the Clergie lands, and the contribution which came from all parts, they weaken their enemies. Many Catholikes otherwise discontented, growing familiar with them, and beginning to ioyne their forces together, lay great desseins, which shall soone breake out in all parts.

Matters thus handled, gaue a beginning to the fise troubles in *France*: but before it brake forth, the Protestants of *Languedoc* sent their Deputies to the King. They humbly thanke him for the affection he had seemed to haue to the maintenance of peace within his Realme, and necessarie meanes to restore an estate threatned with eminent ruine: they protest of their obedience, but they beseech his Maiestie, not to find it strange, if they assemble to preuent the pernicious attempts of wicked Councillors, who by their fraudulent, and violent practises, had induced him to declare himselfe, both by mouth, and his letters pattents, to the great blemish of his reputation among strangers, the Author of the massacre committed at *Paris*, the which he had few daies before disauowed, That they cannot beleue he should willingly condiscend to so bloudie effects: and the feare they had to fall into the like, forced them to seeke all meanes they could to warrant themselves, with the losse of their companions blood to victoriously shed.

They request therefore. That for the effect of the peace, those of the religion should in those Townes they held, & in two others of euery Prouince, chosen by four Deputies, haue garrisons enterdayned at the Kings charge, the exercise of their religion free and publike, to all such as would demand it, the observation of their benefices without discipline, the buriall of their dead, without distinction of religion, the church-yard: the exemption of contributions for the Ceremonies of the *Romish* Church: the Reception of their children into Colleges, vnder tutors of their owne religion: Legitimation for such as should be borne of the marriage of Priests conuerted to their doctrine. Election of a new Parliament in euery Prouince, composed of iudges of the same religion. The tythes which they payed to the Priests, to be reserued for the maintenance of their ministers. Punishment of the authors, Councillors, and executioners of massacres, as theenes, and disturbers of the publike quiet. Moreover, they demand, that the Admiral, with all those that had bene murdered, and that were then liuing, should be reputed to haue bene, and to be faithfull seruants and subiects to the King, and his estate, innocent of rebellion, and guiltles of confiracie. A nullitie of all acts made against them as calumnious. Restitution of goods, honours, and offices, to the heires of them that were murdered. Abolition of all infamous monuments, and generall processions instituted in memorie of so execrable a day.

Kkkk

These

The Protestants order in Languedoc.

These petitioners were chosen by the King.

1573. There were the principall points of their propositions, amongst other articles concerning the government. But they treated partly, as humble seruants, partly as armed subiects, like vnto such as beg for almes with their swords in their hands. And as a new alteration flies easily and sodenly from one Prouince to another, so those of *Prouence*, *Daulphiné*, *Lionnois*, and others, ioyned with the first: and by the mouth of a Deputie, present their petition and admonitions to the King. The King sends him to certaine Commissioners, to conferre thereof; and promiset, that after he had conducted his Brother out off the realme, he would do all things necessary for the contentment of his subiects.

The apprehension of Charles.

This hardy resolution taken in *Languedoc* and the neighbour Countries, made our *Charles* to change both his countenance and his speech. Hee sees well, the more he hastened, the more impatiently they did beare his Brothers departure: namely the Queene mother, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Clergie. *Henry* himselfe desired rather to beare the title of Duke of *Anjou* in *France*, then the King of *Poland*: neyther was hee greatly pleased, to make so long and so crosse a pilgrimage. His most confident seruants would willingly haue discontented the *Polonois* in their answer, eyther to haue sent them away ill satisfied, or to winne time vntill the spring. But there was no remedie. *Charles* could no more containe himselfe amidst the complaints which came from so many parts of his realme, but sometimes giues out threats against them which had abused him, making him beleue, that after the execution of the 24. of August last past, he should raigne free from confusions. Strangers reproche him openly with the irreparable wrongs he had done to himselfe, and to his subiects: & accuse him, that in steed of a father, he had bene a butcher, and a hangman of his people, or at the least taxed his honor with this title, by the induction of the principal authors of this horrible disorder. The delays of his Brother displeased him. *Henry* by his affability wonne the peoples hearts. The affection which *Charles* noted of long time in the mother, to his aduancement as her best sonne, the credit which the house of *Guise* had in him, or at the least seemed to haue, & the hope which the Clergie grounded vpon his authority (they had already recompensed these agreeable seruices which hee had done them, with a present of three hundred thousand Crownes, and had much augmented it, if *Rochelle* had bin taken) made him to be suspected and searefull to the King his Brother, who D even then would willingly haue found the means to chastise such, as vnder the shadow of his name, had opened the way to so great iniustice, & such enraged furies. But during these garboiles and confusions of affaires, he found not any one of his Councillors of State, that did teach him to dissemble, and to containe himselfe, vntill that opportunity should giue him meanes of reuenge. So his complaints and threats were carefully observed, and bitterly digested by such as it concerned. The Queene Mother, not able any longer to differ the departure of her sonne *Henry*. Go (saith she) my sonne, you shall not continue long there. And as *Charles* goes before vnto the frontier, pressing his brother to follow him, he is sodenly staid by a great sicknesse, at *Vitry* in *Champagne*, giuing occasion to his most confident seruants to thinke, that aboute two attended the issue of his infirmity, and to speake disgracefully of the Queene Mother, the new King, and their trustiest seruants, whereof some retired from Court, & went to shrowd themselves in *Brittany*, seeing that the vigour of the Kings youth, had expelled the venom of his disease, by his head, neck, and visage. The King of *Poland* building vpon his mothers promises, departed in the end of October, being assured of the loue shee bare him aboue the other two. She feared the humors and threats of *Charles*: and *Francis* Duke of *Alanson* did not greatly affect the house of *Guise*, neither had he approved the massacre.

King Charles falls dangerously sick.

New practices in Court.

The malcontents, who with a lesse odious name called themselves Politiques, finde credit with him, thinke him fit to reduce the affaires to a better course, & make him to repire at the small account is held of him: they let him vnderstand how small a proportion was allotted him for his maintenance: the distrust they haue of his faith, the opposition of the Q. Mother, to keepe him from the Lieutenantcy of the Realme (who gave the King to vnderstand, that by meanes of his malcontents, hee might stirre vp some factious

A factious mutinie hauing the forces at his commaund) the search was made of him, and the meanes which were offered vnto him to restore the Realme. *Catherine* was well acquainted with these practises, but the cunningly makes her profit of them all, during the Kings sicknes, to auoid the danger when she pleased, and to ruine one by another at need, as hereafter we shall see they will doe their best.

During these alterations, those of *Languedoc* fortified themselves. To keepe them at a stay, vnder hope of some content, they appoint a generall Parliament at *Compiègne*: the Prouinces prepare their remembrances, some Deputies were on the way with instructions and Commissions, to speake boldly, namely against the Authors and Councillors of murthers. The Queene mother and her followers fearing the touch, obiecting a reuocation of the States, and labouring at the first to pacifie these deputies by promises and wordes, in the end they change their countenances, they vse threats, and do so terrifie them, as they returne home onely with a vaine hope, to receiue satisfaction shortly to their demaunds, and permission (especially to them of *Languedoc*) to assemble againe for the drawing of new articles, concerning the preservation of themselves and their associates: the which they did afterwards at *Milland* in *Rouergue*, and those of *Rochelle* entred into association with them, forced vnto it by the practises and deuises of *Fugaillard*, *Landereau*, the Baron of *la Garde*, and others attending to surpriue them: but ended with the yeare, and the liues of some, that vndertooke it, being publickly executed.

C The fourth troubles begun with the massacres, had some respite by the peace of *Rochelle*: but now this last conspiracie discovered, and the practises to surpriue them of *Languedoc*, the secret leuies of men, to assaile them sodainly, giues an enterance to the first. The Protestants alleage for the ground of their arming, the infinite outrages which haue bene done them within few monethes, and send aduertisements, and admonitions to the Princes, Nobilitie, the Parliaments, and the Estates. The Malcontents, and such as were most inward with the Duke of *Alanson*, foreseeing the shortnes of the Kings life, yet not daring to complaine of it, but in shaking of the shoulders, and holding downe the head, sollicit him to gett the Lieutenantcy generally, to represent the Kings person, or if they will employ him against them of *Languedoc*, that he should seeke to saue the Realme, from the violence of such as by the death of *Charles*, and the absence of *Henry*, would seeke to seize thereon.

Hee makes request vnto the King, being at *Saint Germain* in *Laye*, and the King doth acquaint the Queene mother, and the Marshall of *Montmorency* with the Dukes desire. To deny the Duke his request (saith the Marshall) were to do him wrong, and to call his sufficiency into question, seeing the same place had bene giuen to the Duke of *Anjou* without demanding it. But the Queene mother, and those of *Guise*, desired it rather for the Duke of *Lorraine*, whome soone after shee expressly called to Court: and in the meane time seemes to beleue, that they bee practises of the Marshalls of *Montmorency* and *Cossé*, at the perswasions of the King of *Nauarre*, and Prince of *Condé*, to the end the Kings furie might bring to ruine both the one and the other.

She therefore takes Councell to assure her selfe, and to destroy such as would follow any other partie but her owne: and euen then did shee trouble the Kings head with an exceeding feare, and distrust of his household seruants. The Duke of *Guise* would gladly haue vndertaken the house of *Montmorency*: but it was to no purpose, if all the foure bretheren were not taken in one nett. The Marshall of *d'Anuille* was in *Languedoc*, and determined to ioyned with the Protestants: yet the death of the eldest might make the rest easie. So the Duke of *Guise* one day picks a quarrell in the base Court of *Saint Germain*, with *Ventabran* his household seruant, and for a slight cause, being resolved to kill him, hee drawes his sword. *Ventabran* flies directly to the Marshall of *Montmorency*s chamber, which hee finding shut, hee mounts higher to that of the Constables Ladie and widow: where finding *Thoré*, hee staves, and there receiues some blowes, but it was flatlings with his sword. This Tragick act (turned

1574. to a iest sent the Marshall out off Court, but hee shall soone returne, to receive a disgrace. The Duke of *Alençon* resolues likewise to leaue it, and to leade the King of *Nauarre* with him; but the execution was of great difficultie. To aske leaue, would breed too many scruples, and ielousies in the Kings head: to go without leaue, was to accuse himselfe of some plot, and to be pursued as a fugitiue. He therefore sirs not, but lets passe a troupe of two or three hundred horse, assembled in *Normandie*, to iour (as the common bruit was) the Duke of *Alençon*'s retreat, or as others would haue it, (but without any likelihood) to murder the King, his mother, and his Councell. This leuie terrified the Court, and brought it to *Paris*: they presently charge the Duke of *Alençon*, and the King of *Nauarre*. To purge themselves, they publish a declaration the foure and twentieth of March, touching the fact of *Saint Germain*: they protest of their good affection to the King, and they offer their seruices against all rebels.

The Marshall of *Montmorency* put in the *Bastille*.

Diuers ex-
ploits of war.

Caste *Mont-
gomery* taken.

Hereupon the Marshall of *Montmorency* is perswaded to come to Court. He is no sooner arriued, but they appoint him the *Bastille* for his lodging, and for companions in prison, the Marshall of *Coffe*, *la Mole*, *Cocornas*, and *Tourtay*, seruants to the Duke of *Alençon*, whereof the three last lost their heads at *Paris*, culpable onely to haue beene acquainted with some of their masters. Councels to abandon the Court. During these broyles in Court, the Protestants and their associates make their profit in *Vivarez*, *Dauphiné*, *Languedoc* and *Poitou*. And the Marshall d' *Anuille*, hauing by letters surpris'd, discovered the practise against him, conferred now with *Saint Roman* Gouverneur of *Nismes*: But seising on *Montpellier*, *Beaucaire*, *Lunel* and *Fesque*, he gives the Protestants some cause to suspect his desseins. The Politicks of *Poitou* hauing ioyned with *La Noue*, seize vpon *S. Maixant*, *Melle*, *Fontenay*, *Lusignan* and other places. They checke fell vpon the *Normans*, *Montgomery*, *Lorges*, and *Gahard* his children, *Colombières*, *Sey*, and others with troupes of horse and foote, had secretly taken *Saint Lo*, *Carentan* and *Valognes*: but *Matignon* and *Fernuques* ioyned with the forces of the Conte *Therigni*, (who alreadie camped before *Saint Lo*) shut him into *Danfrone*, a weeke place, and ill furnished, with three score horse, and foure score hargubuziers. They batter the Castle, make a breach of five and fortie paces, and hauing beene vigorously repulsed from a sharpe assault, the Earle abandoned by his people, (whereof the most part were gone to his enemies, and the rest watering, being vnfurnished of munition, water and succours, perswaded by the Lord of *Vassé* (for he held it farre more honorable to die vpon the breach, with a pike in his hand, then to fall into the Queene mothers power, to end his dayes ignominiously on a scaffold:) he did capitulate, but not without a greuous apprehensio of *Colombières*, desiring rather to die vpon the breach, then to serue as a spectacle at the *Greue* at *Paris*,) to depart with their lues, and to carie away some furniture, with their swords and daggers: vpon condition notwithstanding, to remaine some time in the hands of *Matignon*, and *Vessé* kintman to the Earle, with suretie of his life.

A capricious and fraudulent composition: the obseruation whereof must needs be broken. The Earle goes forth, and was led away by *Matignon* and *Fernuques* at midnight: but his company remaine at the enemies deuotion, who force the Castle, kill some, spoyle the rest, and put them all to ransom. Then *Vassé* appointed by the two commanders, lead the Earle to *Paris*: where since wee did see him goare a mournfull scaffold, & expiate by his death (to the Queenes content) that of King *Henry* her husband. In the meane time, the Duke of *Montpensier* made warre in *Poitou*, but slowly: and except the Castle of *Talmont* which he tooke from the Protestants by composition, he did not any thing worthie of memorie.

The taking hereof was encountred with two great disgraces, the one neer to *Sainte Hermine*, in the defeat of his companie by *Saint Estienne*, Captaine of *Fontenay*, (who slue many gentlemen: led away fiftene or sixteene prisoners, gott great store of baggage, and the Dukes plate:) The other at the sege of *Fontenay*. Some thinking to reuenge a disgrace, doe oftentimes increase it. Hee gott nothing but blowes, with

1574. A with the losse of the most resolute of his troupes: and then an honest colour, the Kings sicknesse called him from this sege, to attend new Commotions and forces. At that time, the Prince of *Condé* did recreate himselfe in *Picardie*, wearied with the turnes of the Court. Being aduertised of diuers practises layd to seize vpon his person, he flies into *Germanie*, with *Thoré*, il beloued by reason of the Marshalls of *Montmorency* and d' *Anuille* his brethren, and the Councels given to the Duke of *Alençon*. Being at *Strasbourg*, he exhorts the Protestant Churches, to relie vpon his loue and zeale for their releefe, and *Thoré* perswades his brother d' *Anuille*, to open his eyes, and to embrace the occasion that was offered. This Marshall held the wolfe by the eares: for on the one side, the Protestants of *Languedoc* might greatly crosse him, if he had banded his forces directly against them: and on the other side, he feared the King, and the Queene his mother, who to keepe him in awe, carried his eldest brother to be iudged, as a sure pledge for his yongers actions. Hee must therefore assure himselfe on all sides, and according to the coure of the market, entertaine both the one, and the other, expecting a Catastrophe of this strange and horrible Tragedie, which was acted in Court.

The King decayed in the meane time, & decayed visibly in the prime of his age: & since the King of *Polands* departure, he seemed more changed in mind, then in body, being incensed especially against the authours and Concellors of the massacre, (as he made known by his speeches, to some of his Court being enemies to iniustice, and by letters written out of the Realme) for whom he prepared a strange portion, if the prouidence of God had not reserved them as scourges and ministers of that punishment he meant to inflict vpon this Realme, to the end that seeing him afterwards to cast the erods into the fire, we should confesse: That it is not now alone that hee sheweth him selfe the gardien and Protector of this Monarchie. At that time *Charles* lay taken both hand and foot, his cheete seruants were dead, disgraced, and absent. The moriues of new troubles did much disquiet him. Hee did foresee infallible seeds of combustion in the coloured captiuitie of his brother, and brother in Law: in the imprisonment of the two Marshalls: in the exile of the Prince of *Condé*, in whose fauour the *Germanians* began to arme. Hee sees his subjects cruelly armed one against another, and the fire of diuision readie to wast the Realme. His infirmities had some intermission during winter, but in the end, after he had languished the months of February, March, and April, tormented with many pangs, hee kept his bed: and the thirtieth day of May, hee slept his last sleepe, in the Castle of *Bois de Vincennes*, after great effusion of blood, which issued out by all the passages of his bodie, the last two weekes of his sicknesse, during the which he endured all the violent assaults and combats which the vigour of youth might suffer in the extreamest pangs of death.

His successeur could not come so soone from *Poland*. *Catherine* therefore to assure his authoritie during his absence, had obtained on the nine and twentieth day, letters of Regentie from the King, directed to the Gouvernours of *Provinces*: and the better to fortifie this nomination, to restrain the Princes of the blood, and to maintaine her selfe in the midst of confusion, she causeth letters Parents to be sealed by the Councillor of *Firague*, her seruant, and by this meanes doth abolish the fundamentall lawes, the order of the Realme, the priuileges of Princes, the authoritie of the generall Estates, and the prerogative of the Parliaments.

Charles was borne the seuen and twentieth of Iune 1550. and began to raigne the fifth of December 1560. A Prince of a very active disposition, inconstant in his thoughts, violent in his enterprises, impatient, readie of conceits, the which he did exerce in good termes, a diligent obseruer of other mens natures, cholerike, secret, a dissembler, cruell, and a blaiphemer. But let vs impute these vices and others, not to his naturall inclination, but to his gouernours and scholemasters, amongst the which the historie doth especially note *Martignes* and *Laffes*, who with the consent of the mother corrupted this yong Prince, and made him take the habit of *Vices* and infectious, wherein they daily plunged him. They might haue pruned this yong plant better,

Charles dies.

His disposition.

1574. to haue brought forth better fruites. At the beginning he was open, courteous, diuine, sober, and little giuen to women. His speech was pleasing: hee loued musicke and poetrie: we reade yet good verses compiled by him in *French*. But the pleasure of hunting transported him wonderfully, and the blood of wild beasts, which hee drew with singular delight, made him with long continuance, as it were greedy of mans blood. But let vs tremble in this death, vnder the Iustice of Gods Iudgements, who suffered (after so horrible a butchery committed and commanded during his raigne) him to bee surprisid with a great debilitie in his latter dayes; to wallow in his owne blood, vomiting it out pittifully by all the condicts of his body, as an iudgement for him that barbarously shed it, throughout all the Prouinces of the realme. Doubtlesse God loues not the Prince, that thirsts after his subiects blood, for the subiects blood is the very blood of their Prince.

HENRIE the third, 62. King of France.



1574.



*I*t is a great comfort vnto mee (sayd Charles, some few houres before C his death) that I leaue no heyres males lawfully begotten, for leauing him young, he must indure many crosses, and France hath need of a man. But alas, we shall now see one aduanced to the crowne, whereto the fundamentall lawe of State and honour doth call him, insidid with

With a confused beginning, and afterwards, by an Edict of pacification, to reduce and receive his subiects happily in their obedience, vnder a raigne as lasciuious and voluptuous as the other had bene: cruell and bloudie: vntill that the house of *Guise* (seeing the king baren, and his successor confined in shewe, beyond the riuier of *Loire*) shall discover their ambition, and cause (but in the end with the losse of the liues of two of the chiefe motives of confusion) the people to breake out into a blind, vaine and treacherous rebellion, being too readie to second the ambitious desires of great men, and to runne at random vnder the libertie of a turbulent raigne, and for the last scene of this tragedie, they stirre vp a monstrous monke, traiterously to murder him, and by his death to extinguish the name of *Valois*, and unwittingly to set the Crowne of *France* vpon the head of this *Henry*, the first of the branch of *Bourbons*, whome wee shall see happily called from beyond the riuier of *Loire*, miraculously to take the helme of this estate, and valiantly to encounter the dangerous attempts of his enemies, who had alreadye proclaymed a triumph before the victorie gotten, safely to quench the fires of diuision kindled in his Realme: and nowe to raigne in happilie, and by the admirable fauour and blessing of heauen, to gouerne his people in concord, peace and loue. This is the man whome *France* had neede of, to pacifie the diuisions both of great and small, to restore their generall and priuate ruines: and vnder so gentle and milde a commande, to preserve them from the proude Emperie of Strangers. Doubtlesse *France* cannot bee gouerned but by a *Frenchman*, as wee shall see, hauing learned the beginning, progresse and pittifull ende of this Prince, vpon whome depended the estate of this great and mightie monarchie.

Postes flie with speede to carrie newes to the King of *Poland*, of the death of his elder brother, whilst the Queene mother attending his coming, made a truce with them of *Poitou*, to the end she might with lesse opposition furnish the warres of *Normandie*: and to stay them of *Languedoc* and other neighbour Prouinces, she perswaded the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Nauarre*, to giue them aduertisement of the death of *Charles*, and solicited the gouernours to write vnto the newe King, touching their zeale to his seruice, and desire (vnder her regencie) to obserue the like fidelity to him, as they had done to his Predecessors.

Matignon labored in the meane time to take *Saint Lo* and *Carentan* from certaine gentlemen Protestants, whome the breach of faith to the Earle of *Montgomery*, had made resolute in the defence of such places as they held. *Colombiers* escaped from *Danfron*, puts himselfe into *Saint Lo* with a small troupe of men, where hauing endured three assaults, and slaine nine or ten of their enemies Captaines, with three hundred of their men, in the ende hee is strooke dead with a shot: the which daunted his soldiars hearts, who vnurnished of a Commander, that might encourage them with the like authority, toyled with long fighting, they leaue the breach, and their retreat abandon both the place and the liues of two hundred men, to the mercie of *Matignons* men, to make satisfaction for the death of their companions. *Carentan* might likewise haue interred many Catholikes vnder the ruines of other wales. but *Guitri* and the chiefe of his company, seeing themselves aloane in *Normandie* without any hope of succours, went out by composition on horse-backe, with their swords, and the soldiars vpon condition to serue the King where hee should employ them.

Herevpon letters patters come from *Henry*, intituling himselfe King of *France* and of *Poland*, dated the five and twentieth of Iune, bearing confirmation and amplification of the Queene mothers Regencie and gouernment of the Realme. Hauing therefore taken the oath of all the Gouernours, and published the Kings letters patters, to make the way for her sonnes returne out of *Poland*, shee calles for the Nobility, assembles the foote, makes leuies of *Reisires* and *Suisses*: sends to the Prince *Daulphin* ionne to the Duke of *Montpensier*, and to *Gordes*, who made war in *Daulphiné*:

Kkkk4

Confirmation
of the Queene
regency.

That

1574. That they should doe their best endeour to raine the Country which the *Huguenots* held: and chargeth the Duke of *Vex*, and the Lord of *Joyeuse*, to be watchfull over the Marshall *D'Anville*, with whom she had small credit in *Languedoc*. The importuning of his elder brother, the exile of the two younger, *Mern* and *Thore*, and the Regents letters being intercepted, had moued him: yet did he swim betwixt two streams, and maintaining himselfe betwixt both, he did nothing trust the Catholics: and not louing the Protestants, he applied himselfe vnto them as he had need of their helpe. These proceedings bred some ieaiousie in them of *Tholouse*: but especially the truce he made with the Protestants, the assignation he gaue for the assembly of the Estates of the Prouince at *Montpellier* the second of Iuly, and the ordinary residence he made in that Towne. So this Parliament by two decrees of the 19. of Iune, disallowed the truce, forbidding all persons within their iurisdiction, to go or send to these pretended Estates, appointed without the Kings permission, vpon paine to bee declared rebels, and breakers of the Lawes.

D'Anville suspected at *Tholouse*.

D'Anville associates himselfe with the Protestants.

War in *Dauphiné*.

Moreover, the Protestants perswaded by this truce, which gaue them some hope of peace, began to allow of their *Gouuernours* actions: and (notwithstanding the aduice of some who condemned this association, as threatening the ruine of their party by this coniunction) they vnite their forces with the Politiques, offensive and defensive against all that would assaile them. They enjoyed some rest, whilst that *Montbrun* cuts in peeces a regiment of the Prince *Dauphins* Foreward, and couers the bridge of *Royans* with foure hundred of the brauest of his armie, slaine vpon the place. For reuenge, he besiegeth *Alais* a small Towne, batters it, makes a breach, gives an assault, and is repulsed: but the besieged being vnable to maintaine it, retire into the Castle: the Prince surpriseth them, cast some downe headlong, and burnes the rest within it. *Oste* was the second of his triumphes: but *Liuron* stayed his course. The successful sallies of the Townesmen, and the ordinarie courses of *Montbrun*, who descending from *Loriol*, did still keepe the Prince in alarum, makes him to raise his siege, and to put his men into safety.

Int'uarais.

In *Poitou*.

The Protestants being freed on this side, they were fortified on the other, by the taking of *Fessaux*, a small Towne in *Vivaraïs* by *Bochegude*. *Perigourde* takes *Chalencou*, and *S. Romain Nonnay* for their part. *La Noue* (not to approue *Katherins* regencie, but rather to second the Prince of *Condes* forces which were prepared in *Germanie*) was at truce with the Regent, for the moneths of Iuly and August, in the Prouinces of *Angoumois*, *Poitou*, and *Xaintonge*. But the Regent hoped to subdue the Protestants of the sayd Prouinces, before her sonne should arrive. For the effecting whereof, he assembles men from all parts, to surpriseth them suddenly: that they being rooted out, the King should haue nothing to do but with them of *Dauphiné* and *Languedoc*. So the Duke of *Montpensier*, *Chauigny*, *Puigassillard*, *Richelieu*, *Bussy* of *Amboise*, and other Commanders, meete at *Saumur* with ten thousand men, and eightene peeces of Artillery. The Protestants flye speedily to armes: those of *Lusignan* in the beginning of Iuly ouerthrow the Gentlemen of *Poitou*: and those of *Fontenay* neere vnto *Nantes*, ouerthrow siue hundred Hargubuziers, almost all yonger brothers of the Gentlemen of *Britanie*.

Fontenay surprised.

These two checks thrust the Duke to the siege of *Fontenay le Conte*. *S. Estienne* commanded therein, with about twenty Gentlemen, and foure hundred Souldiers, and after some fauourable sallies, hauing valiantly maintained two sharpe assaults, and one scalado, the 16. of September, after fifteene dayes siege, beginning to treat of the composition before in question: behold Captaine *Masserousse*, eyther through feare, or desire to prouide for himselfe, or being too confident, for that they were vpon termes of capitulation, giues entranceto some of his acquaintance: the rest runnes thither by heapes, they force the breach being ill garded, and become masters of the Towne: they kill some souldiers, ran some others, strippe the rest, and chase them away with a white wande in their hands: but they vse the Towne with lesse rigour then a place taken by assault.

The

A The Baron of *Sernignac*, otherwise called *Terride*, recompensed this losse at the same time by the surpris of *Castres* in *Albigois*, and the slaughter of two hundred *Italians* being in garrison: and *Langoyran* gouernor of *Perigueux* for the Protestants by the absolute defeat of two hundred harguebuziers, whereof fixe onely escaped, to carrie newe to the rest of the partie.

1574.

Then *Henry* escaping secretly out of *Poland*, approached the Realme, where *Henry* Crowne attended him, desiring a farre off, to raine the *Huguenots* and to plant the only religion of his Fathers throughout the whole Realme. There is no sinne to great (saied the Emperour *Maximilian* vnto him) as to force mens consciences: and such as thinke to commande them, supposing to winne heauen; do often loose that which they possesse on earth. The like admonitions were giuen him in all places, in *Aufryis*, *Venice* and *Piedmont*: they exhort him in all places to pacifie the troubles of his Realme. But coming to *Lions*, for the first fruits of his entrie, they cause him to commit a great error: for (as *Amoniac* roats in his commentaries) in Steele of pacifying all things past, (as he might easily haue done, and haue giuen vs peace) they cause him to resolute vnto warre, making him beleue, that entring into *Dauphiné* all would yeeld vnto him, where as the least dog-hoole made head against him, & the best of his conquests could neyther recompence the blood of his men, nor the treasure he should spend in this warre.

The newe Kings arrival.

The Queene mother, the Dukes of *Guise* and *Neuers*, the Marshall of *Retz*, the Chancellor *Birague*, and some other newe bread *Frenchmen*, disposed of the affaires at their pleasure in the secret Councells of the Cabinet. The King did willingly giue them authority (and what might bee expected of men who gladlie would people *France* with newe Colonies of *Italians*, *Lorrains* and *Piedmontois*) carrying onely to Court Ladies, from the which he had beene sequestred almost a yeare, with this nation which is lesse lasciuious then ours.

Bad Councells 1615.

These pernicious Councellors cause him to protest by sundrie proclamations of his loue to the good of his subiects, and to abolish what was past, so as they lay aside armes, deliuer him all his Townes, and liue quietly in their houses, without any search, constraint or molestation for matter of conscience. A policy practised by them, to entertaine the fire of ciuill diuisions, to rule in this confusion, and to fortifie a third partie, which in the end we shall see will oppresse the King, and bring the Realme to a very miserable estate.

The Protestants stood then the more vpon their gards: they are full of ieaiousie, distrust, doubt and feare. All those pattents made no mention of libertie for their religion, neither of a Parliament, for the politike gouernment, nor of a nationall Councell, for matters of conscience. And what was it, to graunt vnto the *Rochelais* libertie of conscience, and to forbid the exercise of their religion for a certaine season, but to keepe their partie at a gase, whilst by their great preparations which were made in all parts, they should bee able to put a mightie armie to field, to raine them without hope of ryfing.

So they arme on all sides, especially in *Poitou*. The Baron of *Frontenay*, (afterwards Lord of *Rohan* in *Brittany*), being followed by threescore gentlemen and fixe hundred good souldiers, puts himselfe into *Lusignan*, which the Duke *Montpensier* threatened, and according to the leysure hee gaue him, hee provided for the fortifications and all things necessarie to maintayne a memorable seege, which might by the meanes of some succours consume an armie before the Castell. About the beginning of October, the Duke incampes before it, and with a batterrie of about two thousand three hundred Cannon shot, thinkes to draw the besieged to a composition.

Seege of *Lusignan*.

F Their importune them, but they answer, they will attend a generall peace for all them of their religion. He salures them with twelue hundred and fiftie Cannon shot more, makes a breach, giues an assault vpon them, and is repulsed and beaten back with great losse. Five daies after the besieged sallie forth, and to reuenge the blood of

1574. of seauen yong gentlemen, fixeteene soldiars, and twentie that were hurt: at this first assault, they cloye fise Cannons, fire their powder, kill nine Capitaines and many soldiars, bring away many Enseignes, and returne laden with spoiles, armes and prisoners. This disgrace disperfed a part of his campe, and made him to spend all the moneth of Nouember without any attempt against the beleeged. In December the Duke fortified with twelue hundred *Reistres*, and fixe hundred *French* foote, preffeth *Luzignan* againe, and the more to hinder them, he batters downe a mill which did furnishe them with meale. So (their hand-mills not able to suffice) they began to want bread. To ease them of some superfluous mouthes, they craue a palport for some gentlewomen and other persons vsfit for the warre, to returne to their houses, or some other places of safetie. But the hatred this Prince did beare to the Protestants had more force in him, than the ordinary curtesie which *Frenchmen* beare vnto Ladies. He supposed the wiues & Children should be an vrgent sting to draw their husbands and Fathers, to yeeld speedely. Nowe their horses serued them for foode, the soldiars almost starued, tooke away the bread violently as they carried it from the Owen: they brake into many houses in the night, to seeke for victualls, they had no wood but mouables and the ruines of houses, ill clothed, ill shod, ill lodged, & no cleane linnen, toyled with continuall trauell, to defend themselues both aboue and vnder ground, to frustrate the mines which the Duke caused to bee made, two of the which in their ruines buried many of the assaylants, and gaue the beleeged courageto continue firme in their resolution.

The 23. of the moneth they begin to thunder with eighteene Cannons and foure Culuerins, and the next day they continue the same furie with fise and twentie peeces. After dinner they come to the assault: the showers of musket shot comming from sundrie flankes, makes the enemy retire, and to leaue the breach full of dead bodies. The greatest force was against the ravelin of *la Vacherie*, which being woone by the assaylants, makes them retire to the Castell that had it in gard. At the first port of the Castell euery man did shewe his resolution: all fight in the midst of the thunder, fire and smoake, and fise houres together dispute it with a doubtfull and bloudie fight. In the end both the one and the other (being tired with so furious an assault) take breath, the beleeged remayning masters both of the Towne and Castell, being reduced to foure score cuirasses, and foure hundred and fiftie harguebuziers, resolute to liue and die both in the defence of the place and of their quarrell, hoping that *la Noue* would finde meanes to send them some reliefe.

Luzignan
yeilded.

Not courage, but force fayled them. So as *Frontenay*, the 25. of January, accepted the articles of composition which the Duke offered vnto him by the Collonel *Sarrieu*: Himselfe and his gentlemen to depart with their armes, horses and baggage, the Capitaines and other Commanders, euery one with a curtall, if they had any, their armes and baggage: the soldiars with their harguebuzes, their matches out, and their Enseignes wrapt vp, the gentlewomen, and all others that would depart, safely to be conducted to their houses, or else to *Rochelle*. Thus it was concluded. This seege caused about twelue hundred men to be slaine, a great number to bee maimed, and ruined a mighty armie. They endured ten thousand Cannon shot, with many assaults, and lost 25. gentlemen, and about two hundred soldiars. And the Duke, for a memory of his losses, caused the Castell of *Luzignan* to be razed, being in former times one of the goodliest fortresses in Europe.

Poussin beleeged.

Such conquests were of more difficultie in *Daulphiné*: the Protestants had mo places, and mo Capitaines at their deuotion. *Poussin*, *Liuron*, *Prinas* and others did greatly hinder the trafficke of *Marsettes* and *Lions*: and some running into *Piedmont* had charged the Kings baggage returning from *Poland*. To reuenge these insolencies, the king sends the Prince *Daulphin* to beseege *Poussin*: eighteene thousand men beseege it on either side of the riuer of *Rhone*, in the beginning of October: foureteene great Cannons batter it, and make a breach: *Roche gude* and *Pierre gourd* defend it with a wonderfull slaughter of the enemy, and so terrefied the rest of the army, as all were readie

A readie to runne vp their baggage: but suddenly the wall shaken with the artillery, and overcharged with earth cast vp for the trenches within the Towne, fallies downe to the ground. So the Towne lying open, and the ruines not to be repayed during the seige, the place being too straight, *Saint Romuin*, after many inroads and sharpe skirmishes, enters into it: and iudging that in the ende it would be forced, hee drew out off it men, women and children, and putting them into *Prinas* in safety, hee abandoned, and left *Poussin* to the beleegers mercie, who entering by heapes, spoile, sacke, burne and make the place desolate: and by the taking thereof, they recover a part off *Turais*, *Oran*, *Loziod* and *Roimac* (being vnable to endure the Cannon,) made easie the approaches of *Liuron*. But let vs view the estate of *Languedoc*.

B The Queene Mother, and these of *Guisse*, desired infinitely to dispossesse the Marshall of his gouernment, for hee cruised their aduancement with all his power, and stayed them from proceeding (as gladly they would) against his elder brother being a prisoner. But yet if hee had not fortified his estate with the Protestants partie, who were then strong in *Languedoc*, hardly could hee subsist amongst so many and so mightie enemies. He therefore in open assemblie of the estates at *Montpelier*, ioynes himselfe with them, & according to the declarations lately published by the Prince of *condé*, and the people of *Languedoc*, hee sets downe the causes of this his newe and forced taking of armes. The Vicent of *Turone* his sisters sonne, doth likewise publish his, of the same substance. *Thoré* and *Asteru* brethren and the Earle of *Pentadour* (brother in Law to the sayd Marshall) ioyne with him. The Duke of *Alençon* seemes to fauour it: but the event will shewe, whether it were fraudulent, or with a sincere intent.

This reuolte amazed the Court, and to stoppe the course thereof, the Queene mother doth presently, by gracious letters, inuite the Marshall to some agreement. But giuing the Protestants but a simple libertie of conscience, shee debarrs them of the publike exercise of their religion. The Marshall protests of his affection to the common good of this Realme, and assures the like desire to bee in his associats: but with all hee shewes, that the Councillors, who by that horrible and infamous massacre the 24. of August, had caused the deceased King to breake the last Edict of pacification, gouerning at this day the helme of the affaires, it was very difficult to establish a firme peace, the which may no way subsist, vnlesse the exercise of both religions may be indifferently allowed within the realme.

So this treatie of peace remayning fruitlesse, the Queene mother changeth her countenance, and labors by diuers practises (but in vaine, the alliance being yet too fresh) to sowe diuision betwixt the Marshall and his associats, and yet by sundrie massacres continues this pretended parle of a generall peace in *France*. But it could not be concluded with such conditions, as the King required: That all his Townes should first bee yeilded vnto him without exceptions, and then would he graunt his subjects peace.

E The Prince *Daulphin*, hauing left the commande of the Kings armie to the Marshall of *B. Legarde*, hee comes in the midst of December to campe before *Liuron*. *Roesse* a gentleman of *Daulphiné* commanded there, with about foure hundred men, but full of resolution and great valour, in a hillie place, strong of situation, but then of no fame amongst the other Townes of *Daulphiné*. Foureteene companies of the Kings gards; eleauen Enseignes of *Suisses*, twelue Enseignes of Harguebuziers and *Daulphinois*, nine Enseignes of *Piedmont*, three hundred men of the olde bandes, foure companies of men at armes, and eight Corners of *Reistres* beleeged it on all parts. Two and twenty great peeces of batterie, planted in threeparts, do batter it, and after eleauen hundred Cannon shot, make a breach of fise hundred paces.

Liuron honored with a second seige.

The Marshall was not satisfied with this ruine: hee will haue all battered downe, and with a generall ouerthrowe fill vp the trench. They make a greater breach with a new

1574. newe battery, of foureteene hundred Canon shot. He recouers the trench, and makes a defences for his men. All this doth nothing amaze the besegged : but contrariwise, to shewe that they haue force to defend themselves, and that they must haue great dexterity and resolution to take them : they tie to the ende of a Pike, a horse shoe, a paire of mittens and a cat ; they lift vp the pike, as if they would say : *Marshal, this cat is not taken without mittens.*

Such was the estate of *Liuron*, when as the King sojourning at *Auignon*, being in penury for money to supplie his exceffiue charge and prodigality, *Charles* Cardinall of *Lorraine*, (labouring the marriage of *Henry* with *Louyse* of *Lorraine*, daughter to the Earle of *Vaudemont* his kinswoman ;) and to furnish this exceffiue and stately pompe, aduising the King to sell for a hundred thousand crownes in benefices, was surprised with a feuer, and falling from a feuer into a frensie, he died the 23. of December, in the midst of a cruell tempest, and violent whirlwind, which vncouered the houles, and loosened the barres of iron in the *Carthusiens* Couent, in the suburbs of *Auignon*.

Cardinall of
Lorraine dies.

Some impute this death, to the smelling of a certaine precious purse, which was giuen him full of rare peeces of gold, with the Queene Mothers priuity : whom the foresayd treaty of marriage, which the Cardinall did practise, made remember the crosses she had suffered after the marriage of *Francis* the 2. her eldest sonne, foreseeing that this newe alliance tended but to restore the house of *Guise* to the same authority they had enioyed vnder the raigne of the said *Francis*. Others did attribute it to the blowes the Cardinall had giuen himselfe vnder colour of deuotion, in the company of them that beat themselves in the sharpest time of winter. Others applied it to the iudgement of God vpon this Prelate, who drawing all his greatnesse, and all his meanes from the Clergy of *France*, would yet perswade the King to so pernicious an alienation of goods appointed for the vse of the Church, whatsoeuer it were. Notwithstanding the strict familiarity which the Queene mother had with the Cardinall, yet did she give this testimony of him after his death : That the 23. of December most wicked man was dead. And the people both faire and nere said : That this extraordinary storme in the ayre, noted that this man, hauing by cursed means filled his house with exceeding wealth, sackt, and torne *France* in peeces, and in wars, did then feeble the iust reward of his actions. Doubtlesse such was the end.

War in Lan-
guedoc and
Dauphine.

Whilest the King becomes a new brother of these tormentors of *France*, his wife called *Penirents*, and the court was occupied some time in the ceremonies of this newe brotherhoode, the Estates of *Languedoc* being in want of peace, battered *S. Giles* neere to *Auignon*, and became matter of contention betwixt the *Protestants* making no shew to succour it. *Montbrun* on the other side, being assisted by his horsemen, did still catch vp some that were farthest from the place, and there was a Churchyard for the most hardy of the assaillants : where many were killed, and his life : men, women, and children, all labour in the loss of their liues, and enemies, and vnder the commaund of *la Hay*, (a young gentleman about dated twenty yeares of age, valiant and pleasing to the souldiars.) *Foissus* hauing bene there at the breach with *Flancey* and *Bouquier* Capitaines, to strowe the ruines of the cities with carcaffes, to cast many into the trenches, dead, wounded and languishing : and finally (after many assaults, and infinite Canonadoes, fortified with fifty thousand pikes, swords, stones, and such armes as necessity could yeeld to the besegged.

Thus those of *Liuron* withstood the fierce assaults of their enemies : the army diminished, and a certaine disease hauing wasted most part of the *Piemontois*, crept in among the other nations : when as the King iudging of the rest by this small Towne, found that he must seeke out some other meanes to reduce his subiects to obedience : Who were so resolute to armes, as a simple offer of liberty of conscience, might soone make them fall away. Many Couquests cause but sleight triumphes. A more stately crowne

A Crowne attended him : his Coronation called him, and the taking of *Arguesmor-tes*, a sea Towne and of great importance for the *Protestants*, inuited him to stay the course of their prosperity by some negotiation of peace.

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Henry therefore packing vp his baggage, the thirteenth of Ianuarie, and approaching neere to *Liuron*, stayed some houres in the Campe. Here the souldiars cries and exclamations against him, and especially against his mother, gaue him to vnderstand : That the horrible disorders and vnworthie government of the latter yeares, had withdrawne that loue and reuerence to their Kings, for the which the *French* nation had bene so much commended : and so altered the mindes of the greatest part, as their iust grieffe transported them beyond the bounds of reason and modestie. *Oh murderers* (cried they with open throate) *you shall not stab vs in our beddes, as you haue done the Admirall and the rest. Bring vs those Mignons, with their ruffes and perfumes : let them come to looke on our wines, they shall teach them whether it be a prey easie to carrie away.* A lesson for a Soueraigne Prince, that if any diuersity of religion did make sonnes ingratefull to the Father : so all Lawes do abhorre the inhumanitie and impiety of a Father to his Children.

The Campe being dislodged, the rest of the *Piemontois* repassed the mountaines. The *Dauphinois* ashamed of the disgrace they had receiued at *Liuron*, disperse themselves heere and there : some Cornets of *Reystres* followe the Marshall of *Reze* into *Provence*, the rest with the *Suisses* are giuen to the Duke of *Vex*, to make warre in *Languedoc* : a government wherewith the King had lately honoured him.

The siege of
Liuron raised.

Strange alterations. The Duke of *Vex* is nowe armed against them, for whose protection hee had often fought during the former warres : and the Marshall *d'Anville* lately their capitall enemy, nowe supports them. Thus great men play with religion, fitting themselves to that partie which they thinke may most auaille them, whatsoeuer it bee : and the people is still the anule, whereon all sortes of ham- mers strike.

But the Marshall did little remember the obseruation of the articles sworne in the association. And dissolutions creeping in among the *Protestants*, could not but pre- sence a speedie ruine of one of the parties, or of both together. Yet hee entertayned himselfe with them. So likewise did the Duke of *Vex*, and protesting that hee would make no warre but against the Marshalls faction, hee promised to reconcile all the *Protestants* to the King, if they would sequester themselves from the Politikes their associates. But hee would haue bene glad, that in ruining the one partie, they should haue ruined themselves.

Warre be-
twixt the
Marshall, d'
Anville & the
Duke of
Vex.

During these contentions betwixt the Marshall and the Duke, the King was crowned at *Rheims*, the fifteenth of February : and soone after he sent home *Elisabeth* of *Austria* (widowe to *Charles* the ninth) to the Emperour *Maximilian* her father, but with a lefetraine then her quality required. Then hee married *Louyse* the daughter to *Nicholas* Earle of *Vaudemont* in *Lorraine*, who they supposed should haue bene the wife of *Thore* the Constables youngest sonne. Practises of the Queene Mother, to maintaine the authority shee had gotten in *France*, about a daughter in Lawe of meaner quality then her selfe : and to fortifie her selfe with them of *Guise*, against the houses of *Bourbon* and *Montmorency*.

The Kings
coronation.

His marriage.

This marriage should haue caused as chaste and as vertuous a bedde on the Kings behalfe, as shee was chaste and vertuous whome hee had nowe espoused. And it seemed, the dissolutions and excesse of Court were come to their height in the raigne of *Charles* the ninth. But heereafter both King and Court (for the subiects doe frame themselves to the Princes humour) plunge themselves into more horrible dissolutenesse, then the best schoolemaster of corruption & filthinesse could inuent.

The Court is drowned in delights, and excesse : but they are at blowes in *Languedoc*, *Warraz*, *Dauphiné*, *Perigieux*, *Auvergne*, *Xaintonge*, and else where. *D'Anville* hath

1575. hath an enterprize vpon *Bejiers*: but hauing fayled, hee employed his forces against a fourescore and ten villages therabouts. Hee takes *Alais*, a Towne and Castell, and the Duke of *Vzez*, *Saint Ferreol*, a small Towne neere vnto *Vzez*, to annoy his subjects, and to force them to acknowledge their Lord. The forces on either side incounter often, fight, and by their common defeats weaken one an other, whilst the Protestants keepe the stakes and vewe the sport. Those of *Viunarsis* surprise the Towne of *Beys* and the Castell of *Poussin*, and kill the Capitaine and his garrison. *Montbrun* runnes through *Daulphiné*, and becomes master of many places. The Vicount of *Turenne* adds to the victories of his party, *Perigieux*, *Brioude*, *la Gaillarde*, *serzie* and some other places.

The *Xaintongeois* and those that lay neere vnto *Rochelle*, beganne to hold vp their heads, and go to armes. The Prince of *Condé* filled all his partie with great and speedie hopes. All rise, all dreame of newe forces. They must therefore decide by some practise to quench this great flame which was like to set the whole Realme on fire.

Negotiation
of peace.

Katherin amazed with this prosperous successe, hastens the deputies of the Prince of *Condé*, of *Daulphiné* and *Languedoc*: they come to *Paris* the tenth of Aprill, they present letters to the King from the Prince and Marshall, and demande free exercise of their religion throughout all *France*: newe Chambers in the Parliament for the administration of iustice, punishment of the murtherers, ease of impostes: a free assemblie of the Generall Estates, and an assurance for the entertainment of the pretended peace. Fifteene dayes are spent in disputes, wordes and discourses.

The King promisseth to content them all: but hee will haue them referre these demands to his will. Finally hee grauntes vnto the Protestants, To remaine where they pleased within the Realme: safetie for their persons without any search for matters of any conscience, lyuing in peace and modestly vnder the obedience of his Edicts: Exercise of their religion in those places they held, except at *Montpellier*, *Castres*, *Aiguemortes* and *Beaucaire*. The like priuileges for Lords of fees, for themselves their house-hold seruants and all other in their houses. And as for other gentlemen that haue no such fees, exercise for them and their families, but without the Townes and suburbs, ten Leagues from *Paris* and two Leagues from Court.

Too weake articles to content them, whose affaires so successfull, or to stay such as seeking innovations, were transported with future hopes. The Council considered it: neither were they other then wordes without effects. And vpon refusal made, to giue vnto the deputies a coppie of the Kings answeres to the petition and articles, pretended by them, to the ende they might shewe them to the assemblie of the Confederates, the treatie vanished into smoake, and serued onely to bring forth moones of newe confusions. *Rochebude* begins in *Viunarsis*. Those of *Lions* had recovered *Anduze* a small Towne vpon the *Rhone*, and fearing least *Nonnay* would likewise be lost, hee marcheth to supplie it with men. Vpon the way hee incountreth the enemy, chargeth them, and puts them in route, but hee gettes a great and a deadly wounde.

The death, and the approach of the Duke of *Vzez* to the siege of *Beys*, troubles them of *Viunarsis* more then before. *Pierregourde* succours them, and with the aide of a hundred and fittie men giues meanes to the gouernour of *Beys* to defend the Towne against the Duke that besieged it, vntill the beginning of May. The Duke hauing left it, they within the Towne issue forth: they kill aboute three hundred, and nothing staies them but the resistance made of the *Suisses*, from carrying away or cloying of his artillerie.

If the Dukes forces and threatens preuayled little against these men, his money and promites did lesse. Hee shippes his artillerie vpon the riuier of *Rhone*, raiseth

1575. raiseth his Campe, and by the houses which he burnt to ashes, he gets the ill will and hate of the people both farre and nere, for that hee grew so bitter against them, whilst lately he maintayned so courageously.

These parties thus diuided, bred newe seditions. At *marceilles* the people being risen against the Customers and Tollegatherers, runne to the Custome house, take their bookes of accounts, registers, weights and measures, and cast them into the sea. Some other Townes of *Prouence* followed this example. Some, called the *thauen* (being a troupe of malcontents, shauen after a certaine manner to bee knowne) arme against Treasurers and receiuers. The Baron of *Alemagne*, *Orezon*, *Eslablon*, and other heads of the Protestants, held *Lourmarin*, *Riez*, *Seine* and some other small Townes in the Prouince. To conclude, there are so many factions, so many parties, as one destroyes an other. The Lord of *Vins* goes to field, and reduceth to the Kings obedience all these last conquests, except *Seine*, and some other places thereabouts.

Montbrun, on the other side, made his forces fearefull in *Daulphiné*, but his too great lenitie to his souldiars, made him to purchase much ill will and manie enemies. *Chastillon*, a village neere vnto *Die*, strong by reason of the Castell, did annoy it. *Francis of Bonne*, Lord of *Diguières* (who commaunded in those parts,) resolves to pull this thorne out of their foote. *Gordes* gouernour of *Daulphiné* for the King, makes haft to crosse his attempt. *Montbrun* postes theier through the mountains, and descending into the plaine, hee chargeth *Gordes* thrice. The night comes and endes the conflict, *Montbrun* hauing lost eight men, and *Gordes* fixe and twentie.

Les Diguières approacheth in haft, but the next day, the thirteenth of Iune, *Montbrun* not satisfied with this aduantage, forceth his enemies to fight, and puts them to route: *Gordes* saues himselfe within *Die*. Two and twentie Enseignes of *Suisses* which hee had drawne from the Duke of *Vzez* after the siege of *Beys*, performe wonderful feates of armes: they make it good, and rather die then giue backe: but they are encountred by a generous resolution, who no lesse couetous of glorie, then they were enemies of a shamefull flight, strewes the place with nine hundred carcases, carrie away eightene Enseignes, and by the death of *Freulich* their Colonel, and of sixteene braue Captaines, *Montbrun* winnes an absolute and famous victorie. *Du Bar* and *Gouuernet* his Lieutenants, seconde him by the defeat of the whole companie of the Earle of *Beine*.

Such is the daylie change of humane things, which makes him by a pittifull Catastrophe to fall suddenly, who lately seemed to bee raised vp to the highest degree of honour. *Gordes* being prest within *Die*, calles for all the forces of the Countrie. *Montbrun* charged the first that shewed themselves in a straight: whereof part being slaine and part flying, they giue the alarme to the whole armie. But whilst the *Argoletiers* of *Montbrun* are busie at the spoile, a huge troupe of horse environ him, where (vertue yielding to the multitude) after a long conflict, they force through his troupes. His men being disperfed fle, some heere, some there. Himselfe thinking to leape a ditch, his horse falles and breakes his thighe.

So being forced to yeeld, *Rochefort* his Cousin, and *Vrche*, who commaunded the troupes, sweare to saue his life, and cause him to be carried to Crest. Hee lost in this hot skirmish two and twentie men: *Du Bar* among the rest, a braue and gallant young Gentleman: the others lost two hundred, whereof, some of them, by their most famous valour, left a wonderfull grieve to them that suruiued. Two and thirtie prisoners were taken with *Montbrun*, the which were freed for their ransom: but hee being tryed by the Parliament of *Grenoble*, (but after a double charge from the King and Queene Mother) not according to the Lawe of armes, but as one guiltie of high Treason, ended the remainder of his life vpon a scaffold, whome

LIII 2

already

Sedition at
Marceilles.

Montbrun de-
feats Gordes.

Montbrun over-
throwne.

Taken and
vnto death.

1575. already the griefe of his hurt had halfe mortified. The historie commends this gentleman to haue bene valiant, modest, iust, not couetous, no exactor, but (as we haue noted) too milde to his souldiars, who for an vndiscreet reuenge of his deare, did afterwards commit wonderfull spoiles about *Grenoble*.

The wisdom, valour, age and happinesse of the Lord of *Diguieres*, hath since giuen good testimonie, that they had reason to chosse him to succeed *Montbrun*, and to bee Lieutenant to the Prince of *Condé*. For the first fruits of his gouernment, hee restored martiall discipline, as much as the time would suffer him, provided for the garriſons, and by composition, surprises, and force, brought many newe Conquests to the partie.

Xaintonge was likewise dismembred by the enterprises and ordinarie courses of two parties. Amongest others, *Landereau* had gotten the *Ile of Ré*: but loosing it the same day, hee gaue the *Rocheleois* meanes to enlarge their limitts. Such were the confusions which diuided both the Prouinces and the affections of this Realme. But the time nowe calles vs to a strange consideration, happened eyther by policie and of purpose, or else accidentally, as it chanceth often in worldly affaires, whereof the wise of this world can make their prouident commoditie, to drawe forth all such fruits as mans wisdom giues them hope to produce at all euill. But hee that towndes the botome of mans heart, laughes from aboue, and when hee pleaseth, (euen when as man dreames not of it,) hee confoundes the wisdom of the wise, the fooles in their follie, and the malicious in their owne malice.

The Duke of *Alençon* seemed to liue in great familiarity with the King, since his returne from *Poland* into *France*. *Katherine* sayed, that this reconciliation of the two Bretheren was the meanes to maintayne the Realme in peace. But the Councells, practises and negotiations, tooke an other course then was expected. The Prince of *Condes* affaires prospered on the other side the *Rhin*. Those of *Languedoc* preferred the defence of their liberties with the hazard of their liues, before the yoke of a doubtfull and disloyall peace.

Therefore, to destroy at once the generall forces of the Protestants, which threatened most dangerous effects to come: the Court (a good schoolmistress of dissimulations) must take an other vnaccustomed habit. Doubtlesse *Katherine* gaue many of these instructions to her Children: and the issue will shewe, that there were many of her deuises in the managing of the following affaires. Soderly the Duke of *Alençon* seemed discontented. Hee cannot (sayeth hee) haue iustice of the outrages were done him in keeping him prisoner: they disdain him: those of *Guise* are preferred by reason of the Queene their Cousin the Kings wife: his presence seems offensive to the King, who can endure no companion, nor any great man nigh him.

Thus it is bruted in all parts: That the Duke of *Alençon* is in verie bad termes with the King. These horse-leeches of the Court, who by publick troubles aduanced their priuate affaires, buzzed in his eares: hee beleeueth them, and many of the Nobles ioyned with him: the King and Queene mother, and the Council seeme to bee amazed thereat. In the ende hee leaues the Court the sixteenth of September, and meeting manie Gentlemen halte a League from *Paris*, hee retires to *Breux*: whether repaired daylie vnto him newe troupes of the Nobilitie of both religions, and amongest manie, some inwarde seruants to the Queene mother, namely *Buffy* of *Amboise*, a bloudie, wicked, and a furious man.

This departure causeth newe broyles and murmuring in Court. Every man thinks, euerie man speaks according to his owne imagination or desire. Some beleue verilie, the two Bretheren are at discorde: that the Duke not able to endure the brauadoes of them of *Guise* (whome hee abhorres and loues not,

as the authors of publike confusions,) goes to ioyn with the Protestants and Politikes, to augment his portion, and by their common forces to plant a peace in *France*. Most of the Protestants were filled with pleasing hopes, promising themselves a golden world vnder this pretended reformer. But the cleere sighted remember what was past, and by the present estate iudge of the future. They knowe well the strange and variable humour of the Mother: and say, that shee vieth the dissembling of her Children as a laste for all feere: that hauing preuailed little with the *Lions* Kinne, shee will now put on the foxes: that shee finds the Duke fit to intrap them, seeing that both Protestants and Politikes seeke him ioynly, to vndertake their quarrells, and to make him their head: that being yong, and of small iudgement, neither greatly carefull of religion, or the reformation of the state, there was no likelyhoode hee should runne this course without their instruction, who had kept him so long in their power.

Thus men discoursed: but we commonly beleue that for certaine, which we most desire: All other aduice is reiected. They hope from the Duke of *Alençon* both the safety and the protection of the Realme. Hee, to maintayne so commendable a reputation, giues an account of his actions by a publike declaration, protests to imploy his forces, meanes and life, to banish the troublers of the publike quiet, to pursue iustice for all robberies, thefts, murders and massacres, to restore Noblemen, gentlemen and others, beeing prisoners or wrongfully banished, to their goods, offices and honours, to abolish all taxes, imposts and extraordinary subsidies, to maintayne the ancient lawes of the Realme, to defend the Nobility and Clergie in their priuileges, freedomes and liberties, and by a generall and free assembly of the three Estates, to constitute a good, firme and sure peace in *France*: hee takes all naturall Frenchmen of both religions into his protection, and vntill that a holy Councell may decide the controversies which diuided their soules, he exhorts them to liue in brotherly loue, and to suffer euerie man to enioye the exercise thereof.

This declaration is followed by letters to the Prince of *Condé*, the Marshall d'Anville, to the Earle of *Vendadour*, *Viconte* of *Turenne*, and to the chiefe among the Protestants: the most part of them receiue leaues of paper for an vndoubted oracle. Whereof some saied, they should shortly haue all things at their wil: but it was without effect, and contrary to promises.

The Prince of *Condé*, labored then for great succors in *Germanie*. This publication comes happily to dispose *Frederic* Elector and *Conte Palatin* to make a league with him: That they should not lay aside armes vntill the King had giuen the gouernment of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* to Duke *John Casimir* his sonne, the places and reuenues depending on the sayd Bishopricks for the entertaynement of the necessary garriſons vnder the Kings authority, and free exercise of the reformed religion. That the King should giue him an honorable entertaynement, and to the Protestants of *Languedoc* an annuall pension of sixethousand Crownes: And a mutuall protestation both by the heads of *Germanie* and *France*, to do their best endeauour for the good of *France*. All this must needes feede the people with hope, to preuent all future troubles. But the Prince had some horse-leeches about him, who emptying their Compaions purses, filled their owne Coffers with golden Crownes: and the Protestants improved many perions in the affaires of their religion, that had neither faith, piety, nor religion.

The Court was wonderfully disquieted. The King sends many posts to the gouernors of Prouinces, conuies them to keepe their faith, accuseth the Protestants & Politikes, to haue withdrawne his brother from him. forbiddes his subiects to giue any aide, fauour or support to the Duke of *Alençon*: calles the gentlemen together, and besides his bands of Ordinarie, hee makes newe Cornets of horses, and for their entertaynement hee imposeth newe taxes. And to moue the people, and retayne them in obedience vnder the shewe of deuotion and pietie, hee ordaines processions, fasts and prayers, celebrates voves and pilgrimages.

1575. But being returned to the *Louvre*, the Ladies, and his little dogges (which he kept very daintely), made him to forget the care of affaires, and to leaue the managing thereof to his mother and some counsellors. She makes a journey to the Duke her sonne, to reconcile him (sayd she) vnto the King. But the suspicious held, that her going was to furnish him with new instructions: that being declared General of these bands, both forraigne and *French*, and of diuers religions, and hauing ratified (as he did soone after,) an accord made with *Casimir*, she might agree at her pleasure with him, and so disappoint the great desseignes of the armie.

After this parlee, the Duke marcheth into *Poitou*, the Earle of *Vendour* comes vnto him with three hundred horse, and twelue hundred Harguebuffiers: many great Noblemen and Gentlemen repaire vnto him. During these confusions, the Duke of *Guise* and his house, deuise to build a third partie, the which we shall soone see breake forth. For the present, hee assembles twelue hundred maisters in *Champagne*, vnder the Kings authoritye, and *Stroffy* twelue thousand foote: the Duke of *Vex* lends vnto them the rest of his horle, and the Duke of *Montpensier* sends his troups of *Poitou*.

The Marshall *D'Anuille* had required some Cornets of *Reistres* from the Prince of *Condé*, to fortifie him in *Languedoc*. But seeing these last desseignes had called away the Kings forces, to keepe the *Germane* Armie from entring: the Council decreed, that attending *Casimir's* coming, these *Reistres* appointed for *Languedoc*, should go to the Duke of *Alençon*, being already chosen to bee their chiefe and General. This did weaken their party: and this first check brought the most part of his Counsellors into a bad reputation, and confirmed the Protestants in the iualousies they had conceived of the Duke of *Alençon*. *Thoré* lead these troups, being about fiftene hundred: some *French* Gentlemen ioyned with him, with five hundred shotte. The Dukes of *Guise* and *Mayenne*, *Biron*, *Feruaques* and others, compassed them in. Some retyre and crye for money: some fight, imitating the *French*, but the greater number pretyles. *Husking* the Colonnell, with his Lieutenant and some *Reistres*, and *French*, are slaine vpon the place: the rest flie.

Cleruant and many others being taken, with some Cornets, serue as a triumph for the Duke of *Guise*: five hundred *Reistres* ioyned with his troups, he himselfe following them that fled) receiued a shotte with a Pistoll in the cheeke, and by his fall gaue meanes to many to escape the fury of his victorious armes. *Thoré* lead the remainder of this snipwracke to the Duke of *Alençon*, being blamed as a bad man of warre, and not capable of counsell. This wound is a ladder for the Duke of *Guise* to climbe to wonderfull credit with the Catholics: the Kings actions both publicke and priuate, beginne to displease them. The King (say they) takes his ease, and drownes himselfe in delights and pleasures: his Brother troubles all *France*, and the house of *Guise* beares the burthen of the affaires of the whole common-wealth. And vpon these fauourable repinings, the Duke hereafter grounds most terrible desseignes.

His forces were not able to encounter the power of *Casimir*. The King therefore calls for *Mansfeld*, *Schomberg*, *Bassompierre*, and other Colonnells, who promise to bring him eight thousand *Reistres* within fixe weekes, giuing them three hundred thousand Frankes downe, and foureteene hundred thousand when they were entred. The King was wonderfull needy: all was spent in vnprofitable sumptuousnesse, and vnworthy dissolutenesse: and part of this money could no where bee so easily found, as in the *Parisians* purses. To induce them therevnto, they obteine Bulles from Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, and foure Churches appointed within *Paris* to obtaine pardons for many yeares, vpon condition to ayde the King, to roote out heresies. And to drawe the *Parisians* by others example, they gaue it out, that *Piennes* sold his inheritance, to lend the King foure hundred thousand Frankes: that the *Italians* of *Paris* did furnish the like summe: and the Duke of *Neuers*, the Cardinall of *Ferrara*, *Condé*,

Gordis, and *Birague*, nine hundred thousand frankes. Neither the first, nor the second bayte could make the *Parisians* to bite. They say, that within fiftene yeares their Cittie hath contributed twelue millions of gold, not comprehending the loanes and extraordinary impossibillities leuiued at *Paris*, and throughout the realme: that these ciuill dissensions, wast both their men, and money: they beseech him that (according to the notable aduertisements of *Saint Lewis*, to his sonne and successor, hee would mayntaine his subiects in peace and concord, by the bonds of pietie and Iustice.

Hee must haue money, and not wordes: and that by force, seeing loue cannot preuaile. *Paris* therefore is todaynly beset with garnisons: the King of *Nauarre* at *Saint Cloud*, the Duke of *Guise* at *Saint Denis*, the Duke of *Neuers* in the suburbs of *Saint Germain*. *Biron* at *Montmartre*, the Marshall of *Rez* at *Pont Charenton* and *Ecis des Innocentes*. Thus the *Parisians* are restrayned of their victuals, and force extorts from them the money, which kindnesse could not winne. In the meane time, the pretended *Reistres* were farre off, and Duke *Casimir* marched with the Prince of *Condé*.

To diuide the Duke of *Alençon* from these two heads, and frustrate the desseins of the Prince of *Condé*, the Queene mother comes againe to the Duke: shee treats a surceasing of armes for six monethes, and during the same, shee giues him for hostages, the Townes of *Angoulesme*, *Niort*, *Saumur*, *Bourges*, and *la Charité*: and for the Prince, *Mexieres*. The King doth ratifie this truce: but the gouernours of these places, for the most part refuse to yeeld them: neither will the Prince allow of it: for already there marched tenne thousand horle, fixe thousand *Suisses*, two thousand *Lanquenets*, three thousand *French* harguebuffiers, with foure great peeces of batterie, and sixteene leffe: the which threatned to make their passage easie.

This armie made chiefe account of the money which *Languedoc* should furnish, and the Marshall *d'Anuille* had promised the Prince to meet them with good troups, and to bring the pay vnto the armie: but no man appeares, neither is there any newes of money. An affront which then had made them yeeld to any possible conditions of peace: if they had beene offered it in the beginning of these first confusions: and might haue transported the men of warre beyond the bounds of modestie and reason, if by a good and commendable discipline the Prince had not restrayned the souldiars inolencies.

At their entrie, those of *Langres* (seeking to crosse their passage through their territories) did presently see the *Reistres* to spoile all, to loade their carres, and to burne the neighbour villages to ashes. Those of *Dijon* made some sallies, but they were fatall to some: others were content to salute them with their Cannon, shot into the ayre. *Cisteaux*, *Gilly* a Castle depending on the said Abbaie, and *Nuis* a small Towne in *Bourgoigne*, were the first conquests of the *Reistres*, the Prince, and *Lanquenets*: where they learned by the slaughter and spoyle which was made at *Nuis*, how troublesome a thing it is, for a Prince (emie to blood and spoyle) to be mastered by the greater number, being strangers in his armie.

At *Lourdon* the *Reistres* threaten the Prince to take an other partie, if hee giue them not readie money. Hauing contented them with hopes of good wordes, the armie passeth *Loire*, marcheth directly to the ruer of *Allier*, and takes *Vichy* by composition, a small Towne vpon the passage. Thus these strangers did forrage, whilst the King by a proposition of truce gaue hope of a future peace: and to preuent surprises, hee studied to fortifie the places about *Paris*, whether the whole armie threatened to come: for the effecting whereof, hee finds his ordinary let, which was the want of money. The *Parisians* remembred with what violence the King had lately forced them to yeeld to his demaunds: they now promise for their contribution foureteene hundred thousand frankes.

The Queene
Mother goes
to the Duke
of Alençon.

The projects
of the house
of Guise, for a
third party.

Thore de-
fected.

Murdering
against the
King.

1575

The Queene
mothers se-
cond voyage
to the Duke.

A German
armie for the
Prince of
Condé

The Reistres
begin to me-
tine.

1576.

The King of
Navarre el-
caps from
Court.The Duke of
Alençon chief
of the Protes-
tants armie.The fifth Edict
of peace.

The Queene mother pursues this surceasing of armes, she furnissheth the Duke of *Alençon* with very exquisite meats, sends him his great hories, and causeth them to bee proclaymed traitors, that would not yeeld to the Duke her sonne amongst others the inhabitants of *Bourges* and *la Charité*, offering *Tours* and *Blois* in exchange of the said Townes. Those of *Guise* haue their dessein apart. He speaks boldly, that *France* hath no need of a truce: that they wil fight with the forraigne foe: & vpon this hope published, they build the proiects, which we shall see them shortly to vndertake. Amidst these common diuisions, a new confusion troubles the Court.

The King of *Navarre*, vnder colour of hunting, escapes from *Paris* with a small traine: and writes to the King from *la Fere* in *Picardie*, a Towne belonging vnto him. That the apprehension of a new Captiuitie: and the ordinary slanders of his enemies, are the causes of his absence. The King excuseth himselfe, and would haue him returne: but hee had the fields at libertie. And seeing this proiect will not preuaile, he must trie another. Some bad Councillors, which gouerned the Prince of *Condé*, aduised him to passe the riuer of *Allier*, and speedily to ioyne with the Duke of *Alençon*, leauing Duke *Casimir* on the other side the riuer, who should followe his ordinary march. In the meane time the Duke of *Maïenne*, attends them at the passage with the Kings armie. This trick left the *Reistres* to the slaughter: but *Casimir* an aduised and couragious Captaine, lodgeth his men with aduantage, and attenueth the enemye. The Prince discouering their dessein, turnes towards them, and makes the Kings troups retire to their lodging. The *Auuegnats* fearing least this armie should passe the rest of the winter vpon their marches, make them to take the way of *Bourbonnois*, giuing them a hundred and fiftie thousand franks. Here began the first parle of peace: and to this effect, letters and instructions were sent into *Guienne*, *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*. *Charoux* a little Towne in *Bourbonnois*, besides money lent paid the charges of some daies that the armie stayed there, whilst they made question to yeeld.

The eleuenth of March, the Duke of *Alençon* comes to the plaine of *Sone*, where, in a generall muster, they numbred thirtie Cornets of *German* horse, tenne of *French*, tenne of *Suisses*, seuen of *Lanquenets*, eight of *French*, and the Prince of *Condé*, deliuering the white Cornet into the Dukes hands, according to the articles of their capitulation, he was sollemnly proclaymed Generall of this Noble and mightie armie. The King in the meane time, with the Queene mother and their Councillors, omitted no practises to corrupt Duke *Casimir*, and to breake the treatie betwixt the Prince and the Duke. On the other side, the *French*, *Reistres*, *Suisses* and *Lanquenets*, demaunded nothing but battaile, or to march towards *Paris*, but the Duke of *Alençon* was alreadie assured of the best part of his demaunds: and the armie without any memorabile exploits of warre, did onely spoyle and destroy *France*. At length the Queene mother seeing matters almost brought to a desired end, shee comes to the armie the seuen and twentieth of Aprill, where after diuerse Ambassages and contestations, shee granted in the end, to the Duke *Casimir* a company entertayned of a hundred men at armes, fortie thousand franks yearly pension, and two thousand Crownes for the entertaynement of a certaine number of horses. In consideration whereof, hee did renounce the article concerning *Metz*, *Thoul* and *Verdun*: That of eleuen millions of franks that were due vnto him, hee should receiue two millions within fixe weekes, and a sufficient payne of Jewells for the rest, and the reuenues of *Chasteau Thierry*. The Duke of *Alençon* should haue for his part, *Aniou*, *Touraine* and *Berry*, for an increase of his portion.

The Prince of *Condé* should haue the gouernment of *Picardie*, the Towne of *Peronne* for his abode, and two hundred souldiars in garrison: free exercise of the pretended reformed religion throughout the realme, attending a free and generall Councell: Chambers in the Parliaments of both religions, for the administration of Iustice: and at *Montpellier* for *Languedoc*, leauing them eight Townes in gard, for the assurance of these articles, and of their persons: *Aguet-mortes* and

BEAN-

1576

caire in *Languedoc*, *Perigoux* and *le Mas* of *Verdun* in *Guyenne*, *Nions* and *Serres* in *Dauphiné*, *Iffoire* in *Auuegne*, *Seine*, with the great Tower in *Frouence*. Restitution to the King of *Navarre*, Prince of *Condé*, Marshall *D'Anuille*, and diuers others, of their goods, offices, and honours, which they enioyed before the foure and twentieth of August 1572.

Moreover the King did auow by a sollemne declaration: That the massacres of the said yeare, had beene committed against all right and law of armes. He ordeyned, that the children of such Gentlemen as had beene murdered, should bee freed from all charges of warre: and such as were no Gentlemen, should bee eased of Subsidies for fixe yeares. Hee disanulled all iudgements giuen since the decease of *Henry* the second, in hatred of religion: and lately against the Politickes. Hee freed the Admirall, and all others murdered, from infamie: restoring their children to all their goods. Hee restored *La Motte*, *Cocornas*, and others, executed, or condemned, for contempt to their honours. Hee aduowed the taking of Armes by the Duke of *Alençon* and his associates, as taken for his seruice; giuing him the Towne of *La Charité* for two yeares. Hee appointed a Parliament at *Blois* in Nouember following. Hee cleared the Marshalls of *Montmorency* and *Coffé* of all accusations, held them for innocents, restored them to their former libertie, and acknowledged them for faithfull seruants to the King, and officers of the Crowne. The Edict conteyned many other articles depending vpon the former, and was allowed by the Parliament of *Paris*, the 14. of May.

So the Queene Mother granted much to many, to giue nothing to any, but to the Duke her sonne, who alone gotte more, then all the rest together. Altho Duke *Casimir* had no sooner turned his backe from *France*, but they began to finde this peace to bee counterfet, beeing made onely to disarme them, and to diuide the Commanders.

The Prince of *Condé* did first feeble the breach of these promises. They denie him his gouernement of *Picardie*: some seize vpon *Peronne*, and put in practice a strange peece of worke. Diuerse enterprises vpon the Princes person, make him to leaue the Duke of *Alençon*, and to retyre into *Guyenne*, to the King of *Navarre*, whom those of *Rockell* receiued into their Towne, with much honour and great triumphing, the eyght and twentieth of Iune. All such of his traine as they suspected were excluded.

Vpon deniall of *Peronne*, the King granted to the Prince the Towne of *Saint Ieand Angely*: but the inhabitants had a watchword, and a mutuall othe (after the example of a priuate league made by three score Gentlemen of *Foison*, who would haue no exercise but of the Catholike religion) to maintaine one another, and not to giue access to any one, of what religion soeuer, to the ende their quiet might no wayes at all bee disturbed or molested. The Prince seeing himselfe to haue this repulse, hee caused some Captaines to enter secretly, and then assured himselfe of the place.

It was then found very weake for the assurance of his person, against so many enemies that sought his death. Hee therefore discouers a certaine practise against him, but fatall to the Author alone. In the ende of October hee takes *Brouage*, a strong place neere vnto *Rockelle*. The Catholickes murmure against him, and accuse him as a disturber and breaker of the peace. Contrarywise, hee demanded Iustice against them that had seized on *Peronne*, as troublers of the publicke quiet, and guilty of treason. The Protestants likewise complaine vnto the King. That in diuers places they are disquieted in the exercise of their religion, granted by the Edict. That many Preachers moue the people to sedition. That the Chambers of both Religions are not erected. That Iustice is denied them. That both great and small bandie against them. And they produce ample and certaine proofes of these complaints and griefes.

Then

1567.

The protest
of the house
of Guise.

Then those of the house of *Guise* studied to discover those terrible projects which they had long hatched. The cloake of religion was a plausible and favourable pretext, to advance the designs of their pretensions. They had of many yeares, (especially vnder *Francis* the 2.) disputed of their beginning, and of the rights which fallie they pretended to haue vnto this Crowne. *Charles* and *Henry* were become odious: the first by his violences, the last by his dissolutions. *Francis* Duke of *Anjou* (for hereafter he shall carry that title,) had lately troubled *France*, and was taken for a turbulent Prince: a title vnpleasing to the people. The diuision for matters of conscience, seemed sufficient to keepe back the chiefe Princes of the bloud: the rest were weak both of age and power. Those of *Guise* in the meane time, had neither forgotten liberality, curtesie, nor shew of zeale in piety, to winne the Catholikes hearts. The Queene's Mother vsed them for a purpose, that by the mutuall ruine of the one and the other, she might maintaine her authoritie.

At Rome and
in Spain.

But their fauours within the realme were not auailable. The Protestants crossed them infinitely: they must seeke a forraigne support. They finde it fitly at *Rome*, and in *Spain*. The Pope gouernes Catholikes consciences, and great men do still finde in religion a well coloured pretext to trouble the State. The King of *Spain* feared, lest the peace of this realme should breed him warres. The Prince of *Auranges*, and many Townes of the Lowe Countries, cast themselves already into the Kings protection, against the *Spanishe* tyrannie. They sollicite the Duke of *Anjou* instantly, and propound conditions vnto him, which make him to open both eares and mouth: and already many Gentlemen and Captaines, armed for this quarrell. So both the Consistory at *Rome*, and the King of *Spain* might well countenance these designs, grounded especially vpon the defence of the Catholike religion: the one for the zeale hee carries to the rooting out of heresie: the other, for the profit he reapes by our common diuisions.

And therefore those of *Guise* send their Agents to *Rome*, with instructions, and they that by the negligence of Kings issued from the house of *Valois*, descending from the line of *Hugh Capet*, (in the which there appeared none, but were dull or heretikes,) the Catholike religion decayed in this realme: whilst that the race of *Charlemagne* honoured with the blessing of the *Romaine* seate, the which subsists not but by that race (from the which they will make the world beleue, that they are descended in the direct masculine and lawfull line) remains despised, although it be ready to serue the Church faithfully, and that there liue at this day Princes of that race, commendable for their vertues, ready to spend their bloud and meanes, to augment the dignitie of the Church, and for the destruction of hereticks. And therefore they beseech the Consistory to approue and fauour their designs.

Their designs.

Their chiefe designs were, to ouerthrow the succession brought in by *Hugh Capet*, in the full assembly of the Estates, and to make the naming of a successor subiect vnto the sayd Estates: to cause the Princes of the bloud, that should oppose against the decrees of the Estates, to be declared incapable to succeed vnto the Crowne. And the residue, of what qualities soeuer, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, degraded of their dignities: the money growing of their confiscations, to be employed for the warre, and their bodies to be executed. A reward to be appointed for them that should roote out such as could not be apprehended. To make the Estates protest to liue and dye in the faith, set done by the Council of *Trent*, to cause it to be signed in the open Parliament: To reuoke and disannull all publike Edicts, in fauour of the Protestants and their associates, and to pursue them to the death that should hinder the extirpation of heresies. To cause the King to reuoke the promises made vnto the Protestants: and to prescribe a certaine time vnto their associates, in the which they should present themselves before the Ecclesiasticall Iudges to be abolished: and then to be sent vnto the King, to purchase pardon of the crimes committed against his Maestie. To cause the King to name a Lieutenant generall, a Prince capable of experience, and fit to encounter the rebellion of Princes, that should seeke to hinder the effect of the precedent articles:

Articles: and who neuer had had part, societie nor communication with heretikes, to whom both hee and his Ancestors had euer beene professed enemies: And to require his Maestie to honour the Duke of *Guise* with that charge, being indued with all the perfections requisite in a great Captaine, and worthie of that Commission. To cause Iudges to be appointed to examine the crime committed by the Duke of *Alexandre*, declaring himselfe cheefe of the Heretikes, authorising the exercise of heresie: and forcing his Lord and brother to augment his portion. To cause the sayd Duke to come to Court, with the King of *Nauarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*: and by ordinary and extraordinary forces, to seize vpon the said Duke, King, Prince, and all other that had accompanied them, and followed them in their enterprises. To cause such Captaines, as the parishes should giue to the Duke of *Guise*, to put all Protestants their adherents and complices to the sword, both in the Countie, and in walled Townes. To subdue by force or intelligence, the revolted Prouinces: to be masters of the field, to blocke up the Townes that were opposite, and to put all to fire and sword, that would make head against them. And after this goodly and infallible victorie, hauing wonne the loue of the Clergie, Nobilitie, and people, to take exemplary punishment of the Duke of *Anjou*, and his complices: then by the Popes consent and permission, to put the King and Queene into a monastierie, as *Pepin* his Ancestor did in former time to *Childeric*: and for an acknowledgement, and in fauour of the *Romaine* Sea to abolish the liberties and priuileges of the *French* Church.

These highe and great projects were harkened vnto, receiued and fauoured in the Court of *Rome*, & from that time those of *Guise* did not cease to dreame of the meanes to advance the effects. But this was to reckon without their host. They haue compassed some of their conclusions, but the end proued quite contrary to their meanings: wherein wee admire a most singular prouidence of the King of Kings, whereby hee hath vnto this day miraculously balanced: and in the end by his singular grace settled the estate of this Realme. The articles of this association were first drawn at *Pronne* in *Picardie*: but disguised with goodly shewes, to blind them that would examine them more exactly: which were to maintaine the Law of God, to restore the holy seruice thereof: To preserve the King and his Successors in the Estate, dignitie, seruice, and obedience due vnto him by his subiects: To restore vnto the Estates of the Realme, their rights, preheminences, and ancient liberties. And for the execution of these articles, a certaine forme of oath was propounded, inflicting paines of eternall damnation to the associates, that for any pretext whatsoever should withdraw themselves from this League, and a bond for such as should be enrolled, to employ their goods, persons, and liues, to punish, & by all meanes to ruine the enemies and perturbers thereof, and to punish them that should faile, or make any delays by the authoritie of the head, as he should thinke good.

The first
League at
Pronne.

This done, there were nothing but posts carrying the first newes of these designs. They cast many libels throughout the streets, in many good Townes: they murmur that they are too much supported by the Edict: they practise some to serue as firebrands, to kindle a new warre: and vnder this plausible, and commendable title of the name of the Church and diuine seruice, the people (a fit matter to nourish ciuill diuisions) giues eare to such as seeke to thrust them into mutinie. The King was daily aduertised of new complots. Hee found that this match did kindle a fire of perpetuall combustions within his Realme. On the other side, hee hated the Protestants, and would ruine them by degrees, but not by such instruments as wrought without his authoritie. His mother likewise hated them to the death, and greatly desired the ruine of the heads, being well content that these confusions should still diuide the *French*, so as holding the staffe in her hand, shee might terrifie her children, and maintaine her authoritie, make warre, and giue peace whensoever shee pleased.

Thus

1576.

The Duke of
Alençon re-
conciled to
the King.The begin-
ning of the
Parliament.The third Es-
tate more in
differet and
moderate.warre con-
cluded.Protestation
against the
the Parlia-
ment.The King of
Navarre re-
turned to the
France.

Thus the causeth the Duke of *Alençon* to come to the Court, and the King to cer-
taine his subiects of both religions, in hope of better concord, by meanes of
reconciliation: and to cut off all new factions, he deferred the generall assembly of the
Estates vnto the fifteenth of December following. He presumed likewise, that all his
subiects abhorring the ruine of Townes, the desolation of Countreies, and the spoyle of
Strangers, would gladly preferre the entertaynement of a peace solemnly forme, be-
fore the continuance of warre: and by this meanes, hee should prevent all turbulent
persons, and bridle the Protestants, whome he ment to consume otherwise then by o-
pen warre: whereby neither his predecessor, nor he himselfe had gotten any honorable
triumphes.

The day (appointed for the Estates) comes, the King himselfe begins it. Hee la-
ments the calamities of his realme, whereof the tender age in the which he is brother,
and himselfe were in the beginning of these ciuill warres, may well iustly frowne, that
they were not the authors and motiues. Hee protests, to haue no desicme nor desire,
but for the safetie and quiet of his people, whose miseries hee would redeeme with
the price of his life. Hee coniures the assembly, to assist him in his ho'y resolution.
To deuise some meanes to redeeme the lands of the Crowne, engaged for above a
hundred millions of gold: to vnite themselues firmly together, to roote out all seeds
of partialities, to reforme abuses, establish iustice, and to restore the Realme to the an-
cient dignitie. *Biraque* the Chancellor, adds the rest: but the two maine points of his
speech, were to iustifie the Queene mothers gouernment, and to demand money. *Pe-
ter d'Espinae* Arch-bishop of *Lion*, and the Baron of *Senecy*, are spekers: the one for
the Clergie, the other for the Nobilitie: and both conclude a publike exercise of one
onely religion in *France*. *Peter Versoris*, Advocate in the Court of Parliament at *Paris*,
Orator for the third estate, insists especially for the vnion of all the kings subiects in one
religion, but by mild meanes, and without warre: he beseecheth the King, to maintaine
his people in peace, to reconcile his Princes, and exactly to examine the bad go-
uernment of his treasurer.

The King seemed to incline onely, to alter some articles in the last Edict of pacifi-
cation, and not to abolish it quite: but he was needie, and feared that where with they
threatened him: That no man would assist him, but vpon condition to make warre a-
gainst the *Huguenots*. Thus the perswasions and promises of the Clergie, & Nobilitie,
prevailed more then those that preferred peaceable proceedings before violent, mak-
ing him resolute to armes, to roote out all other exercise of religion but the Catho-
like, to banish all ministers, deacons, and ouerseers of the pretended reformed reli-
gion: and yet to take all his other subiects of the said religion into his protection, attend-
ing, that by better instructions they might be reclaimed to the bosome of the Church.
But the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Marshall of *Montmorencie*, *d'An-
tille* and other Noblemen, both of the one, and the other religion, had well foreseene
these conclusions, and refusing to assist at this pretended Parliament, conclude a No-
lity of all that should be decreed to preiudice the Edict of pacification, protesting that
they were resolute to maintaine themselves in the rights, liberties, and freedomes,
which the last Edict had granted them: That the troublers of the publike quiet, and the
sworne enemies of *France*, should find them in a iust defence, and they should answere
before God and men, for all the miseries that should ensue thereby.

For answere, it was ordained, that men should be sent to winne some to the Catho-
like Church, and all to the obedience of the Kings new Edict; tending to maintaine
the *Romaine* religion, to roote out all other exercise, to defend the King, and to pre-
serue his people. The King thought by this opposition to stay this new faction which
fortified it selfe daily. It was a great indiscretion to countenance an association and
League, which vnder the ashes of the last warre being yet hot, couered the coales of
a generall flame. The King of *Navarre* beseecheth the Estates, by the Duke of *Mont-
pensier* (who was sent vnto him) not to infringe the Edict of peace, and to suffer them
of the religion to intoy that which had beene so solemnly granted. He offers to submit
him-

A tette, if they shew him how he erres: but he intreats them, that in a matter of to great
importance, they will giue him time to thinke seriously thereon, and to attend the o-
pinion of an assembly of those of his religion, and of the Catholicks associates, which
shortly shall be made at *Montauban*.

The Prince of *Condé* answers more sharply: That he doth not acknowledge them
that are assembled at *Blois*, for the Estates of the Realme: but a conuenticle of persons
corrupted by the sworne enemies of the Crowne, who haue solicited the abolition of
the Edict, to the ruine and subuersion of the realme. That, if they had beene lawfully
called, he would haue assisted, for the sincere affection he beares to the Kings seruice,
and the quiet of his country. That hee will neuer giue his consent to the counsels of
the Authors of so many confusions which hee foresees, wherevnto hee hath alwayes
knowne the Kings disposition to be repugnant, and a friend to vnion: being the sure
and principall meanes to preterue his Crowne. That hee hath alwayes honoured the
Clergie and Nobilitie, and will maintaine them with all his power: but he pisseth the
people, whom these pretended Estates of *Blois* seeke to ruine.

The chiefe of the Politicks protest: That they doe not cleaue to any other religi-
on, then that of their Fathers: but as touching a generall peace, they cannot allow of
this resolution. To take from the Protestants the publike exercise which had beene
so solemnly granted them. The Duke of *Montpensier* (being returned) perswaded
the third estate presented a new petition vnto the King,
beseeching him to vnite all his subiects in one religion, but without violence. Doubt-
lesse a King may well destroy euery priuate man: but not all mankind in generall.
One succeeds another, and the children (whose age and innocency doth naturally
free from the rigour and violence of armes) doe inherite the humours, passions, and
quarrels of their fathers.

The Protestants ioyntly beseech the King, not to suffer this assembly (which they
cannot allow for a generall Parliament) to consult vpon the point of religion due
vnto a free Councell. The Estates (sayd the King) should neyther be free, nor ge-
nerall, if I should make this prohibition. And as they may demand what they please,
so may you doe the like: and I promise you in the word of a King, and of an honest
man, that whatsoever I ordaine, shall bee for the contentment of all my subiects,
and the quiet and peace of my realme. In the meane time, they consult how to le-
aue money for the warre. The King giues notice to his Gouvernours, and publisheth
by his Letters Patents: That he is resolute to grant the Estates their requests,
touching the exercise of one onely religion. And *Villequier* is sent to the Princes
of the Empire, to diuert some from their affection to the Prince of *Condé* and his ad-
herents: and to obtaine from others a leaue of *Reistres*. Thus the warre begins in
Guyenne.

The King of *Navarre* attempts vpon *Marmande*, a Towne of his gouernment, but
without effect. The Duke of *Mayenne* comes for the King: and whilest hee is the
strongest in field, hee batters, takes and sackes, *Thone-Charante*, *Marans*, and other
places thereabouts. During the Parliament, the Deputies of the Lowe Countries
came to demand succours of the King, and the Duke of *Anion* for Protector of
their liberties and priuileges, against the tyrannous gouernment of the *Spaniards*. He
is now declared the Kings Lieutenant general. They deliuer him a mighty army: with
the which (contrary to the orthe taken by him in the obseruation of the accord and
promise past, with the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke *Casimir*,) hee besiegeth and
takes *La Charité* by composition, and *Yssire* in *Auvergne* by force, where the bloud
of the inhabitants shed without pitty by the Duke of *Anion*, confirmed the Protestants
in the bad opinion they had conceiued off him.

Rochelle crossed the practises of the contrary party: whose happy exploits cau-
sed the Duke of *Mayenne* to send forth a Nauie to Sea, vnder the command of
Laforest; which presenting it selfe Before the Isle of *Ré*, repyred, seeing the Islanders
refused to fight if they approached: The *Rochellois*, to encounter them, arme seuen
ships,

The Prince
of Condé
answers.The decla-
ration of the
Politicks.The Prote-
stans suppli-
cation.The first ciuill
warre.By the Duke
of Anion, and

of Mayenne:

1577. ships, those of the Islands fine, and intreat the Estates of *Holland* and *Friesland*, for a good assurance to ayde them with some great vessels, to withstand the force of the Fleet. The Nobilitie, by their example, invites all others, and of all qualities, to charge themselves willingly for the maintenance of this armie.

Siege of
Brouage.

The Duke of *Mayenne* first conquests make him proceed. And to make his enterprises vpon *Rochelle* more easie, he comes before *Brouage* the 22. of June. It is a small square Towne, built in a Marsh recovered out of the Sea, fortified during the last peace: and at that time ill furnished with men, victuals, and munition, and beset, all beloued of the Islanders about it. Those of *Rochelle*, whom it doth greatly import for the preservation of their Estate, did greatly indomage the assailants, and cut off about sixe hundred of their men in a short time. But a diuision happened, & was cunningly maintained betwixt the Nobilitie & the *Rochelois*: the Prince of *Condé* hauing since the conduct of *Clermont* Admirall for the *Rochelois* lost some vessels, being come on ground, the rest being disperfed, and thereby the Isle of *Oleron* lost. The Kings approche to *Poitiers*: the supply of *Sussex* in the Campe: *Lansacs* coming into the roade of *Chef de Baye* neere vnto *Rochelle* (where hee burnt one of their principall ships, and tooke another, but without the losse of a man) the death of *Seré* chiefe of the besieged, slaine with ten or twelue others in a sallie by night, the number of sicke and hurt which they had to feede, the ruine of their Fortes, the enemies approche, the wants of victuals, and the threatens of the Duke of *Anions* coming, who would intreate them as hee had done the inhabitants of *Issoire*: all these considerations made them enter into capitulation, by the which they departed the 28. of August with their armes and baggage, leauing the place at the victors deuotion.

Brouage yeeld-
ed.

This happy successe should haue made the Duke of *Mayenne* aduance with his armie: but the progresse was dangerous for the Kings Estate: who to mainteine himselfe, must proceed after an other sort. His manner of life was contrary to the violence of armes: hee was of a soft and delicate nature, impatient of labour, aind to rest, feasts, dancing, and other pleasures, which peace brings to them that are giuen to delights. So the peace which had beene plotted during the siege of *Brouage*, was concluded at *Poitiers*, and was received in the end of September with so great ioye of eyther party, as the Prince of *Condé* caused it to bee proclaimed by Torchlight in *Rochelle*, the same night it came: although it were not so beneficiall for his party as the first. This last Edict cut off some articles of the former, made no mention of Strangers: left their consciences free, yet without exercise, but in Townes and places where as then it was publikly vsed, in Gentlemens houses that had high Iustice and fees, in what assemblies they pleased: for others of meaner qualitie, a certaine number: and in euery Baylywike a fite and commodious place for the publicke exercise of the pretended reformed religion. So the proud defeignes of the Duke of *Guise*, were made frustrate for this time, and stayed for some yeares, vntill that by the death of the Duke of *Anion*, wee shall see them renewed, but in the end to the Authors confusion.

The peace of
Poitiers.

Articles of
hard execution.

The partialities and leagues made within the realme, in the which many, both great and small, had farre engaged their goods and reputations, were the cause of great difficulties, in the execution of the Edict. Those of *Languedoc* especially, (from whom the Marshall *D'Anuille* had estranged himselfe) did ioyntly with the other Prouinces, sollicite the King of *Nauarre*, to obtaine an explanation of many ambiguous and doubtfull articles. So a whole yeare was spent in instances, pursutes, and declarations.

Explained by
the conference of
Nerac.

The conference at *Nerac* betwixt the Queene Mother and the King of *Nauarre*, decided many difficulties: but their spleens could not be so easily tempered: and sometimes in one Prouince, sometime in another, the Edict was diuersely and many waies broken. The most fastious were very loth to laye aside Armes: the Politikes did daylye diuide themselves from the Protestants: the Protestants sought to keepe them-

A themselves from surprises, and full of distrust, maintained themselves quietly in the midst of many stormes which threatened them.

As for the King, experience hath now taught him, that the power of man cannot force mens consciences: that spirituall diseases must haue spirituall cures: that faith is not planted in the heart by violence: that wee must attend from heauen the conuersion of them are strayed, and that the Prince is a patterne whereto his subiects willingly conforme themselves. He therefore shewes himselfe in publike, for a myrror of reformation and piety, and as a testimony, that his greatest desire is to con-
sume the diuisions in his realme: he builds many Monasteries, Chappels, and Oratories, vndertakes many pilgrimages on foote, confirms the Brother-hood of *Perrems*, erects the order of *Ieronimites*, is dayly conuersant with the *Capuchins* and *Faciillans*, called *Iesuits*: and by their instructions erects many congregations: hee carries a Crucifixe and Beads in procession, with a whippe at his girdle: hee causeth many Bookes of deuotion to bee printed. And to conclude, hee leads a life more bustling a Cloyster then a royall Court: and following the example of *Lewis* the 12. his predecessor, he institutes the order of the Knights of the Holy ghost, binding them to conditions, which carry a strict bond to the Church of *Rome*.
The Kings
chambers
keeping the peace
The order of
the Holy
ghost created.

Hee pretended to giue diuers blows with one stone: To vniue great men by an inuolable concord and amitie, for the good of themselves, the State, and their Countrey: To please the Clergie men, and to lead all the Clergie in a leath: to vniue the peoples hearts, who are tedde with shewes: To suppress the grudging and the ill will which the intolerable oppression of his subiects bred: to remedy the extraordinarie expences of his Court, in vsuall excesse, and for the entertainment of a number of mignons and Horie-leeches, to whom they must rather weigh, then tell money: But chiefly, to pull downe the Protestants, to vndermine them, and by this lure of worldly greatnesse, to withdraw the chiefe heads, who could not attaine to this high and stately degree of Knight hood, but in renouncing of their religion.

Henry (for trumpets of his deuotion) had the Fathers of the *Capuchins*, *Faciillans*, and *Iesuits*: *Dom Bernard Feuillant*, and *Emond Auger* a *Iesuit*, gaue him pulchritude in their Sermons, and primarily in confessions and companies, the testimonie of the most religious Prince, the most courteous, and the most careful to vniue his subiects in their obedience to God, and then to him, that euer *France* hath knowne in many ages. But we shall see in the end most of their tongues tolde for money, and others, who making profession to come into the Pulpit to instruct the people, shall bately contrbull the goodly Orators, and by a contrary language, suborne the peoples affections, subuert their senses, and as it were with little linkes of golde, drawe them after them, tyed by the nose, tongue and eares.

The feasts, maskes, stately marriages, sumptuous pastimes, and the new impositions to maintaine them, lead the first dance of rebellion. The Queene Mother, and those of *Guise*, seeing the King drowned in these delights of Court, did willingly entertaine him in that humor, that eyther busying himselfe to number his Beads, or to tread the measures of a dance, they might holde the reynes of government, and dispose of affaires without controule. But hee knew well the ambition of these men. Hee was iealous of his royall authority: and in the midst of his delights and pleasures, their presence was suspect vnto him. Hee was more pleased with the familiaritie of meane men, whom hee had aduanced to exceeding greatnesse: and so hee set some mignion in Sentinell, to watch if they should attempt anything against his royall dignitie. Those of *Guise* are not idle, they watch for occasions, they receive such as are malecontents, they practise men of their owne humours and dispositions, and fitte for their desseignes: and can cunningly promise cure and hope for those vicers and sores, which the people of *France* shew them on all sides.

Motus
of
rebellion
against the
King.

These first discontents of subiects, oppressed with insupportable charges, and the

1581. impatiencie of the Clergie, who see their enemies to enioy a firme and solide peace, which did newly strengthen and clofe vp that old wound, which had lately imbrued all France, made them easily to reuiue the league of *Peronne*, and vnder two goodlie pretexts, (religion, and the ease of the people) to discouer the desseignes which they had long before conceiued.

All encounters made the way easie, both within and without: within, their hearts disposed to reuolt: without, the *Spaniards* greatnesse, who had now inuaded the realme of *Portugall*, and by this vsurpation, had a great meanes to disperse his *Indian* golde in France. And the Duke of *Aniou* made warre for the Estates of *Flanders* and other vnited Prouinces, which had called him to free them from the tyrannie and domination of the *Spaniards*. But these discourses belong to the *Spanish*, *Portugall*, and *Flemish* Histories, and may not enter into this volume, which inuites vs to an end.

1582.
&

1583.
Prolongation
of Townes
granted to the
Protestants.

New motives
of rebellion.

The last Edict had, as the former, accorded some Townes vnto the Protestants, for hostages and sureties of his word, during the terme of fixe yeares. Now the King summons them to deliuer them, seeing the time prefixed was almost expired. But the peace had bene so often broken, as so short a time could not quench the fire-brands of warre, nor giue a full execution to the Edict. To content them, the King grants a prolongation for the reteining of these Townes for some yeares. This grant serues the Princes of the League for a new motiue of troubles and disobedience. They giue it out generally: That the King fauoures heretikes: that hee will bring in heresie. They consider not, that hee could not but by force (the euere whereof was doubtfull) recouer the sayd places, being strong, and peopled with numbers of Protestants.

The King of
Navarre soli-
cited to ioyne
with the
league.
1584.

The King of *Navarre* sees a farre off, that the heauens are ouercast, and foresees that this storme doth threaten his Estate with a horrible tempest: they sollicite him to ioyne with this party: they make him goodly offers in shew, but all was but to lull him a sleepe, or to cast vpon him all the causes of the future miseries, and to make him more odious and detestable. Hee giues the King intelligence thereof, and puts him in minde of the aduertisements hee gaue him in the yeare 1576. vpon the treaties of the League in *Spaine*, and at *Rome*. Hee sees this mine is ready to breake, and that it is now time to thinke of his affaires. Hee assures himselfe of the amities of *England*, *Denmarke* and *Germanie*.

The Duke of
Aniou dyes.

But sodenly there fallies a new accident, which breakes vp all the bankes that restrained the ouerflowing of the League. The Duke of *Aniou*, whether his ryot in the Lowe Countries, or griefe to see his desseignes ouerthrowne, or the wicked practises of *Salcedo*, (drawne in peeces since by foure horses) or some other secret attempt against his life, had shortened his dayes: hee dyes at *Chasleau-Thierry*. Whatsoeuer it were, such as were employed to see this man tortured, and to discouer the secret intentions of his masters, were afterwards vnworthily intreated, and ransomed by the chiefe of the League. This death aduanced the King of *Navarre* one degree. The King suffers the Court of Parliament to receiue the Roses in May, that were presented vnto him, (according to the custome of the Princes and Peeres of France) in qualitie of the first Prince of the bloud, and first Peere of France. Most part of the realme cast their eyes vpon him, as the Sunne rising. This on the one side doth amaze the Authors of the League, and on the other side, it preseth them to trie their fortunes now, whilest the King remains alone of his line, without hope of issue, and the King of *Navarre* farre off, as it were exiled, and in shew excluded from euer passing the *Loire*.

The proceed-
ings of the
league.

They assemble the heads of their house at *S. Denis*, and presently make the seeds of their counsels to appeare in *Picardie*, *Champagne*, & *Bourgogne*. They make the townes to abhor the *Huguenots* yoke, which (say they) the King of *Navarre* prepares for them. They talke not of the King but with contempt: they cast forth libels and shamelesse

Paquils:

A Paquils: they disgrace him in companies as a *Sardanapalus*, and idle *Chilperie*, drunke with prodigalities and dissoluties, and for a third Crowne (his deuile shewing, that he attended the last in heauen) they were ready to shauie his crowne, like vnto a Monke into a Cloister. The people being corrupted, and drawne from their obedience, by the disorders of the Court, suffer the poison of audacious mutinies to creepe into their hearts.

But let vs in few words see the conception, the deliuerie, and the growing of this league in *Paris*, which shall cast forth store of branches into all the quarters of the Realme. *Rocheblond* a Cittizen of *Paris*, a turbulent and factious man, the first Tribune of this league, encouraged by some great men, and supported by the chiefe ministers thereof, ioynes with *Preuost* the Curat of *S. Seuerin*, *Rucher* Curat of *S. Benoist*, and *Launoy* a Chanon of *Soissons*, sometimes a Minister, but fled from *Sedan* for adulterie. These foure Archeleaguers, hauing banded all their wittes to ruine the house of *Bourbon*, and to aduance that of *Guise*, sowe a pernicious seed of rebellion throughout the Citty, and frame a petty Councell of the chiefe Cittizens, who take the charge of the sixtene quarters of the Citty and Suburbes, to practise all they could, and to entertaine them with discourses, grounded vpon the malice of the time, full of schisme, heresie, and tyrannie. This petty Councell, compounded of *Rocheblond*, *Compans* a Marchant, *Cruce* a Proctor, *La Chapelle*, *Louchart* a Comissarie, and *Buffy le Cloe* a Proctor, brought their deliberations and proiects to the grand Councell, which consisted of Doctors, Curats, Preachers, and other men of marke.

In short time they make a great brotherhood, and finding themselves strong, they aduertise the Duke of *Guise*, of the affection of the good Catholikes of *Paris*, (that is the name which the Leaguers challenged to themselves) and their zeale to the preservation of religion, and the rooting out of the contrary, and the ruine of tyrannie. Hee conferres with his bretheren, and sends both to giue and to take an othe in an assembly held in *Reims*, a place at *Paris*. Then the most factious are sent to the Townes and Prouinces of the realme, with good instructions, to ioyne new confederates to their body, vnder a pretext to fight against heresie and tyrannie. Then might we haue seene the chiefe pillars ouerthrowne that support a Prince: loue and authoritie, and hatred and contempt to supply their places. The Preachers publicly in all places, called the King a tyrant, and fauourer of heretikes. The people did applaud them: and from this deadly hatred which they had conceiued against the King, his Councell and fauourites, sprung that fury which was soone after disperied ouer all the body of France.

The better to countenance this League, they present it to Pope *Gregorie* the 13. that he might blesse it, and declare himselfe the God-father, as made for the ornament and support of the Catholike and Apostolike *Romane* Church. *Gregory* was well pleased they should attempt any thing against the *Huguenots*: but he did not approve those popular rebellions which were made against a most Christian and Catholike King, neither would he be the fire-brand of a warre which he could not quench. And to he sent the Deputies back without any answer. The League impatient to attend the resolution of *Rome*, layes open his desseignes, and makes them plausible, causing one of the chiefe Princes of the bloud, to be an actor and carry the bable. They publish, that the King dying without children, hee hath no heyre nor successour but the Cardnall of *Bourbon*, a Prince broken in yeares, without hope of issue, or to suruine the King, who was sound, lustie, and yong. But they secretly season the simple peoples mindes, with that vnjust vsurpation of the *Capets*, vpon the heires of *Charlemagne*: they Print Bookes, they cast forth diuors Libels, yea some Preachers make it the text of their Sermons. Two principall fire-brands inflame the League. The assembly made by the King of *Navarre*, and the Deputies of that party at *Montauban*, to resolve of the meanes to maintaine themselves: if the League (abusing the Kings name and authoritie) should aske to offend them. And the voyage of the Duke of *Espen* to the King of *Navarre*, to confere priuately with him in the Kings name.

The League
presented to
the Pope.

But not ap-
proved.

Assembly at
Montauban.

1585.
D'Espermon
voyage into
Gascogne.

Motives of
the League.

The chiefe of the League presume, that the King meanes to arme, and to imple the King of *Nauarre* forces against them. They seeke to preuent him, and to that intent they send forth many Commissions: but least any should controule them, they cloake them with the Kings name, wherewith they maintaine themselves to be well allowed, as a thing done for his Maiesties seruice. The King in the end of March deuoues them, and forbids all leuies of men of warre.

To iustifie themselves and their ryfing, they publish the motives of the Cardinall of *Bourbon* (who notwithstanding serued them but as a Cipher) with the Princes, Noblemen, Townes and Catholike Commonalties to oppose themselves against heretikes. That they had contemned the resolution of the Estates, to make warre against heretikes, and to disanull all Edicts made in their fauour. That the succession of the King of *Nauarre* (whereof hee hath conceiued a great hope since the death of the Duke of *Anjou*) would cause great confusions within this realme. That preparations were already made, both within and without. That by an accord made at *Magdebourg* the fifteenth of December last past, the troups of the King of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Queene of *England*, the King of *Scottes*, the Count *Palatin*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Pomerania*, and *Wirtemberg*, of the *Landgrau* of *Hessen*, the *Suisse* and other Protestants should ioynly enter into *France* before the fifteenth of Aprill next following. That the *Huguenots* would not yeeld vp the Townes, which they held for the assurance of the last Edict of peace. That there is great abuse in the prouision of offices, in the leuies of money, in the inuention of excoessiuimposts.

Then they complaine of the mignons in Court, who abusing the Kings name and bountie, keepe the Princes and Noblemen that were truly Catholike, from all access to his Maiesty, perswading him, that it is necessary for the preseruacion of his Estate, to diminish their authority: they braue the Nobility, dispose of gouernments in fauour of their followers, waste the treasure, oppresse the people, restrayne the libertie of Iustice, ruine the Clergie with tenthes and extraordinarie charges. And then they declare: That these iust motions, and the sodennesse of the mischiefe, had thrust them into armes: the small credit they had with the King, hauing no other meanes to let him vnderstand their complaints: and in the end they protest, that their taking armes, was onely to restore the Church of God to her true and auncient dignity, vnder the exercise of one religion throughout the realme: To restore the Nobility to their honour and freedome: to ease the people of extraordinarie charges inuented since the raigne of *Charles* the ninth, and not to imploy the money leuied thereby but for the Kings seruice. To require the King to prouide for his succession against the publike and priuate calamities, which the pretensions and contentions for the same might cause: and to chafe from the Court such as abused his fauour and authority. In the ende they protest and vowe, not to laie downe armes, vntill their proposition bee fully executed: and that his Maiestie had preuented the daunger, the feare whereof hath made them to take armes.

These false impressions had wonderfully incensed the people: but when as they talke to them of a sinode held at *Montauban*, and of a Diet in *Germanie*, where they plotted to inuade *France*, and to chafe away both masse and Priestes: they take the words of these passionate men for Oracles of truth. They presse to enter into the League, such as demanded nothing but change, bankrouts, men indebted, malefactors, and wicked persons.

To conclude, such as had neede of ciuill warre to liue vpon the Common, followe the *Guisans* Enieignes. The double pistoletes of *Spain* begin to shine, the Capitaines arme and go to field. But the *Huguenots* are at *Rochelle*, in *Languedoc*, *Guyenne* and *Dauphiné*: and they go to seek them in *Picardie*, *Champagne*, *Bourgogne* and *Prouence*. *Marseilles* is surprisid the ninth of Aprill, by the practises of

Daries

A *Daries* the second Confull: but sodenly recovered, and *Daries* hanged. *Mandelot* seized 1585. on the Cittadell of *Lions* the second of May. *Orleans* shuts her gates against the Duke of *Montpensur*, sent by the King, to assure himselfe of the Towne. The other Townes rise: the factious worke, and the armie of the League growes towards *Paris*: euery day they are fortified with some new troupe, and euery day some Towne declares it selfe enemie.

The King in the meane time, made no warre but by writing, thinking by milde and gentle meanes, to pacifie them that spake too proudly. Hee shewes by his declaration, the zeale hee hath alwayes borne to the Catholike Religion, and the necessitie that forced him to a peace, finding all the Estates of his Realme tyred with the calamities past: that peace was the onely meanes to vnite his subiects in one religion, to establish Iustice, to reforme abuses, and manners, to ease the Clergie, honour the Nobilitie, and to free the people from oppression. That hee giues no benefices but to Prelates indued with learning and pietie. The Nobilitie should bee reconciled, leauing their spleene and distrusts. The people freed from deuouring warre, should care their bread in peace: and yet many both impudent and rashe, more hypocrites, then religious, gather by this peace, that hee secretly fauours heretikes: the which neuer entred into his thoughts. That hee neuer fauoured the succession of a King, who may preiudice the Catholike religion. But to vndertake a quarrell for the royall succession, whilst he is yet aliue, and in hope to haue issue: that were to distrust of Gods bountie, and (as it were) degrade him from the estate, whereunto God had called him. That he hath honoured (with the greatest, and worthiest offices of the Crowne) those Princes that complain to bee debarred his fauour. (And in deed, the Duke of *Guise* was Lord *Steward* of *France*, *Gouernour* of *Brie* and *Champagne*, and euery one of the same house aduanced to a gouernment.) Then hauing promised to restore the Church to her beautie, to giue content to the Nobilitie, and to ease the people, hee increates, coniuers, exhorts, and commaunds, all Clergiemen, gentlemen, Parlements, and Townes corporate, to separate themselves from that which may hinder so holy an intention, to abandon all Leagues, and associations, and to vnite themselves vnder his obedience.

D Moreover, the King writes to the King of *Nauarre*, That hee should containe himselfe with patience, to the end the people may know whome to blame, as the motives of these new combustions: assuring him of his loue, and that hee will neuer forget his interest no more then his owne: against them who (vnder goodly shewes) attempt against his person, and Crowne, to make them great with his losse, and the whole ruine of his estate. The King of *Nauarre* obeyes, and letting passe all occasions to arme, hee protests notwithstanding, That (seeing the sword readie to strike his Lord and brother,) hee will preuent the danger. And whereas he is accused of heresie, hee answers. That hee was borne vnder the tolleracion of two religions in *France*: that hee will leaue that wherein hee was bred, when by a lawfull Councell they shall shew him an other truth then that which hee beleues: and therefore hee is no heretike. nor yet relaps, seeing hee was not fallen from his first opinion. That he is no enemie to the Catholikes, for that when the Edicts had granted libertie of conscience, he presently layed downe armes: that in all places he maintaines his subiects in the same libertie, as he found them after the decease of his mother. That at the pretended accord of *Magdebourg*, which the preachers of the League publish in their pulpits, as an imaginarie assembly, and fit to be spoken by a Montbanke, the deceit appeares plainly, in that they name (in the extract published by them,) the Ambassadors of the Elector *Palatin*, and of the Prince of *Auranges*, whereof the Elector was deceased aboue a yeare before the terme they specified, & the Prince slaine at *Felise*, foure monethes before. That he hath requested of the King a prolongation of the Townes which hee holds for assurance of the last Edict: and will deliuer them before the time, so as the League lay aside armes, and yeeld vnto the King the places they

M m m m 4

The Kings
declaration.

The King of
Nauarre de-
claration.

1585. they had seized. That whereas they declare him incapable of the Crowne, it is to make him very neere: yet doth he thinke least of it, hoping that God by his bountie will preferue the King, for the good of his realme, and will giue him issue, to the greier of his enemies. That those which by their declaration terme him desirous of the Crowne, death, a troubler of the State, and an enemy to the Catholiks, haue falsly and vnjustly lyed, beseeching the King to giue him leaue to end this quarrell with the Duke of *Guise*, one to one, two to two, or tenne to tenne: without any troubling him else, or afflicting any of his people: but no man vndertakes this lye, no man accepts of this challenge.

A great error
of State,

Against this first insolencie of the League, hee should oppose other armes then a pen: an other cuirasse, then a penitents weeds: an other countenance, then doubt and trembling. The authoritie of an assured browe, the constancie of a manly courage, a resolution fit for a royall Maiestie, should haue dispersed this warre of *Guise*, and suppressed these mutinous Legions. But the Queene mother (accustomed to fish in a troubled streame) winkt at the Duke of *Guise*. She was well pleased with the boldnes she was contented the Duke should terrifie the King, to make him abandon the Protestants, and to force him to banish his new minions from Court, who had brought in disgrace with the King her sonne: (hee had now sequestred her from a great part of the affaires, and held her as it were confined in her houses without the *Louure*, to the end she might bee fought vnto, to auoyd the blowes of him that was ready to strike. Her ambition moued her thereunto, rather then any desire shee had to aduance the Duke: to crosse both the King and Duke, and to bring disorder, and confusion into the State: and to stand alone, in the midst of these furious tempests.

The League
weake,

The League might easily haue beene ouerthrowne. In the beginning they had but a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot in field, and the greatest part knowing that these troubles concerne the King, and his estate, retyned themselves in tyme. Most of the Townes wauered betwixt obedience, and rebellion: some retnayned in their fidelitie, the rest might haue beene assured with small force. But *Catherine* terrifies him most of all. You haue (saith shee) to do with the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Sauoy*, with some Princes of *Germanie*, with the Catholike Cantons of the *Suisses*, who renounce your alliance (and with al the house of *Lorraine*). They number fife and twentie Prouinces, and great commaunders in this part: your best Townes are ingaged, all are resolute to hazard goods, persons, and liues, to further their religion from shipwracke. Thus this poore Prince is terrified: hee thinke the Duke of *Guise* is at his heeles, & holds the Capuchins Cloister to be more safe for him, then his *Louure*. He is not the same man that vanquished his enemies at *Jarnac*, & *Montcontour*, hee wants courage, hee desires nothing more, then to purchase the Dukes fauour, and promiset, that for a peace he will giue him a good part of his Kingdome. The Duke of *Guise*, a Prince of great experience, discreet, valiant, and worthe to be numbred amongst the brauest Captaines, knowes the King is seized with fright, and sees that the lustre of his armes shines ouer all. His courage swels through the Kings childish feare: hee continues his course, and begins to hope for more then hee had pretended. Hee therefore demaunds much, and his request ioynes his owne private interest with the publike: hee beseecheth the King to make an irrevocable Edict, for the extirpation of heresies, to take away the Townes held by the Huguenots by force, to renounce the Protection of *Geneua*: to allow of their armes, & to ioyne his vnto theirs. Which was as much to say, of a King to make himselfe a partizan.

The Duke of
Guise fortified
by a peace.

The peace re-
uoked by the
Edict of Iuly.

The King makes a counterfeit peace with them: and by his Edict of the 18. of Iuly, reuokes all other made in fauour of the Protestants: hee commaunds their ministers to depart the realme, and to all his subiects within six monethes, to make profession of the Catholike religion, or to auoyd the countrie. He approues the Leaguers armes, as leuiued for his seruice, allowes of their pretexts, and by secret articles concluded at *Nemours*, contents them in all matters, onely with this condition: To leaue the League, and instantly to lay downe armes: a trappe whereby they should in the end

ende be taken. As for their security, they left it to the Kings good pleasure: yet would they haue in their powers, the towne of *Chalon*, *Thoul*, *Verdun*, *S. Disier*, *Reims*, *Soissons*, the Castell of *Dijon*, *Beaune*, *Rue* in *Picardie*, *Dinan* and *Concq* in *Brittaine*: they caused the King to pay two hundred one thousand fixe Crownes, and two third parts, for the strangers which they had leuiued: they had a discharge for a hundred fixe thousand three hundred and fortie Crownes eight sols and three deniers which they had taken vpon the generall receites. They obtayned a hundred thousand Crownes to build a Citadell at *Verdun*: and entertaynement for gards on horse-backe for all the Princes of the League.

To conclude, the extorsions, robberies, burnings, profanations, and other insolencies which such armes drawe after them, deuoured more flesh in three moneths than this warre continued, wasted more far, and sucked more bloud from the poore people, (for whose ease they had so often protested to haue taken armes,) then the ordinary charges could haue consumed in many yeares. This outrage was the cause of seauen and twenty Edicts, to discharge those millions of gold, which this furie had wasted, to the peruerting of Iustice, policy and the treasure.

A rash enterprise ruines it selfe, when it finds resistance. but if the attempters finde that they are feared, their impunity growes confident. This peace had made a great breach in the Kings authoritie: but they had extorted it by force, not three daies before hee had proclaymed them rebels and guilty of treason: they might then easily iudge, that hee would hatch an egge whereof should spring some notable reuenge. Doublelesse *Henry* determined it: but the three bretheren, who were the chiefe architects of this conspiracie kept themselves apart, and could not bee catcht in one net: and to maintaine themselves, they had no better expedient then by armes. They make the King resolute to warre against the Protestants: they shewe him the facility thereof, three mornings (say they) will ende it: We haue the assistance of all Christian Princes, the *Germanie* forces will march no more for the King of *Nauarre*, a poore Prince, without money and without credit. The Queene of *England* shall haue worke enough to resist the *Spaniards* attempts (the *Spaniards* prepared then that great armie against *England*, which wee shall see dispersed with small resistance, like a puffe of winde) and their strongest places will parle at our first approches.

Let vs make warre (saith the King) against them in Gods name. I will enter-tayne three armies: one in *Guyenne*, an other about mine owne person, and the third vpon the frontier, against the strangers whome the *Huguenots* expect out of *Germanie*: there wants nothing but money: the charge amounts to foure hundred thousand Crownes a moneth. I haue by your aduise broken the peace, (saith hee to the best of the Clergie, of the Parliament and of the Citizens of *Paris* beeing assembled at the *Louure*) assure me nowe of meanes to make warre. And afterwards he saied to the Cardinall of *Guise*. The heads of the Clergie are they which haue most importuned mee to warre: it is no reason I alone should beare the charge of that which re-
E dounds to the publike.

I assure my selfe, you will not faile to assist mee. And to the first president, (notwithstanding the Parliament had lately verified the letters pattents, whereby the King condemned the authors of this rebellion as traytors) I haue found so much zeale and affection in you, to cause mee to reuoke the last Edict of peace, as I assure my selfe you will finde reasons sufficient to perswade them of your facultie, to forbear their entertaynements, so long as the warres shall continue. And then to the Preuost of marchants, he saied. The Citie hath shewed it selfe most affectionat to the breach of the Edict: they must be as willing to contribute the charges of the warre. Go presently, and assemble the bodie of your Citie, and make mee
F an imposition of two hundred thousands Crownes.

Without doubt euery one of these was verie willing to haue warre, but loth to feele the discommodities it brought. They begin to finde that the most preiudiciall peace

1585. peace is better then the most triumphant and victorious warre. Yet the League and haue warre: and euen they, whose forefathers were wont to carrie it beyond the seas, into *Asia*, *Affricke*, and to the end of the world, do nowe nourish it in their owne Countre. But the authors thereof could not stand but in the midst of a generall confusion.

The King of *Nauarre* seeing this cloude readie to breake vpon his partie, complaines, that the King, without consideration of the priuate interest he hath in this late reuolt, hath made a peace with his enemies, and hath armed them with his own forces, and authority, against his estate, his blood and himselfe. He laies open, by a publicke declaration, the causes which moued the League to take armes, the vanity of the pretenses, the hurts which all *France* may expect by the treaty of *Nemours*, and then with the Prince of *Condé* his Cousin, the Marshall *d'Anville*, (hereafter Duke of *Montmorency*, by the death of his eldest brother, and in the following raigne Constable of *France*) and other Noblemen, gentlemen, Prouinces, Townes and Commonalties of both religions: hee protestes, by a lawfull and necessarie defence, to maintaine the fundamentall lawes of families, and the Estate and libertie of the King and the Queene his mother.

As it not sufficient for these Princes, to haue the King and League against them, but they must bee charged with a new assault from beyond the mountains: *Sixtus* the first excommunicates the King of *Nauarre* and Prince of *Condé*, the first, a more violent man then his Predecessor, castes out his lightning against the two *Henries*, King of *Nauarre* and Prince of *Condé*: he excommunicates them, degrades them and their successors, from all dignities, namely their pretensions to the Crowne of *France*, exposeth their Countreies and persons in prey, to the first that should teile on them.

The Court of Parliament findes this act to bee rash, insolent, strange, and farre from the modestie of former Popes, and saies vnto the King: That therewith they finde nothing like to the Apostles successor. The Registers of the *Concill*, forer antiquity did not teach this: That the Princes of *France* were euer to seeke millice at *Rome* or that subjects did euer take knowledge of their Princes religion. Seeing then that now Popes, in stead of instruction studies nothing but destruction, and that hee changed his holie into a fearefull fire-brand, to ruine those vnto whom he should haue bene the Church, the Court could not admit this Bull, so pernicious for all Christians, and derogating from the souerainty of the Crowne of *France*. The Princes likewise protest against the said Bull, and appeale from it as abusive and scandalous, to the next free and lawfull Councell: where they will prooue (said they) that *Sixtus* the first, calling himselfe Pope, terming them heretikes, hath falsely and wickedly acted. This opposition was set vp in *Rome* the sixt of November.

Thus the Parliament grewe resolute against this Bull: but it yeelded easily in other matters, which did but impair the affaires. For the fiftenth of October they allowed of the Kings declaration, which imposed confiscation of bodie and goods, against such as without the warrant of the Catholike Princes had opposed their forces against the League: and reuoked the terme of fixe monethes graunted by the Edict of Iuly, to fiftene daies after the said declaration.

To enforse this Edict, the King of *Nauarre*, by a declaration of the last of November, doth seize, and giues commissions, to sell all the suites, rents, reuenues, mouables, debtes, and all other profits whatsoever, of the Inhabitantes of Townes where the Edict of Iuly, touching the fixe monethes, and of October, touching the abbreviation to fiftene daies, had bene receiued, published and executed: and likewise of gentlemen and others, carrying armes, with the Leaguers and their adherents: as also of the Clergie resident in the said Townes, or continuing for their partie: and to leat out their Landes to them that would giue most.

His wordes and deedes were all one: for presently his people lay their handes to worke, *Saint Mesmes* keeps the Marshall *Matignon* in breath. *Lanul* chargeth him

1585. A in *Xainlonge*, and ratieth the teage of *Taillebourg*, where the Ladies of *Tremouille* (the mother, and daughter) were beseege. The Vicent of *Turenne* ouerruns *Lamouille*, and for a gage of his inroades takes the Bishoprick of *Thules*. The Duke of *Mercaur*, on the other side, thinkes with two thousand men to doe wonders in *Poitou*: but there must bee a proportion betwixt him that forceth, and him that hee meanes to force. Else hee that furiously or rashly thinketh to daunt another, and insult ouer his possessions, may soone loose both his courage, and what he possessed. The Prince of *Condé* makes head against him, and not onely driues him from *Fontenay*, but also makes him, for his better safetie, retire farre into *Brittanie* with losse and disgrace.

B Being freed from this incombrance, hee beseegeth *Brouage*, and had already brought it to that necessitie, as the most resolute were readie to yeeld. when as newes came vnto him, that three Captaines, *du Halot* seruant to the King, *le Fresne* enemy to the Earle of *Brissac*, Gouernour of *Angers*, and *Rochemorte*, a partisan to the King of *Nauarre*, had seized on the Castell of *Angers*, one of the strongest places of the Realme, garded by a Captaine, and twelue souldiars. The enterprise was well made, well executed, but not so well pursued: for *du Halot* came too soone into the Towne, protesting that hee had taken the Castle for the Kings seruice. They decayne him prisoner, and belegar the Castle, whether the whole Countre comes.

C At night they demand to parle with *Fresné*. Hee as ill aduised as the first, comes forth vpon a little bridge. A hargubuser makes an offer to shoot at him: whereupon hee offers to returne: but *Rochemorte* with his companie, fearing to bee forced by the multitude that came running, drawes vp the bridge. *Le Fresné* hangs by the chaines to pull it downe: but the Townsmen cut off his hands, and hee falls into the ditch, where hee was slaine by a stagg they kept there. *du Halot* was presently executed within the Towne. These two being dead, they demand of *Rochemorte*, for whome hee holds? For the King of *Nauarre*, sayd hee. Hereupon they cast up a trench against the Castell, attending the Duke of *Joyeuse* the Kings brother in law. During these broyles and troubles *Rochemorte* (slumbring one day in one of the windowes of the Castle,) was there slaine with a hargubuse shot.

The Prince aduertised of the surprize of the Castell, and of *Rochemorts* answer: but not of that which happened since, leaues *Brouage*: and to oppose sufficient forces against the League, hee marcheth with about eight hundred masters, and twelue hundred hargubusers on horsebacke, passeth *Loire* at *Roisiers* betwixt *Saumur* and *Angers*, chargeth home to the suburbs, forceth some barricadoes, and spends a whole day in skirmishes: but hee heares no newes from the Castle, neither for the alarume in the Towne, nor the noyse of his troupes. No man appeares: no answere, no signe is made: the Actors were buried in their enterprise, and sixe score souldiars remaying had already capitulated. Doubtlesse too much courage and too little consideration (a dangerous ouersight in any great commander in the warre: where too much headstrongnesse, is no lesse perillous then faint-heartednesse) had ingaged the Prince on this side the riuer of *Loire*, amongst many rimyes of enemies, hauing no bridge at his deuotion, without boates to repasse, or any hope of succour.

Then that cheerfull hope which had brought that little armie, turnes into confusion and disorder: for the Duke of *Magenne* had passed the *Loire* at *Orleans*, with sixe hundred horse, *Reistres*, and *French*, to cutt off the Princes way, if hee repassed the water. The Duke of *Epernon*, and the Marshall *Biron* kept *Beauvais* towards *Beauuall*, to meete with him. *La Chastre* had drawne vp the mylls, and boats, and kept the passages of *Loire*. The Duke of *Joyeuse* marched at his backe. *Entragues* Gouernour of *Orleans* came to crosse him, and all the Commons did rise. On the other

Sixtus the first excommunicates the King of *Nauarre* and Prince of *Condé*.

The Popes Bull declared void and of no force.

Open warre.

1585

The voyage of *Angers*.

The Castell of *Angers* yeilded

1585. other side, the Princes troupes weretyred. He failes of two or three passages vpon the A
riuer, whereof hee made account, betwixt *Blois* and *Amboise*. The amazement increa-
seth, and his number decreaseth: such as had friends in *Beauisse*, *Dunois*, *Perche*, *Vendosme*,
or *Maine*, steale away. The Lord of *Rohan* (aduising him, not to thrust himself into
an apparent ruine,) had turned head towards *Brittaine*. At the foresaid enemies forces
would within few dayes charge him. Being neere to *Vendosme*, hee leaues the cheefe
charge of the retreat to *Clermont*, and Saint *Gelas*, ordereth the companies, prouides
for his household seruants, and at eleuen of the clocke at night, he parts, accompani-
ed with the Lords of *Tremouille*, *Auentigny*, and few others. Finally after infinite toyle
and dangers past, he recovered the Isle of *Greneze*, lying in the *English* seas: and so *Lon-*
don, being receiued by the Queene, with all the honour, and fauour hee could desire: B
and then by her commandement accompanied with a good number of the Nobilitie,
and men of warre, in ships well appointed, he repassed the seas, obtaining a sufficient
conquest to haue saued himselfe, and a rich spoye to haue returned with his head to *Es-*
chell, rather then to the *Greue* or the *Hales* at *Paris*.

The Prince of
Condé in rout.

1586.
Another
complaint
of the King
of Navarre.

Intercession
of certaine
Princes.

The Duke of
Mayenne
arrives.

Saint *Gelais*, *Fois-Dalie*, *Aubigni*, *la Tifardiere*, and some others are commended to
haue wisely preferred these broken troupes neere to the forest of *Marchenoir*, diuided
into small companies, of twelue, and fiteene, whereof (notwithstanding the Townes
of *Orleans*, *Blois*, *Amboise*, *Tours*, and others thereabouts, were straightly garded) many
repassed the *Loire*. Saint *Gelais* and others taking the high way to *Paris*, crossed many
companies dispeised in *Beauisse*, and hauing wandered long in the forest of *Orleans* and the
end they passed the riuer neere to *Cyen*, and at last recovered *Rochelle*, where the
Prince, the cheefe of the armie, and the most part of the troupes were already in safety.
The lightnings of *Sixtus*, and the second Edict of October had wonderfully moued
the King of *Navarre*. Now he complains to the Clergie, to the Nobilitie, to the third
estate, and to the Parliament of *Paris*, of the breach of the last Edict of peace, and
that they had caused the question of succession to a King yet liuing, to bee decided at
Rome: that they would make a Prince of the bloud of *France* subiect to the Pope, that
they suffer the Consistory to giue that which belongs not vnto it: and that the Pope dis-
poseth of realmes, and principalities at his pleasure. Then hee sheweth the miseries
which these vniuersall warres will breed: he exhorts them, not to serue as instruments to
the Leaguers, to ruine the King and his Realme. And finally, seeing they are ill ad-
vised, he protests as before: That both he and his, will vse all lawfull means to resist
the violence of their enemies, and casts all the miseries that shall ensue vpon the au-
thors thereof.

Strangers deale earnestly in the cause. The Princes of *Germanie* make intercession to
the King, at the King of *Navarre* instance, that hee would be perswaded, at the humble
petitions of his neighbours, and that opening his eyes at the teares, and his cares at the
complaints of his subiects, he would maintaine his owne good, quiet, honour, and
faith, his Crowne and reputation, and preserve a body wounded vnto death. But those
of *Guise* kept him in awe. He speaks not but by the mouth of the League. *I make and*
change (said he vnto the Ambassadors) *my ordinances as necessitie doth require, for the good*
quiet of my subiects: and leaue the care to all Soueraine Princes, to gouerne their people as
they shall thinke fit. I haue the feare of God liuely graven in my heart: neither will I do a-
ny thing against the honour of my conscience, and the fatherly care I haue of my people.

This pleased the League: they are now on horsebacke. The Duke of *Mayenne* march-
eth with about two thousand horse, *French*, and *Reistres*, twelue regiments of foote,
and sixethousand *Swisses*. He must bring the Princes of the bloud prisoners to *Paris* in
triumph, their Captaines chained, and couer the fields of *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, and *Guy-*
enne, with their slaughtered souldiars, retume victorious, and bring to the King the
conquest of all the places, that made resistance. But what exploits, what triumphes?
The wrath of God ruines his men in those Countries. He besiegeth, batters, and takes
some silly places, which are scarce noted in the *French* map, as *Montignat*, *Beaulieu*,
Gaignac, *Castels*, and saint *Bazille* vpon *Garonne*: *Montsegur*, *Castillon*, *Fuynormand* in
Periguenx,

A *Periguenx*, and the most part by composition (but badly obserued) leauing behind
him *Figeac*, *Cadaillac*, *Casor*, the houses of the Vicount of *Gourdon*, *Montfort*, *Bergerac*,
and Saint *Foy*, places of importance, all held by the Protestants. The difficultie of pas-
sages, the overflowing of riuers, the vehement cold, the continuall raine, want of
money, munition, victuals, and supplies of men, withdraw him from this warre, to go
winter at *Bordeaux*, there (in the midst of his loues) to make some enterprises vpon
the Castels, to the preiudice of the Marshall of *Matignan*. So the most of his Sol-
diars detained long, without either honour or profit, disband of themselves: and the
Duke brings from this voyage a more famous spoile, the heire of *Caumont*, be-
ing but twelue yeares old, to giue her to one of his sonnes. Hee had before time done
B better in *Daulphiné*, where keeping his faith inuolable, hee had happily preferred his
reputation and credit. Indeed hee then liued onely vnder the Kings lawes and obe-
dience, and now hee spends much time, labour and money, to effect little in
Guyenne.

In the meane time the Prince of *Condé* renewed the warre, assisted notably by the
Earle of *Lauay*, and Saint *Gelais*, who commanded about foure hundred and fitye
men, and by the new conquests of *Dompierre*, (a Castell neere vnto Saint *Jean*, be-
longing to the Marshall of *Rez*, where the booty repayed the losses late suffered by
the souldiars) of *Royen*, a strong place neere vnto *Brouage*: of *Soubize*, *Mornac* in *Alle-*
uert, *Mondeuis*, and others, defaced the greefe of the former crosses. In the midst
C of these prosperities, hee tooke to his second wife in *Taillebourg* the 16. of Marche,
Charlotte Katherine of *Tremouille*, sister to *Claude* of *Tremouille* Duke of *Thouars*,
&c. by whom hee had *Henry* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, the first Prince of the
bloud at this present, and first Peere of *France*.

The Prince of
Condé's second
marriage.

Within few dayes after, *Tiercelin* with his regiment of about fixe hundred and fiftie
men, returned from an enterprife, which Saint *Luc* the Gouverneur of *Brouage* had
made (but in vaine) against the Isle of *Oleron*. The Prince aduertised of his passage,
followes him, with *La Tremouille* his brother in lawe, *La Boulay*, *Auantigny*, and
some thirty others: hee chargeth them in the taile neere vnto the suburbs of *Xain-*
tes, and killes thirty or forty of his men: the rest put themselves in battaile through
D the fauour of the hedges and the high way. The Earle of *Lauay* comes galloping,
with about foue and thirtie horse of his company, which had bene lodged a little
from thence: and seeing the Prince & the rest of his company ingaged in the combat,
hee goes directly to the Colonels enseigne, couered with a battalion of pickes: hee
breakes them, fights with him that carried it, pulls it from him, puts him to flight,
kills three score souldiars vpon the place, and chafeth the whole regiment. *Tiercelin* re-
sued himselfe, carrying to *Xaintes* a hurt in the arme, and many others being may-
med. *Tremouille* had a horse slaine vnder him: and some were hurt, but the Earle lost
Sailly and *Rieux* his brethren. *Tanlay* was lately deceased of sickness at Saint *Jean*, and
himselfe surprised with a fever: and wonderfully grieved for the losse of his three bre-
E thren, followed them to the graue within a few dayes after, and all foure were interred
within the Castle of *Taillebourg*.

Tiercelin re-
giment de-
feated.

The death of
four brethren
of *Lauay*.

But what did the King of *Navarre* in the meane time? he hath vntill now maintaned
himselfe vnder the obedience of the Kings comandements: hetherto hath bin nothing
but mutual writings, Edicts, declarations, comandements, directions to the officers of
the Crowne, for the execution thereof. Hereafter he displaies other armes then paper &
inke. The Marshall of *Matignan* had besieged *Castels* in Februarie: the king flies thither
with about three hundred masters, and eightene hundred harguebusiers on horse-
backe: hee rayseth the seerge, disposeth of his affaires in *Berne*: comes to *Nerac*, and as-
sures the Towne: passeth the *Garonne* at Saint *Bazille*, (notwithstanding the Duke
F of *Mayenne* who lay within two Leagues of his passage): crosseth *Perigord* and
Angoulmois, and so comes into *Poitou*, where the Marshall of *Biron*, with about
twelue hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, molested and troubled the Coun-
try

Nnn

try

1586 He came vnto *Rochelle*, besieged *Marans*. The arriual of the said King, and the resolution of the besieged, commaunded by *la Tarrie*, made the Marshall to passe the river of *Charente*, and to leaue *Marans* to the free exercise of both religions. The King of *Nauarre* went to *Rochelle* to visit the armie at sea, and by a palissado, to keepe in them of *Brouage*.

The Cardinall of *Lenoncourt*, and the President *Brulart*, were sent the yeere before from the King, to assure the King of *Nauarre* of his Maiesties loue: and to exhort him againe to vnit himselfe to the Catholike Church, as well for the good of his conscience, as also to make his way to the succession of the Crowne more easie: to shew vnto him the causes that had moued him to breake the peace, and to intreat him to yeeld the Townes of suretie. The time would not suffer these propositions to take effect: but contrariwise, after the example of the League, (sayd the King of *Nauarre*) we should demand better Townes. So the Ambassadors ended their charge, beseeching the said King, to enter into some treatie, wherein the Queene mother should deale to his content, so as hee would stay the leuie of *Reisires*, *Lansquenets* and *Suisses*, which *Clermont*, *Seger* and *Guitri* had procured.

Hee accepted of this conference, the which breeds a truce in the end of the yeare, but with pretestation, not to stay the good will of such as in so important an occasion, and extreame necessitie, had gone to field: that (raising the Kings authoritie troden vnder foote, by the breach of his Edict,) they might preserue him from the forcible inuasion of the League. Hee was better affected to a good peace, then to a bad truce. But the Queene mother telling him, that the King would make no peace, nor truce with him, vnlesse hee would become a Catholike, she made this conference altogether fruitlesse. Shee lets him vnderstand, that this change would make his condition more free, more assured, and more fit for his calling: that his conuersion would bring him in grace with the King, leauing to count a Maior of *Rochelle*, whome hee did not commaund absolutely. But this Prince had his cares too much beaten with this proposition, and could not yeeld thereunto, but by due forme, which was by a lawful Councell. And the Duke of *Neuers*, thinking to adde some more perswasive reasons then the rest of the assemblie: you cannot (saith hee) leaue any impossibility there. A Prince doth what hee will, when as hee wills nothing but what hee ought. You shall ere long, answered this Prince, being free and of a quick conceit) for me haue no Italians among vs.

1587 This conference bred a ialousie among the *Parisians*. They were more inclined to warre then euer. The Duke of *Mayenne* aduertised that the Queene mother aduanced towards the King of *Nauarre*, to mediate an accord, hee makes halt to *Paris*, to reppell the King, that this negotiation was contrary to his Edict: that such a peace could not be good, breeding effects in religion, contrarie to the tranquillitie of Catholike Conferences. Being armed there, the sixe Arch-leaguers impart vnto him their secret articles: To suppress heresie, reforme the Court and the interuention of Mignons: and for a fatal wound to the Estate, To seize vpon the Kings person.

Hee allowes of these counsels, and soundeth their desseins, but finds the execution difficult. So the rats in the Fable found this expedient to bee very good, to be advertised of the Cats approach: and to saue themselves, to hang a bell at his ear: but none durst vnder take to doe it. The Queene mother aduertised of this designe, tooke her way to Court. Her arriual, with the irresolution of the commaunders, left the *Parisians* wavering, in the midst of so dangerous an enterprise. The Queenes departure kindled the warre in *Poitou*. The King of *Nauarre* goes to field, takes *Cressay* by composition, *Saissy* by assault: forceth *Saint Maixant* to yeeld, and marcheth on only to his obedience: besiegeth *Mauleon*, and during the batterie takes it by escalade.

Whilst the King of *Nauarres* armes prosper in *Poitou*: & the Duke of *Mayenne* treats with the leaguers at *Paris*, & the mouth of his mutinous preachers, disgraceth the Kings authority

A authority with the people: the Duke of *Guise*, continues to make warre against them of *Lametz*, the which he had begun against the Duke of *Bouillon*, from the first beginning of the League. *Sedan* and all that Principallitie serued as a retreat for the neighbour Protestants, and as a Port for strangers to enter into *France*. These are the Pretenses wherewith he couers his desseins, but hee had another principall motiue: from *Sedan* the King had intelligence of all that was practised in *Champagne* and *Lorraine*, in the yeare 1585.

When hee sees himselfe master of *Douzy*, *Recroy*, and *Kaucourt*, hee passeth the *Meuse*, & enters into the foweraintie of *Sedan*, afflicts the countiemen with all the cruelties that warre could imagine, whilst that famine presseth them within the Towne. To ouert this storme which threatned *Sedan*, the Duke of *Bouillon* caueth *Schelandre* Governour of *Lametz*, to sett vpon *Verdun*, a Towne on the side of *Champagne*, which had tumultuously runne into the League. The Duke of *Guise* runs to succour it, and by his abience giues the Duke of *Bouillon* meanes to succour *Sedan*. Thereupon the Queene mother, at the request of the Duke of *Montpensier*, vncle by the mothers side to the Lords of *Sedan*, procures a truce for fiftene dayes, betwixt the two Dukes, during the which, the enterprise vpon the Castle of *Lametz*, for the Duke of *Guise* proving fatal for the vndertakers, disposed their wills to a second truce of a month.

This fell out happely: for the *Germaine* armie, whereof hee was named Lieutenant generall vnder the Duke *John Casimir* (who substituted in his place the Baron *de Onaw*, the minoritie of the Elector *Palatin* nephew and pupill to the said Duke, hindring him from marching in person) prepared to make their musters in the plaine of *Strasbourg*. So the Duke of *Bouillon* goeth into *Alsitia* with foure hundred horse, and eight hundred harguebusiers to make them aduance: and the Duke of *Guise* comes to the King to *Meaux*, to receiue (saith hee) his maiesties commaundements in so great and so important a cause: but in effect, to complaine, That since the reuocation of the Edict of peace, hee had followed the warre against heretiks with so small fauour, as the King had suffered them in their howses to enjoy their goods and estates peaceably. That in stead of selling and employing them to their ruine, hee caused the reuenues of the Cardinall of *Pellené* to be seized on (a man borne in *France*, but Espaniolized at *Rome*) for that in open consistorie, hee had vertuously maintained the iust motiues of the taking of armes by the Catholike Princes against the *Huguenots*.

That this warre had more aduanced the Mignons, then ruined the Heretikes, and that the money rayfed by the subuention of the Clergie, serued to entertayne the said Mignons. That neither the Kings Councell, the Parliament of *Paris*, the inferior Iudges, nor the Prouost of *Paris* had sworne this last Edict. That the Townes which had demanded the extirpation of heresie, and the reuocation of the last Edict of peace, were treated like enemies. That hee had caused the Cittadells of *Lions* and *Macon* to bee beaten downe, surprised that of *Valence*, disgraced *Brissac*, *Cruissilles*, *Cessis*, *Entragues* and others, and, peruered the assignations which he had giuen him, to be repaid the money the which hee had disbursed in this last leuie of men of warre.

But the King knew well how to counter-balance these complaints of the League, with their owne breach of the articles of *Nemours*. Hee had well obserued, that their intolent passions aspired to some greater desseins then the articles made mention of. Those of *Guise* had demanded Townes of assurance against the Protestants in those Prouinces where they were not at all to bee feared. The Duke of *Anna's* had newly surprised *Dourlans* and *Pontdormy*, but hee had failed of *Bouillon* through the fidelitie of *Saint Marta*. They had lodged in their Cittadell of *Vitry le Francois* an Italian at their denotion, and toke an oath of many Gouvernours to hold their places for the Duke of *Guise*.

But the Kings meaning was to lue and reigne: yea though he did buie a good peace

The Queene mother's conference with the King of *Nauarre*.

Duke of *Bouillon* chiefe of the *Germaine* armie.

The Duke of *Guise* complains of the King.

The King complains of the Duke.

1587. to the contentment of both parties. But the contrary desires of the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise, could not be reconciled: and hee had no meanes to settle betwixt both, but must lean to the one, or the other side, nor oppress the one without rayeing of the other. To conclude, not daring to shew himselfe a King, hee offers all the cheefe of the League, to become counterfeit Kings. Hee exhorts the Duke of Guise, not to expose the Estate in prey, to procure the contentment of the King, the libertie of the Clergie, the dignitie of the Nobilitie, and the peoples ease by other meanes then that which destroyes the honour of the Soueraigne, trayles the Churches, sacks the gentlemans bloud, and driues the people into despayre and inuites him vnto peace, by promises of aduancement for his houte and partie. But a warlike mind will haue nothing but warre. The Duke could neither endure the feare, nor the cure thereof. Thus peace is banished. The Duke seeks all meanes to assault the Huguenots: and beseecheth the King to stoppe the armie of strangers, which were euen now upon the frontier that they might not returne into *Germanie*, with a victorie over *France*, and a triumph over the Catholike Church. Still must this venerable pretext of religion serue to colour the wicked passions of men. He procures many commissions, especially for his brother the Duke of Mayenne in *Dauphine*, for the Duke of Joyeuse in *Poitou*, and for himselfe against the Protestants armie.

The King desires peace.

The Duke will haue war

Warre concluded.

The Kings forces.

If the King had not shewed the like care on his part, the people would haue sayd, that as long rest doth dull the courage of a horse: so since the Duke of Joyeuses marriage, the pleasures and delights of Court, and the solitarines of *Vannes*, had much decayed his accustomed generositie. He therefore diuides his forces into three armies. The first at *Chaumont* in *Bassigni*, consisting of five and twentie companies of men at armes, twelue ensignes of foot, in the regiment of *Feluseaux*, six of *Ioannes*, six of *Gis*, with many other blankes signed for other commissions, at the will of the Duke of Guise, who increased this armie with foure hundred Lances, and two thousand *Italian* foot, sent by the Duke of *Parma*, & the Duke of *Lorraine* (suffering himselfe as the eldest of the house, to be carried away with the vaine hopes that were giuen him, of a good portion in the pretended succession of *Charlemagne*) held also goodly and great forces upon the frontier, at the Duke of Guises deuotion. The Duke of *Montpensier* commanded the second at *Saint Florentin*, neere vnto *Troyes*. The King with his presence honoured the third at *Cyen*, stretching along the river of *Loire*, to keepe the King of *Navarre* from ioyning with his strangers on this side the river. The Duke of Joyeuse presuming of an assured victory, lead an other army into *Guyenne* against the King of *Navarre*, and the other heads of the League, armed euery one of them by himselfe.

The Protestants armie.

The armie that came for the Protestants, consisted of five thousand *Reisires*, five thousand *Lansquenets*, twelue thousand five hundred *Suisses* in three regiments, eleven Cornets of *Trench*, ten companies of *Harguebuziers* on horseback, the which in all were about thirty thousand men. The King of *Navarre* assembled his forces in *Gascogne*. The Prince of *Condé*, the Conte *Soissons*, the Vicont of *Turenne*, the Conte of *Rocheaucault*, the Lord of *Tremouille*, and others, made great preparations. The Lord of *Chastillon* gathered an armie in *Languedoc*: les *Diguieres* held himselfe readie to passe at need.

The cause of the afflictions of France.

Thus this poore and miserable realme, is readie to serue as a prey to people differing in tongue and maners. Without doubt, men iudge of the offence, by the punishment. The witchcraft and diuination (whereof some make open profession) blasphemie vnpunished, lust, dissoloution, prodigality, ambition, discord, and cruelties: but above all, impietie, licentiousnes, Atheisme, superstition, & iniustice, the root of many which are crept into *France*, haue filled vp the measures of her iniquities: and now she is ready to drinke euen vnto the lees. In former ages the Court was a schoole of vertue for the *French* Nobility: now it abounds in dissolutes, disorder and excess. The most modest grow insolent, the excess of great men breedes it in the meanest. And do wee wonder, if the same scourges, whereby the fearefull wrath of God iustly

A iustly kindled, haue ruined more flourishing Estates then this, doe now wast our fields. 1587. The armie of Strangers now enters into *Lorraine*, whose errors at their entrie will cost them deere that commit them. The Duke of *Bouillon* is yong, little respected, and ill obeyed. *Cleruant*, *Guitré*, *Beauuais*, *La Nolle*, *Digoines*, *Montlouet*, *Vezines* and others assist him: but most of them are more fit to carrie an Ambassage, then to vnder take a charge. The cheefe of *Germanie* is but a meane gentleman, valiant out of doubt, but too weak for so great a charge, hauing no reputation but what hee hath gotten vnder Duke *Casimirs* autoritie.

Errors of this armie.

In the beginning of *August*, discord (a dangerous plague,) bred a great confusion in their proceedings. The Duke of *Bouillon* would haue imployed this armie to victual the places of his soueraintie. The Generall of the *Germanes* desired to haue a Porce of the bloud to march before him. The *Reisires* and *Suisses* looke a goodly occasion at *Pont Saint Vincent*, to fight with the League, who made a shew to ioyne with them. The *Lansquenets* are commended to haue resolutely cast themselves into the warre, to passe and come to battaile. Some would spoyle *Lorraine*, others would carrie their reuenge into the heart of *France*. The *Germanes* chose the way along the river of *Seine*, and so to passe into *Picardie*. The *French* had more reason: That they must ayme at a passage ouer *Loire*, and fauour the King of *Navarre* approach. In the end the way of *Loire* was resolued. They fire some villages in *Lorraine*: the Counties lying vpon the passage are wasted, the armie finds neither mills, nor ouens standing, which bred a generall discontent among the *Reisires* and *Suisses*. As the armie passed through the countrie of *Barre*, and *Gnuillois*, newes comes that the Lord of *Chastillon* is beset in *Gresle* in *Lorraine*, with foure hundred horse, and fiftene hundred harguebuziers. The Duke of *Bouillon* makes hast to vngage him. The Earle of *la Marke* his brother so tormenteth himselfe in this action, that hee falls sicke, and dying, leaues the conduct of the forward to the Lord of *Chastillon*. The armie is turnoyled with continuall raine: they want victuals, and the grapes & other fruit being not ripe, breed many fluxes: yet did they surmount all these difficulties, and hauing passed the riuers of *Marne*, *Aube*, *Seine*, *la Cure*, and *Yonne*, they approached neere vnto *Loire*.

The Lord of Chastillon arrives.

The Earle of la Marke dies.

Here the *Reisires* & *Suisses* make a second complaint. The King of *Navarre* appeares not, the water is low, but the Kings forces are lodged vpon the riuers side, and threaten to fight with the first that shall approach. The ruine of the strangers armie was to keepe the King of *Navarre* from ioyning with them: and therefore, the Duke of Joyeuse stated the sayd King with an armie, strong with men, munition, artillerie, and other meanes. For their first exploits, the King of *Navarre* had defeated some Companies which had aduanced too farre into the Countrie. And *Charbonieres* and *Bori* remaining with their regiments, at *la Mothe Saint Eloy* (being beaten by the fauour of the Captaine of the Castle, who lent some peeces, to breake their barricadoes: against the oth which hee had giuen, not to commit any act of hostilitie) were defeated by *Joyeuses* troupes.

The strangers second complaint.

The taking of *Saint Maixant*, was the second of his triumphes, *Thonne-Charente* the third, both by composition. But the defeat of the companies of the Duke of *Talbot*: where some being taken after the furie of the fight, others yeelding vpon their enemies faith, were in a manner all insolently slaine in cold bloud, together with the Abbay of *Maillezay* to his first conquests, he left *Lauerdin* to command the armie, and returnes to Court, to demaund the palme of his victories, and a supplie of greater forces, the plague hauing much wasted his armie. In his abtence the King of *Navarre* defeated three of his companies of men at armes, tooke their Cornets and many gentlemen prisoners, pursued *Lauerdin* vnto *la Haye* in *Tourraine*, chased the Duke of *Mercur*, & by the conduct of the Vicont of *Turenne*, tooke all his rich baggage: then at his returne he receiued the troupes which the Conte *Soissons* brought, and those of *Normandie* led by *Colombieres*.

The exploit of the Duke of Joyeuse in Poitou.

The King of Navarre exploits.

This repute gaue the said King meanes (as wee haue noted before) to gather together

1587. gither his forces in *Gascogne*, and so to ioine with his armie in *Xaintonge*. On the other side, the Duke of *Jouenze*, supplied with horse and foot, repasse the *Loire*, and with twelue thousand fighting men, comes to encounter the King of *Nauarre*. The King of *Nauarre* had two riuers to passe, to come into *Xaintonge*, *Drougne* and *S. l. Isle*. The Duke of *Jouenze*, dronke with prosperitie of a hasty aduancement, who of a priuate gentleman was made a Duke, and of a Duke brother in law to the King of *France*, and charged (but not so much by the King, as by the League, whereof hee was a partisan, hauing married the Queenes sister) to giue bataille at all euents, would cut off these passages, presuming that hee which passed first, should haue an aduantage ouer his enemye.

The bataille
of Contras.

The King of *Nauarre* knew it well: yet, did he not loose any tyme in curling of his haire. The nineteenth of October, accompanied with the Prince of *Condé*, the Conte *Soissons* his brother, the Viconte of *Turenne*, and other good commanders, hee takes his lodging at *Contras*, to passe the riuier of *Drougne* at a ford. The Duke supposing to haue him at his deuotion betwixt two riuers, giues the rendezvous to all his forces the next day, betwixt *Roche-Chalais* and *Contras*, and there made choise of his place of bataille to his best aduantage, halfe a League from *Contras*. The King of *Nauarre* and his souldiars, had swet more in skirmishes, then in tennis-Courts, and did take more pleasure in the dust of their enemies chase, then in feasts. The inequalitye of the number doth not amaze them. Hee marcheth before: resolues his men to fight, makes them to fall on their knees and pray to God, puts his horsemen into foure squadrons, his owne, that of the Prince, the Earles, and the Viconts. The souldiars inflameth their courages by mutuall skirmishes, and reprochfull speeches: from words they goe to blowes. The King of *Nauarres* artillerie thunders first, at eight of the clocke, and at the first volle sweepes away seuen Captaines of the regiment of *Picardie*. The Dukes answeres him, but without effect. The ignorance or malice of the Cannoniers hauing planted it so low, as it fell vpon a litle hill betwixt both armies. The Dukes horsemen led by *Lauerdin*, and Captaine *Mercœur* giue the charge, and at the first encounter force through the King of *Nauarres* squadron, and passing on, the Vicont staves him, and beates him backe. The Duke presuming by this first good happe, to obtaine a totall victorie ouer three cheefe heads of the house of *Bourbon*, aduanceth resolutely, flanked with two hedges of armed men to charge with the Lance. The foure commanders march euery one in the head of his troupe, first easily the pace, then the trot, and after in their full carier.

Defeat &

They charge and breake them. This conflict, which consisted for the most part of Leaguers, was almost as soon dissolued, as it was resolued on: it began at nine of the clocke, and at tenn not any of the Dukes men had any offensiue armes: some are ouerthrowne, some taken, and some seeke their safetie in flight. The victors pursue them three Leagues, and strew the fields with men, horses, and armes. The Duke is compassed in, by a squadron of men at armes. A voyce reuiues the memorie of the slaughter made at *Saint Eloy*, and of the Companie of *Pueithes*: at the brute whereof he is slaine presently, without any respect of his qualitie. His brother Saint *Sauueur*, *Bresay* who carried the white Corner, *Roussay* the younger brother of *Piennes* guidon to the Duke, the Earles of *Suze*, *Ganuelo*, *d' Aubioux*, the Lords of *Fumel*, *Neufui* the elder brother of *Perigord*, yong *Rocheffort*, *Croissete*, *Gurat*, *Saint Fort*, guidon to *Saint Luc*, *du Bordet* his enseigne, *de l'aux* Lieutenant to *Bellegarde*, gouernour of *Xaintonge*, *Montigni* enseigne, *Tiereclin* master of the Campe, *Pluuisault*, *la Brangerie*, *Campelis* the yonger, *la Pallade*, *Bacullard*, with many other Captaines, and a great number of men of account and qualitie, with about halfe of the armie, made the bataille of *Contras* famous by their deaths, as the most memorable of all that haue been giuen for religious cause in *France*. Many rich prisoners, and a very rich spoyle. All his Cornets taken, his cannon carried away, and his baggage seized on.

At

At their returne from the pursute, thanks were giuen to God vpon the place of bataille died with bloud, and couered with carcases. But that which honoured the King most: in the midst of this so commendable a moderation of his victory, hee shewed himselfe no lesse milde and courteous to the prysoners and the wounded, then wise and valiant in heate of the fight. He caused the dead to be buried, cured the wounded: sent home almost all the prisoners without ransome, gratified most of the Commanders, caused the ensignes to bee deliuered to *Montigny* about the rest, commended him to haue behaued himselfe valiantly in the battayle: whereby hee began to purchase fauour with the King of *Nauarre*, and afterwards gotte great reputation with him for his valour and fidelity, when as hee vnited both Crownes into one.

The Prince of *Condé*, at the first charge had a blowe with a Lance on the side, and being ingaged vnder his horse, it did so preiudice his health, as the griefe thereof did soone hasten him to his ende. This is the greatest losse of the Protestants army in this combat, in the which there was a very small number slaine, and not one of account. The King of *Nauarre* is now freed from the snares that were layed for him: now hee aduanceth towards the spring of the riuier of *Loire*: and giues aduice of his dessein to the army of strangers, which then was in *Hurepois* about the Lands of the Lord of *Chastillon*. The King camped vpon *Loire* betwixt *Cosne* and *Neufui*, and by aduice of the Duke of *Neuers* hee cloyes the passages with trees, stonnes and other hindrances where the horses should passe. The second cause next to God of the rume of this army, to whom they thought the King at his entry would haue presented a blanke to prescribe what they pleased.

The Duke of *Guise* followed them at the heeles, and the Duke of *Mayenne* on the one side: and yet both of them could not keepe them from surprising of some small Townes to refresh their army. But when as they see themselves frustrate of all hope to ioine with the King of *Nauarre*, or to passe the riuier of *Loire*, that they must eyther retire, or march forward to meete with the King of *Nauarre*, or ingage themselves farther within the realme, to seeke bread for themselves and forrage for their horses, or else march on the left hand and wander into vnkowne Countries, they growe amazed, they mutine, they faint.

Some Frenchmen attempt *la Charité*: but their enterprise succeeds not. In the ende they leade the army into *Beauisse*, where they should finde meate both for man and horie. The seauen and twentieth of October they lodged at *Vimorry*, and places there abouts, neere to *Montargis*. To take from them this lodging, the Dukes of *Guise* and *Mayenne*, (taking aduantage of the passages of the riuier of *Loing*,) come at supper time with fiftene hundred horse, and fise thousand foote, and charge the Baron *Donneau*, being lodged in *Vimorry* with seauen or eight Cornets of *Reisfres*: but they had almost verified the saying of the King of the *Epirots*, vanquisher of the *Romaine* army. We are vndone if we get such an other victorie: for three hundred horses of baggage, the Barons two Cammells, and the death of fiftie souldiars with a hundred seruants, was not sufficient to recompence the bloud of fortie braue and gallant Gentlemen, and two hundred good souldiars slaine vpon the place by the *Reisfres*, who speedily repayed to their Cornets, whilst the Dukes men were busie at the spoile. The Duke of *Mayenne* receiued two pistol shot on his cask, by the Baron, and in exchange, the Duke gaue the Baron a wipe on the forehead, with his courrelas, but with small hurt.

This losse of horses and baggage, makes the *Reisfres* to mutine againe, growing impatient, neither seeing their pay, nor the King of *Nauarre*: for a bayte, they force *Chastillon*, and spoile it. The Prince of *Conty* arriuall neere vnto *Chartres*, where the Duke of *Boutillon* resigned him the charge and the white corner, pacified this mutinie.

Then the *Swisses* treated with the King, by the Duke of *Neuers* means: his Maiesty hauing

Death of the
Duke of Joy-
euse.

The Ger-
maine army in
Beauisse.

Charged as
Vimorry.

The Prince of
Conty arriues
at the army.

1587. Defection of the *Swisses*. hauing now conured them by their alliance with this crowne, to serue him, or to re-tire themselves: some of the Captaines followe the Kings party, others receiuing foure hundred thousand crownes, returne to their country: but some of them, at their arriuall lost their heads.

By this defection, the army is halfe decreased: the toiles of the warre tire them: the discomforts proue at length insupportable: many of the troupes disbande: they foresee an apparent danger, if they giue battell. They take Councell the 24. of Nouember, to turne head, and to draw this languishing army vp to the Springs of *Loire*. But the Duke of *Guise* had well obserued from the beginning, that striking the shepherd, he shall disperse the flocke. The Baron lodged at *Auneau* neere to *Chartres*, with seuen Cornets of *Reistres*: but he trusted too indiscreetly to a promise made by the garrison of the said Castle, not to commit any acte of hostility, and to furnish him with victuals for his money. The Duke manned it with good store of harguebusiers: and and at the first sound of the Trompet, to horse, he enters the Towne with all his forces, euen as their Carts stopt vp the streets and gates in the morning. Being thus surpris'd, and hauing no meanes to recouer the fields, they are forced to returne into their lodgings, and to remaine at the Conquerors mercy, either slaine or taken. The spoyle was great, eight hundred Wagons, great store of armes, Jewells, and chaynes of gold. Two thousand horse of combat, and of carriage. So as in one night, all the Dukes footemen were in a manner horsed, rich in spoiles, and rich in prisoners. The Baron, with some fewe other, leaped ouer the walles, and sau'd themselves, through the fauour of the night, and in a marishe. He makes a stande halfe a league from *Auneau*, and rallies them together that escape. The *Swisses* that remained, come vnto him: all determine to breake. The Prince of *Conty*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, *Chastillon*, *Cleruaut*, and the rest, become answerable for what is due: so as they will marche on. They might easily haue forced through the Duke of *Guises* army, but they were surpris'd with feare, a passion which doth easily vanquish the quicknesse of mans iudgement,

The army hath now but one wing to flie withall: it is a body without armes or legges: yet the hope of paiement makes them continue their course vp against the riuer. But the disorder was great: feare accompanies them, many Gentle-men slip away dayly to their houses: and most of them which remained, could not easily resolue to fight. They must make long marches to auoide the enemy: they had no guides, no smiths for their horses, who were spoiled for want of shooes, no bread for the souldiars, no forrage for their horses, their troupes wasted, most of them were without powder, without bullets, and without meanes to recouer any: the Lanquens are reduced to two thousand, and most vnarmed, and the *Swisses* haue changed party. The *Reistres* thinke of nothing but of their returne into *Germany*: the *French* slippe away hourly. The Duke of *Espenon* coasts them with the Kings armie, and wisheth they would accept of a capitulation, to disapoint the Duke of *Guise* of an absolute victory, which he did expect. The Duke of *Guise* pursues them, yet is it not fit for the Kings estate, he should wholly vanquish these maimed troupes: the seruant would then presently attempt against the maister. Moreouer this army still holding the field, the Reaime should be much impouerished: and ioyned with the King of *Nauarre*, they might effect great matters.

The King offers them a safe conduct, to returne, vpon condition that the *French* should deliuer vp their colours: that the *Reistres* trusse vp their Cornets, and that all sweare, not to beare armes in *France*, without the Kings expresse command. The eight of December they accept of this capitulation, at *Lency* in *Masconois*, and so disband.

The Lord of *Chastillon* protests neuer to deliuer vp his Ensignes, but to the King of *Nauarre*. He vnderstands, the *Reistres* threaten to carry him away as a pledge: but hee frees himselfe from their mutiny, like a gallant Gentleman: hee assembles

Capitulation
giuen to the
Reistres.

Chastillon res-
treat.

1587. Assembles a troupe of a hundred horse, and some shot on horsebacke, and takes the way of *Ruanne* towards the head of *Loire*. *Mandelot* Gouverneur of *Lionois*, *Cheurieres*, the Earle of *Tournon*, and others, seeke to stoppe his passage: hee is beset on all sides by his enemies, hee makes his way with his sword, and passeth through them like a lightning, and forcing his enemies to flie: he causeth the children of that Country, to call it the battaile of *Turne-taille*. The Strangers thinke to refresh themselves at *Geneua*, but the most part were not able to get thither: and many of the Commanders, eyther with languishing and grieve, or as the common saying was, with the sweete Wines they drunke with the Duke of *Espenon*, gaue vp the ghost. The Duke of *Bouillon* dyed the xi. of Ianuary, in the 25. yeare of his age, leauing *Charlotte* his siter for his heire, marryed since to the Vicount of *Turenne*, now Duke of *Bouillon*. Death of the Duke of Bouillon. *Louillon*, and Marshall of *France*.

Another troupe of *Reistres* marched towards the *French Conté*: the Marquis of *Tont*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Guise*, pursuing them (against the publike faith) vnto the Mountaines of *Saint Claude*, enter the territories of *Montbeliard* and *Hericourt*, where by a lamentable reuenge vpon a poore innocent people, by the burning of two hundred Villages, by the forcing of many wiues and maides, and by the murder of a great number of all ages, all sexes, and all qualities, they leaue the markes of the inhumanitie, and the brutish fury of the League, and carry the spoiles of their triumph into *Lorraine*.

All the chiefe of the League assemble at *Nancy*, where they resolute to make the lasttall of their ambition. The season inuires them, mens humours are well affected. The Catholikes consciences, fired from the fume of strangers, confesse themselves wonderfully bound to the Duke of *Guise*: the people extoll the victory of *Auneau*, and the dispersing of this great armie: the Nobility of the League looks bigge, the Clergie reioyceth, the Preachers tongues are fire-brands of sedition, they speake inder sion of the King in their Pulpits, (before time the Pulpits of trueth,) are now become the Chaires of Iuglers: they make the King a *Saul*, and the Duke of *Guise* a *Dauid*, *Saul* slew his thousand, but *Dauid* his ten thousand.

They publish generally in their Sermons, that the King had leuiued the *Reistres*, to oppose them against the Dukes holy enterprises, and to expose *Paris* as a prey: but by the Dukes valour and constancie, religion had now triumphed ouer heresie. The Prebends vnto the Duke a Sword grauen with flames. The King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Sauoye*, conceiue great hopes. The Duke of *Parma* salutes him, and *Amongst all the Princes of Europe* (saith he) *Henry of Lorraine alone deserues to command in warre*. They make bonfires in all places, and sing the wondrous workes of the Duke of *Guise*, to the Kings disgrace. The people of *Paris* especially (possessed with the prailes of the house of *Guise*, & the disorders of the King, the dissolutnes, leachery and hypocrisy of the Court, vnder a shew of penance) leane to the party which they hold most certaine: they disdain the present estate, apprehend what is to come, and thinke to loose nothing by the change.

Henry of Lorraine discouers all this, and thinkes to make his profit of so goodly an opportunity. He knowes moreouer, that *Toubert* and *Miron* haue giuen their opinion of the Kings disability to haue children. Hee makes himselfe more pleasing to the people, who feare the succession of a *Huguenot* Prince: hee entertaynes them with great familiarity, but with an humour aspiring vnto tyrannie. Hee sees the miserie of his Soueraigne disgraced, his enemies retired to *Rochelle*: *England* ready to bee invaded by a proud Armie from *Spain*: hee giues eare to the counsell of the Arche leaguers, increased to the number of sixteene, by reason of the sixtene quarters of *Paris*. He is crafty, aduised, foreseeing, generous and valiant, but variable, corrupt, a dissembler, secret and patient. Hee will by no meanes vie his owne name in any thing, yet will hee effect that by another which hee attempts or takes in hand. He aduertiseth the Cardinall of *Bourbon* (who goes but as he

The disposi-
on of the
Duke of
Guise.

1588 as led) that this goodly opportunity must not be lost. But the secrets of his heart contrary to his outward shewes.

This assembly at *Nancy* tended only to force the King to make his will, and to the regencie to them. It was therefore concluded, *That the King should be to ioyne his forces effectually with the League. To displace such from their offices should be named. To bring in the inquisition of Spaine, and to publish the Councell of Trent, but with a moderation of such things as derogate from the privileges of the French Church. To consent to the restitution of the goods sold by the Clergie for the charges of the warre. To giue them Townes to be manned and fortified as the time and necessity required. To forbid the Huguenots bodies & goods, and to entertayne an army upon the frontiers of Lorraine, against the Germans, who threatened reuenge for the insolencies committed in the Countie B of Montbelliard.*

But to subiect the Kings authority to the desseins & practises of the league, what was it, but by this means to aspire to the Crowne? To haue him ruine them he loued, and that were alied vnto him in bloud, what was it, but to make a bush of a forest, and a desert of a goodly kingdome? And this word of Inquisition, is it not hateful vnto all men? It was necessary for the *Spaniards*, who had no better meane to plant and maintaine Christianity. But the tediousnes and manner of their proceeding is horrible, the malice and Calumination of their spies and informers abominable, their prisons vnder ground fearefull: their racks and tortures intolerable, the yellow gowne without sleeves painted all ouer with deuills, the Miter, and Corde: and for the last act of this pittifull Tragedie, the fire, haue made it detestable to the *Flemings*, and execrable to the *French*. As for the reception of the Councell of *Trent*, the soueraigne Courts of this realme haue neuer so aduised our King, for the preiudice they should do vnto the Crowne, and the privileges of the *French Church*. To require redemption of the Clergie goods, and to haue the King force them that were benefited to redeeme them, was it not to haue him make warre for the Church, and the Clergie should giue the alarme, and shadow themselves vnder the temporality, whilst that the Nobility should go to fight, and the people languish. The League had obtained some townes of assurance, and the Parliaments labored to put downe the *Huguenots*. To conclude, the King had not refused the chiefe of the League any demande that he might lawfully graunt, and had yellected them many things which he might by his authority refuse.

Besides the motions of the Kings apprehensions, the first beginning of his misery is, that almost all his counsellors of state are corrupted, they conceale the truth, they fit themselves to his humors, they are fearefull, weak and inconstant. Without doubt that Prince is miserable (saied an Emperour) from whome they conceale the truth. They perswade him, the Duke of *Guise* partie is strong, that the Townes and Provinces looke onely after him: if hee enters not into it, hee must be subiect both to League and *Huguenot*. Yet he meane to be master ouer both, but hee takes not the safest course. Hee becomes the head of the *Guise* party, and talking of nothing but of the voyage of *Poitou*, thinks to winne the peoples loue, and to stoppe the murmuring of the League.

The Prince of *Condes* death made the enterprise easie. A great debility of the stomacke, a difficulty of breathing, a great costiuenes, a continuall vomiting, with an alteration and extreame paine, surprised him the third of May, halfe an houre after supper, and the second day of his sicknesse, a suffocation of all his viall spirites, sent him from the bedde vnto the graue. Hee was a Prince indeed with all the qualities fit for a great Captaine, vnder whose magnanimity the Protestants conceiued great hopes. The bodie was opened, and the iudgement of Physicians was diuers. The botome of his bellie was pale and burnt: his bowells ouerflowed with a reddish water: the stomacke about the orifice perced through with a round hole, & the vitall parts being vlcered, made some suspect poyson, others held that it was the remaynder of the potion he swallowed in the yeare 1572. which making an impres-

The Kings
Councell cor-
rupted.

Death of the
Prince of Con-
des.

1588 sion in the bowells, had by little and little weakened the stomacke: of the paine wherof, as also of his side, by reason of the blowe he receiued at the battaile of *Courtras* with a Lance, he had complained many weekes before his death. The schoole of *Montpellier* did subscribe to this last opinion.

In the meane time the King doth not greatly affect this enterprise against the *Huguenots*: hee desires to diuert the warre which the League would make inmortall. But the Commander vnder whome he assembles his forces, makes him fall from a feuer to a stensie. They had long before made the Duke of *Espernon* an aduancement odious to the people. The League made him the onely author of all disorder: but the succession to the office of Admirall, and the gouernment of *Normandie*, wherein the King had installed him since the death of the Duke of *Jouenne*, and their disdain for that he had crossed the Duke of *Almalein* in his enterprises vpon *Boulougne*, and other places in *Picardie*, shall soone discover the violences of an ambitious spirit, who thinks that the very heauens should giue him place.

The Duke of *Guise* findes, that the warre which he made against the Princesse of *Sedan*, by *Rosie* his Lieutenant, did but blemish his newe trophies. She had already chased him from *Douray*: hee had by the Lord of *Nueil* laine seauen score of the most select prisoners to *Sedan*. The consideration of an innocent pupill, makes this warre execrable, and makes them odious that attempt to take from an other without any iust cause. The *Parisians* faint, if he come not to confirme them. They call him; and he leauing *Sedan* and *Lamets*, thinks it is nowe high time that the King either yeeld or breake, and that nowe they must shewe the effect of the Conclusion of *Nancy*.

He comes to *Soissons*. The King is very iealous of this approche: and knowing the *Parisians* humor and deuotion to the Duke, he sends him word by the Lord of *Belieure* (a man of great and sound iudgement, who for his great employments both within and without the realme, was then one of the chiefe of the Kings Councell, and now the most worthy Chancellor of *France*) that he should do him apcassure, not to come to *Paris* in a time so full of troubles and factions. If hee come against his will, hee will lay vpon him the cause of all the miseries, which his presence shall breede. But to loose all, there is but one hazard: *Pompee* thinks, that striking the ground with his foote, hee shall raise vp a hundred Legions. He comes to *Paris* at noone the ninth of May, followed onely with eight gentlemen, not to amaze the King. He lights at the Queene mothers lodging, and goes with her to do his dutie vnto the King. The people follow him by troups with great ioye: euery one blesteth his comming, euery one makes new wishes. The *Parisians* had long forgotten that ancient and cheerefull salutation of *God saue the King*. When they see him passe, they change it into, *God saue the Guise*, *God saue the pillar of the Church*. A doting gentlewoman sitting vpon a stall, pulls downe her maske. Good Prince (saith she) seeing thou art here, we are all eased. Hee makes his reuerence vnto the King: but not so assured as hee was accustomed: hee opens the causes of his comming, and iustifies his actions as well as hee could. Then seeing the King readie to dine, he retires to his lodging, & not one Courtier accompanied him.

At dinner he growes more resolute. They meete both after dinner at the Queene mothers lodging. The King full of ialousie & feare. The Duke with a braue and resolute countenance. The people attend the issue of this conference. The next day the Archbishop of *Lyon* (the chiefe pillar of the League) arriues: the Dukes friends and seruants enter the citie bringing and carrie away sundrie intelligences. To conclude, all were prepared to execute that wherof they sayled the last yeare.

A notable error of state: for destroying the principall, the accessary perisheth of himselfe. The King had sufficient forces to suppress these first insolencies. He had the names & seruantes of his enemies: most of the were daunted with feare, with these long priues & longings & to one to an other others did hide themselves: & some dreamed of nothing

The Duke of
Guise, uses
the waite of
Sedan.

He comes no
farther.

An error is
state.

1588 nothing but of flight. The multitude is apte for tumults. A cheertull and resolute countenance of the King might easily haue dispersed this tempest. But in steede of confirming him, they make him more irresolute: they talke of nothing to him, but of the Dukes prauiſes with the *Parisiens*, and that by his long delay hee will bee preuented.

Barricades at Paris.

He meanes to anticipate the houre, and thinks it sufficient to terrefie them: for the effecting whereof, hee commands the Marshall of *Biron*, to drawe his gards of *Swisses* and *French* out off the Suburbes into the Cittie, and lodgeth them in diuers quarters, to feare the people, if they stirre. *Le Gast* with his companie, held the little bridge neere to our Ladies Church. *Grillon*, *Saint Michels* bridge: the Marshall *d'Aumont* mans our Ladies bridge with harguebufiers: the *Swisses* are diuided into diuers places, before the Towne house, in the new market place, & at *S. Innocents* Church. But eyther through want of iudgement, or for want of men, they had forgotten the place *Maubert*.

The people growe amazed: the chiefe of the League terrefie them with the apprehension of a spoile: they shut vp their shoppes. Their trafficke, tooles, pens and paper, are conuerted in halbards, pertuisans, harguebuffes, & swords. The schollers come to the vniuersity, and ioyning with some multitudes of the people, they seize vpon place *Maubert*: the neighbors arme, all the Cittie is in combustion: some crye out for Barricades, there is nothing but stopping of the waies: they flanke them, and man them, they make them from thirty paces to thirtie, euen to the sentinells of the *Louure*, they drawe the chaines. no man passeth without the word, or a passe-port, from the Colonels or quarter masters.

The Earle of *Brissac*, *Bois-Daulphin*, *Chamois*, and other heads of the League, charge the *swisses*, and kill some: the rest beeing terrified with this vnexpected furie of the people, without Commanders, without conduct, and without assurance of the Kings intention, choose rather to yeeld their pikes, then to charge them in this violent occasion. Without doubt a more manly courage and constant resolution, had forced the *Parisiens* to fortifie themselues in the bottome of their cellars. Citties begin a mutiny boldly, but they execute it faintly, if they see any resistance, vsing still more words then deeds. The consideration of wife, children and shoppes, do easily quail their first heate. *Saint Paul*, (a simple gentleman, but a chiefe man in this party) causeth the Kings gards to retire with their hats in their hands, and their armes downe. They crye out generally against the Tirant, against the *Hueguenot*, against the *Politiques*. It fares with them in a manner as it did in former times with the *Englsb* and *Bourguignons*.

The Queene mother had alwaies made her profit of the variety of factions: she is nowe deceiued, the Duke of *Guise* will not imploy her in that hee hath deſeined: she takes her Coach and comes amazed, to intreat the Duke to pacifie this tumult. *Belieure* followes to the same ende. But the Duke answered: *These are wild bulls broke loose, whom I cannot stay*. So great a deſeigne was not attempted to faint in the midst thereof. It was no longer time nowe to dissemble: the maske vncouered, and the ford founded, they must go on, and seize vpon his person, without whose ruine their victory should be imperfect: for the effecting whereof ten or twelue thousand men were readie to enter by night at the newe gate, to beset the *Louure*, and to shut vp all the passages.

Fourre gentlemen familiar with the Duke, aduertise the King hereof: yet canne hee hardly beleue it, but that the people will alwayes willingly yeeld to the Kings clemency. Yet his Councell desired to be out of *Paris*. They lay open before his Maiestie the generall reuolt, in the which *Philip* the faire was forced to saue himselfe among the Temples: The partie-coloured hooode of redde and skie coloure, wherewith *Charles* Duke of *Normandie*, and afterwards King of *France*, the sist of that name, and surnamed the wise, was hooded, to saue himselfe from the peoples insolencie, during the captiuitie of King *Iohn* his father in *England*: The reuolt of the *Maiotins*: The mutiny

A mutinie of the *Caboches*: the crosses of *S. Andrew*: the deposition of *Salcedo*: the aduertisements of the King of *Nauarre*, and the conspiracies of the last ycare, which now hath broken the bankes, and ouerflowed all.

His feare increaseth, yet he settles his countenance. *It is reason* (saith he) *to provide for these disorders, to assemble the Councell, and to giue all men contentment*. And the better to disguise his intent, he sends back the Queene Mother vnto the Duke, to perswade him to come vnto the *Louure*, and to assure him, that he shall returne with such satisfaction as hee can desire. She intreates him in this vrgent necessitie, to make knowne vnto the King, that he hath more will to preferue, then to ruine his Crowne, and to settle the Estate which this mutinie hath wonderfully shaken. To intreate an enemy, is to shew that he feares him. The Duke seemes colde: he layes the motiues of these tumults vpon the people, to whose assistance he is drawne, more by the violence of necessitie, then by his owne desire. It were a great indiscretion (sayd he) for me, to cast my selfe naked into a suspected place, at the mercy of my enemies. The King vnderstanding by his Mother, the Dukes obstinacie in his deſeigne, resolues for the safety of his person. He goes from the *Louure* with a small traine, with a shew to walke in the *Tuileries*, and from thence hee goes to lodge at *Trapes*. *I giue thee my curse* (saith he, turning at *Chalot* towards *Paris*) *disloyall and ingratefull Cittie: a Cittie which I haue alwayes honoured with my continuall aboad: a Cittie which I haue more enriched then any of my predecessors. I will neuer enter within the compasse of thy walles, but by the ruine of a great and memorable breach. Cursed likewise bee you all, for whose content I haue purchased the hatred of so many*.

The King retires from Paris.

O Duke, thou hast drawne thy sword against thy Soueraigne: but God hath stayed thine arme from striking. It is a folly, onely to terrifie him, who may finde meanes of reuenge. Many of his faction blame him to haue erred in the maine point, wherein consisted the perfection of his victory, By this attempt he hath blemished his reputation with all Princes. All Kings are bretheren, one royall blood summons an other: they haue an interest in this cause, they affect troublers of anothers Estate, but they cannot endure them in their owne. Without doubt the prouidence of God had prepared a strange Catastrophe for the Duke, for the King, and for his Realme: who at this time, by his singular loue to this Crowne, did diuert the successe which they expected of this shamfull and reprochfull mutinie.

O *Paris*, King *Charles* the eighth had in former times made the 12. day of May famous, by the absolute conquest of the realme of *Naples*: and now thou deuilest to haue this twelfth day noted with red letters, and hereafter to bee celebrated, for that in the same day, thou hast presented vpon the Theater of thy rebellions, a King dispossessed of the capitall City of his realme. Nay rather what coale can sufficiently note to our posteritie, this mournfull and vnfortunate daye? What lawe of forgetfulness, may wipe out the remembrance of thy shame, ingratitude and treachery? what lotion can wash away the spotted of thy pollution, filthinesse and villainies? what fire shall euer consume the memory of the rebellions, tyrannies and seditions, of this fatall and abhominable League? O Barricadoes, you are the spring of those floods, which shall for a time drowne this Estate: and the instrument wherewith that inferutable wisdom would chastise, both the King and the realme.

The sixteene did presently qualifie this cursed conspiracie, with the title of a iust defence against the King. They aduertised other Townes, that God had preserved that holy & religious Cittie from a great massacre, and a fearfull spoile. That the Duke of *Guise* had subuerted the Councell of the Politiques, namely of the Duke of *Espernon*, by whose counsell the King had resolued the ruine of the chiefe and most Catholicke families in *Paris*: as if the peoples suppression were the chiefe meanes to keepe them in obedience.

And the Duke of *Guise* at the beginning of this bold and insolent attempt, writes prently to his most trusty friends, to repaire speedily vnto him with armes and horses: bur

O o o o

bur

1588 but no baggage. *I have ouerthrowne the Swisſes* (ſaid he to *Entragues* Governor) *and I have leaues cut in peeces ſome part of the Kings guards, and hold the Louure ſo ſtraightly beſet, that I can give a good account of what is within it. This victory is ſo great, as it will be remembered for euer.*

But oh Duke! is it preſumption that bandies thee againſt the rules of reaſon, or weakeneſſe which abates thy courage and reſolution in ſuffering him to eſcape, who within ſewe moneths ſhall heape this thy victory vpon thy head, and by thy victorie con- fuſion ſhall make it memorable for euer? Both the one and the other brings a true daine repentance vnto man, and makes him wiſe too late. Thou ſeekeſt oh Duke! to touch the heauens with thy forehead, and hell with thy foot: but learne, that our hi- ſtories are full of the violent deaths of thoſe proud ſpirits, who ſeeke their glory and profit with the ruine of their Country, the preiudice of States, and the ſubuerſion of common peace. That great God which reuengeſ the iniuries of Kings and people, laies publicke ruines vpon them that doe them. The ſlaughter at *Vassy* kindled the fire of the firſt ciuill warres. So thy Father died, ſoone after the newe troubles which followed. Euen ſo the like ſtorme threatens thy ruine in the middeſt of thy violent paſſions.

Entragues had aſſembled the Nobility of the League at *Baugency*: but the 14. of the moneth, he writes vnto them. *Our great, could not execute his deſeine, the King having ſaued himſelfe within Chartres: I wiſh you to retire to your houſes, as quietly as you may, making no ſhew to haue ſeene any thing.* And in the ende: *I am ſo amazed, as I knowe not what to doe.* I beleue him: Kings haue long hands, they catch a faire off, and their blowes are dangerous. So hereafter the King ſhal free himſelfe from the leagues party, but he ſhall be little the better. The Duke is no leſſe troubled in minde, ſeeing the Sunne of the royall Maieſty eclipsed: hee ſeemes grieued, rebukes the people, cauſeth outrages to ceaſſe, deliuerſ the *French* companies their armes, and puts them out off the Citty, but at *Saint Anthonies* gate, quite contrary to the waye which their Maſter tooke.

In ſuch mutinies, no minde, (bee it neuer ſo reſolute) continues ſtill conſtant in one Eſtate. The Duke of *Guiſe* ſees now, that the greateſt of the Clergy approve not theſe newe inſolencies: their callings haue more grace vnder the beauty of a King, then in the conſuſion of a Democratic. The *French* Nobility (at the leaſt of ten parts, nine) cannot fit themſelues to the humors of the Princes of the League: their proper and eſſentiall forme is, to oppoſe themſelues againſt the ſubuerſion of this Eſtate. The Gentlemen hold their honours, dignities, charges, fees, and iuriſdictions, by homage of the King: and foreſee, that a royalty cannot be ſuppreſſed, but the Nobility muſt likewiſe periſh: there is the like reaſon (but without proportion) of the obedience, and taxe due vnto a King, as of a rent due vnto the Lord of a Mannor. hee that hath withdrawne himſelfe from the firſt, will likewiſe free himſelfe from the laſt. Hee ſees that the learned & men of honour abhor this diſgrace lately done vnto the King. The Court of Parliament reſolues to abandon *Paris*. All *France* is offended with the Kings departure: and without the Kings perſon, the Tragedy of *Chilperic* cannot well bee played, nor the inſtructions of the Aduocate *David* perfectly effected. It is therefore better to play the dutifull ſeruant, and making vnto the King ſome ſhew of reſpect, ſerue and obedience, to labour to returne into Grace, and at the firſt opportunity to effect their purpoſe.

So the Duke of *Guiſe*, not able to ſupport himſelfe in theſe high attempts, falls flat downe. Hee proteſts of his innocencie to the King, and of his endeavours to checke the peoples fury: hee offers to proſtrate himſelfe at the Kings ſeete, to iuſtifie his honour, the which hee ſaies is ſtrangely wounded by his enemies that are about his Maieſty. But on the other ſide, the gloſſie doth ill agree with the text: hee chooſeth a Prouoſt of Marchants, and Sheriſſes at his pleaſure, receiues the *Arcemall*, the *Baſtile*, and other places of ſtrength: depoſeth many quarter maſters

The Duke ſeekes to re- turne into grace.

1588. A maſters and Captaines, takes an oath from ſuch as he inſtalls: ſeizeth vpon the Kings treasure, as he had done at *Chaalons*, *Reimes*, *Soiſſons*: and through all the towns of his obedience. And if this miſchiefe continues (ſaid he) *I proteſt to preferue both the Religion and the Catholikes.* Then by other letters written to *Baſſompierre* a *Lorraine*. *The King leaues forces, and ſo do we. He is at Chartres, and we at Paris. Eſpernon is chaſed out off Normandie: the kings ſeruants are imprifoned in many great townes: the leſſer ſend to ſubmit themſelues to Paris and vs.*

Whileſt the Duke prepares a ſalue for the ſoare which he had made, and the *Parisians* perſwade their aſſociates, to mainteine themſelues ioynly againſt the King of *Nauarres* with whom (they ſaid) the King had made himſelfe a partiſan, to the preiudice of religion, and the Catholike Church, his Maieſtie exhorts his Lieutenants and Governours of his Prouinces, to retaine the Nobility, and people within thoſe limits of duty and reſpect, which tie them to their Soueraigne: and the chiefe cities, not to frame their affections after the modell of *Paris*. But he ſpeaks no more like a King: his ſtile is the ſtile of a man that flies, that feares, that intreats. And to repaire this diſorder, he employs the Queene Mother. But how could this turbulent ſpirit cure the infirmities of the Eſtate, being irreconcilable in her hatred to the princes of the bloud, and tranſported in her affection to the children of her daughter, the Duchefſe of *Lorraine*? She aduiſeth the King, to paſſe ouer quietly the inſolencies of the league: but there is no likelihood, ſhe ſhould more regard the profit of her ſonne, then the advancement of the Marquis of *Pent* her grandchild. She brings to this newe common weale (for the royalty ſeemed now to be changed into a Democratic) complaints and teares, againſt the brauings and force of a couragious Prince, and a furious multitude. And promiſing effects of greater zeale to Religion, more reſpect in the diſtribution of offices, and more moderation in the exaction of ſubſidies, ſhe preſumed to giue contentment to thoſe, who made ſhew to imploy themſelues for a generall reformation, and to reduce the moſt violent to their obedience. But this ſerues but to breed a ſecond treaty like to that of *Nemours*.

Paris without the King, is a body without forme: the moſt iudicious find it, and lament his departure. The late orders of religious men haue great credit with him. They ſend the *Capuchins* in proceſſion vnto *Chartres*, to mitigate the heat of his choller. and then the chiefe of the Citty, went to excuſe the motiues which had forced the people to defend themſelues, and to beſeech him to returne to *Paris*, (where hee ſhould be receiued with as great ioy, as his ſubiects were grieued, to vnderſtand of his departure: and ſhould finde better ſeruants, then thoſe which had counſelled him to ruine, and then to leaue them: and to graunt them ſeuene principall points of their petition: The extirpation of hereſie, by the forces of his maieſty, and the holy vnion: The baniſhment of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and of his brother *la Valette*: Warre in *Guyenne*, by the King in perſon, and by the Duke of *Mayenne* in *Daulphiné*: Abolition of the tumults of *Paris*: Confirmation of officers choſen for the managing of ciuill cauſes ſince the Barricadoes: A reſtoring of the goodly and auncient ordinances of the Realme: And an abolition of parties, gifts and abuſes brought in by *Eſpernon* and *la Valette*.

The Queene mother preſents theſe Deputies: and the King vrged by the league to graunt their requeſt, lets the Card-nall of *Bourbon*, and the other Princes vnderſtand: That the peace and warre, the battells wherein he hath ſo willingly expoſed his perſon, and the laſt ouerthrow of the Proteſtant Reiſtres, haue alwaies beene ſufficient re- ſtimonies of his zeale to the mainteynance of the onely Catholike religion with- in his realme: to the extirpation of hereſie, and falſe doctrine: but iealouſyes and diſtruſt had preuented him from reaping the fruits of the aduantage which he had ouer the laſt heretikes.

That for a preſent reformation of affaires, and to preuent the feare the Catho- likes had to fall vnder the commaund of hereſikes, he would call a Parlement of the three Eſtates of *France*: and reſolues preſently to reuoke many impoſiti- ons

1588.

The Queene Mother im- played for a Peace.

Seuen de- mands of the league,

The Kings anſwer.

1588. ons which oppresse the people. As for the priuate complaints against the Duke of *Espernon*, and his brother: I will (saith he) alwaies make it knowne in all occasions, that I am a iust Prince, and will preferre the common profit of my Realme, before any other consideration.

The duke of
Espernon is
in
disgrace.

But the two brethren, *Espernon*, and *la Valette* say: To what ende should they make an enterprise at *Paris*, to take the Duke of *Espernon*, who was then in *Normandie*? and why made they *arricades*, euen to the gates of the *Louure*: armed the people, and seized vpon all the chiefe places of the City: to chase *la Valette* from *Valence*, and other parts of *Daulphiné* where he remained? And if the confusions of former ages haue kept other Kings from acknowledging our fathers seruices: and he hath rewarded his merits in his children; what bee those iealous and malicious heads, that enuy our fauours with his maiestie? What censure, what rigour, what lawe may keepe a King of *France*, from aduancing to authority some fauourites, who reuiue in them the vertues of their ancestors.

Moreouer the League makes mention in what places our fauour hath beene imployed: the treaties of the Duke of *Espernon* in *Guienne*: his being acquainted with *Clermonts* negotiation for the Huguenots of *Metz*: the enterprises hee hath made vpon *Cambray*: his late fauour to the Reistres in their returne: his secret conference with *Chastillon*: the consultations of that tumult, which hath lately happened in *Paris*: the taking of *Valence*, *Tallard*, *Guise*, and other places, from the Catholikes of *Daulphiné*, and his practises to stay the yeelding of *Aussone*. But we say, would to God we had in like sort taken, *Chalon*, *Eijon*, *Montruel*, *Cambray*, and all that are subiect vnto his Maiestie within the heart of *France*. They tearme vs fauourers of Heretikes. And yet we haue in fixe moneths taken from them by the sword, all their conquests in *Provence* (the King, since the death of *Henry* the bastard, and Grand Prior of *France*, had giuen this gouernement to the Duke of *Espernon*) which former Gouernours could not do in twenty yeares. The taking of *Sorgues* in *Daulphiné* by vs two, during the frozen time of winter: and the ouerthrow of the Huguenots *Suisses*, by *la Valette*: but especially the last diuision of the *Suisses* from the Reistres, which made the way for the Duke of *Guise*, to defeat them at *Anneau*: and the discontent, wherein the Duke of *Espernon* left the King of *Nauarre*, at his departure out of *Guienne*: are not these sufficient testimonies, that their accusations are as frivolous and malicious, as the sale of offices where-with hee charge them: for iustification whereof, the Duke of *Espernon* offers to present his head at his Maiesties seere, if it be proued that he had euer any such thought in his soule. Contrariwise, who hath during the reignes of *Henry* the second, and *Francis* the second, managed the treasure without contrioll: but the house of *Guise*, whereof the latter follow the steppes of their Predecessors? Who haue forced the King to exact vpon his subiects, but the warre which they haue kindled and drawne his Maiesty into? what house did euer from so small a beginning grow to so fearefull a greatness? To concludemo man shal blame vs for being Pensioners to the King of *Spaine*, to haue hindered our King from the recouery of the Seigneuries of the Lowe Countries, nor to haue stolen away the reuenues of his generall receipts. Wee will no wayes hinder this goodly reformation: we are not in Court, nor in the Kings presence.

Let vs see the first fruits of this so commendable a gouernement. Haue you left *Paris*? haue you yielded it to the King your Lord, and naturall Prince? Nothing lesse: you haue reuolted *Cerueil*, *Melun*, and *Pontoise*: you haue (with false persuasions) withdrawn the best Citties of the realme. But we will (in protesting to bee ready to deliuer it to his maiesties hands, with our liues and honor, all the offices, charges, gouernements and places which it hath pleased him to commit vnto vs) inuite our accusers to doe the like. And if they will pretend in quality of persons: let them vnderstand, that whatsoeuer euer party holds, it appertaines vnto the King, neyther can they keepe it, but at his pleasure.

Thus the two brethren iustified themselues, whilest the Court of Parlement makes

makes knowne vnto the King by their Deputies, their grieve for this insolencie, which had forced him to abandon *Paris*. They appeale vnto his clemencie and bounty. They present for an humble excuse of his officers, the weaknesse and feare which had forced them yeeld to so violent a reuolt: beseeching him to returne into his City, and to giue rest and content to his Maiestie, order to his affaires, grace to their purple robes, and authority to their offices: and by his presence, to disperse the mutinies which diuisions had bred.

1588.
Deputies of
the Parli-
ament with
the King.

For answer. I doubt not (saith the King) but you would willingly haue reformed this disorder, if it had beene in your power: neither of your persisting in the same affection and fidelity which you haue testified to my forefathers. I am not the first that hath beene toucht with such afflictions, neither will I leaue to be a good father to such as shall be good children. I will alwayes intreat the Parisiens with the quality of a father, as children that haue strayed from their duty, not as seruants that haue conspired against their maister. Continue in your offices, and receiue from the Queene my mother the commandements and intentions of my will.

The Kings
answer.

This answer was lost and colde: but after dinner, he addes a sharper part, and calling back the Deputies. I know (saith he) wherefore garrisons are set, either to ruine a Towne, or for distrust of the inhabitants. But what cause had the Parisiens to presume, that I would destroy a Towne, wherevnto I haue brought so many commodities by my presence, as ten or twelue townes would thinke themselves greatly benefited thereby? and what distrust could I haue of a people whom I loued? of a people in whom I trusted? Haue they lost a loose, or any thing whatsoeuer by means of these pretended garrisons? I sought the preservation of my good Cittie of *Paris*, and the safety of my subiects, meaning by a strict search, to put out a great number of strangers, whom I knew to be secretly crept in. They haue offended me, yet am I not irreflexible, neither haue I any humour to ruine them: But I will haue them confess their faults, and know that I am their King and maister. If not, I will make the markes of their offence remaine for euer. I will reuoke my Court of Parliament, my Chamber of accounts. Aides, and other Courts of Iustice. I will take from them the Vniuersitie, their honours, freeddoms, and Præiudges. I will omitté no means to bee reuenged. Not that I am reuengefull, or accustomed to vse severity: but I will haue them know, that I haue as much resolution and courage, as any my Predecessors. I am no Usurper, but a lawfull King by succession, and of a race that hath alwayes commanded mildly. Let them not take religion any more for a pretext. There liues not a more Catholike Prince, nor that desires more the extirpation of heresies, then my selfe: I would willingly loose an arme, that the last Hereticke were painted in this Chamber. Returne to your charges, and bee of good cheere; I will bee for you and let them vnderstand what I haue sayde vnto you.

Now the most desperate Leaguers found; that the absence of the Court made their fare but simple, made their shops without Chapmen, and their trafficke colde: the shame to be without a King, made the most audacious mutinies to hang downe their heads: the violence of rebellion quailed many found the dealing of *Paris* too audacious. And now *Paris* studied to returne to the Kings obedience: when as the Duke of *Guise* fearing the losse of many of his friends and seruants, resolves to make his peace. He now speakes of nothing but the Kings seruice, the obedience of his Maiestie, the preservation of the Estate, the reformation of disorders, and the subiects ease; and by the intercession of the Queene Mother seeks his fauour which he had lost. The Queene Mother certifies the King: That of his Councell, (who for the most part are seruants to the League) keeps him in this humilitie, and propounds vnto him a generall requite of his subiects, with the intelligence and fauour the League had within *Charyen*, the which fauoureth him, for his greater safety, to go to *Roan*. Finally, they set out against the Huguenots. My Liege (say they) will you loose the name of most Christian, in winking at these heresies which vndermine the truth?

The Duke
seeks to
make his
peace.

1588. will you alone among threescore and one Kings, your Predecessors, suffer so detestable a medley of truth and falsehood?

Edict of reunion.

This Councell carries him away against them in whome hee should most trust, who lamenting the decay of his authoritie, and the weakning of his forces, see that his intentions inclined to his owne ruine. Hee seemes to bee in choller with the King of Navarres partie, to haue the League on his side, (but hee telleth no man, that hee pretends to vse his forces against themselves) and drawes certaine articles of the reunion of Iuly, whereby hee frames his Edict, not so much against the King of Navarres religion, as to exclude him, in fauour of the League, from that, which none but God could take from him. But whilest they finish these accords, hee suddenly surpriseth the Isles of *Charon* and of *Marans*.

The King by this Edict admits no religion, but the Catholike: hee promiseth neuer to make a peace nor truce with the heretikes, nor any Edict in their fauour. Hee will haue all his subiects to ioyne with him, that by their common forces they might root out the said heretikes: Hee binds his subiects to sweare, neuer to yeeld obedience after him, to any Prince that shall bee an heretike, or a fauourer of heresie, degrades from all publike charges, either in peace, or warre, those of the pretended reformed religion: promiseth all fauour to the Catholikes, so as they shew themselves obedient and faithfull, and depart from all vnions, practises, intelligences, associations and Leagues, contrary to the vnion which hee made by this Edict: hee declares them guiltie of treason, that shall refuse to signe this new vnion, or shall afterwards depart from it: and finally hee abolished all that was done and past, but (signing this forced Edict) hee wept.

Two things trouble the League.

The Leaguers are now wonderfully puffed vp with hope: yet this reuerence of the royall maiestie is so naturally grauen in the hearts of men, as the onely remembrance of the twelfth of May makes their hearts to tremble. They feare the Scorpions stail, & that the King by his great facilitie, should determine against them some mournfull Catastrophe in the last act of the Tragedie. And thereupon two things amaze them suddenly: newes comes, that the fearefull and huge *Spanish* armie, wherein were a hundred and thirtie great shippes, and twentie thousand fighting men, vnder the command of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, had by fortune of sea, after their departure from the *Grangne* in *Gallicia*, lost three gallies of *Portugall*, many were scattered, and many bruted and made vnprofitable for the voyage, and were afterwards encountered by the Admirall, and *Drake* the viceadmirall, thwart of *Portland*, vpon the *English* coast, as they forced them to turne head, and to retire in disorder towards the Towne of *Calais*, (hoping there to ioyne with the Prince of *Parma*) with the losse of one gallion, which caried some part of their treasure, and also the instructions for the order which the Generall should follow, hauing conquered *England*.

The defeat of the *Spanish* armie at sea.

A bad beginning, for so braue and proud an ostentation, where they promised themselves an absolute victorie. But the progresse and end was yet more fatal. The *English* fleet preleth them so neere, as they force them to leaue the *Bendings* in confusion: their generall Gallies pestered with other shippes, was cast by the current vpon the sands, neere to the Port of *Calais*, and remayned with the artillerie in the *Gouernours* power. The rest were scattered by the *English* artillerie. The *Spanish* armie lost twelve shippes, and aboue five thousand men, who had no other sepulchres, but the vast Ocean, and the bellies of sea monsters. Finally, taking their course to the North, bending towards *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, those seas were no lesse fatal to the *Spaniards*, for seuentene of their great ships were sunke, and many others cast vpon the sands and rocks, and the rest of this armie was so miserably shaken, as of a hundred and thirtie shippes, hardly thirtie recovered *Spain*. Where the Duke of *Medina* had no other excuse vnto his master, but the ignorance and treacherie of his martyners, with the small experience they

The excuses of the Duke of *Medina*.

they had of those Northerne seas: the want of succors from the Prince of *Parma*, the tempests, ship-wracks. finally all fortune, but not one word of the iudgements of God vpon this giantlike attempt, to bring all *England* slauies to the mountaines of *Gre-nate*, or to the mines of *Peru*.

1588.

The second terror for the Leaguers, is that the King will not returne to *Paris*, how-soeuer they importune him. I will prepare my selfe (saith hee) for the warre against the heretikes: and for the Parliament which I intend to call, and to giue all Princes, that are vnited, contentment and satisfaction. They doubt the barricades haue left much splene in the Kings heart: and to preuent all contrarie events, they thinke it not yet time to satisfie the oath which they had made, to renounce all intelligences & Leagues which they had made both within and without the realme.

Th-King refuseth to go to *Paris*.

They take newe Councells and resolutions at *Paris*, to maintaine this authority and credit gotten with so many crosses and disgraces vnto the King, and so to presse him, and to subiect his will vnto theirs, as he shall not see, speake nor moue, but by the eyes, tongue and sinews of the League: to haue the Deputies of the Parliament house of their faction, with instructions drawne out of the articles of *Peronne*, *Nancy*, *Nemours* and *Ginulle*: To vrge the King against the *Huguenots*, and to sollicit him to ease the people by the discharge of taxes, thereby to make him odious, if he refuse the first fruits of their vnion: To make them strong at the Parliament, and to that ende to send for all the Nobility of their owne faction, and their adherents, to assist with their armes. To hold good correspondence with the Duke of *Parma*: and to aduertise the King of *Spain*, that thus accord made with the King, tended onely to effect their common desseins: To retaine *Pisier* Colonell of the *Swiss*, *ser*, and *Kalagny* gouernour of *Cambray*, with the priuate conventions passed betwixt them. To preuent, least the Duke of *Neuers*, whome the King resolved to send into *Picardie* to suppress the violences of the League, should winne away their most trusty friends. To binde the Cittie of *Paris* vnto the Lord of *Villars*, gouernour of *Nemours*, for the summe of thirtie thousand Crownes yearely, to haue him fauorable to their partie.

Newe resolutions of the League.

These newe Councells bred newe teares. The King cannot conteine from subscribing of these newe articles: but his misfortune forceth him to hazard his Estate, to preserve his person. Hee knowes well, that these are but imaginations: that his Edict of reunion wilbe obserued by none, but by himselfe: or so farre as it toucheth the subuersion of his Crowne. And yet too much bountie, or too great an apprehension makes him scrupulous to preuent it. The Protestants offer to trie this greare quarrell at their owne perilles, so as hee will remaine a neuter, and suffer them to oppose against the mutinies of the League. Hee rejects this aduice. For there is lesse danger (saith he) to remayne with those which persist in the vnitie of our religion, then with them which are diuided and becommen heads of newe opinions.

So, whether it were of a good meaning, or of purpose, hee returnes to *Chartres*. He sees, imbraceeth and maketh much of the Duke of *Guise*, and there all his fauours and bounties are liberally bestowed on the chiefe pillars of the League. Hee giues the Duke of *Guise* the generall commaunde ouer all the men at armes of the Realme. This was not the name and title, but in effect the office and charge of Constable. He makes the Cardinal of *Guise* Legate of *Angion*, the which hee promiseth to obtaine for him of his holinesse. To the Duke of *Moyenne*, a goodly army for the warre of *Dauphine*. To the Duke of *Nemours*, the gouernment of *Lions*, as his father had enioyed it: and hee determineth to giue the seale to *Peter* of *Epiphan* Arch-bishoppe of *Lyon*, to winne him vnto him by this great bounty, promising to procure him a Cardinals hat of Pope *Sixtus*, by the meanes of the Cardinal of *Corby*, who he had sent to Rome. Without doubt he had receiued more honor by being Chancellor,

1588. cellor of *France*, then in being Chancellor of the vnion. (The Chancellor *Hursault* A Earle of *Chyuerny*, and the Lord of *Belieure*, and *Villeroye*, had then leaue to attend the Kings pleasure at their houses) He declares the Cardinall of *Bourbon* the first Pance of the bloud, deciding (by a doubtfull speech,) that great question of prerogatiue, betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew, whereon there hath bene so much written, and so much disputed : peruerting the ancient order of succession, and making the Cardinall to serue the passions of the League.

The Kings
Councillors
dismissed the
Court.

Troubles
gainst the
Duke of
Guise in
Angoulême.

They present vnto the King (being but fixe and thirty yeares of age) a successor, who had euen then passed the Climatrical yeare of threecore and three. Was it not the Leagues meaning, vnder the Cardinall of *Bourbons* image to raise vp a stranger, and violently to aduance his tyranny, to vsurpe the royaltie? To conclude: the King continues, renues and amplifies his fauours to all such as haue any credit with the League: he doth nothing without them, hee opens the very secrets of his heart vnto them, and (for their sakes) causeth euery one of their partilans to tast some portion of his bounty, and makes shewe to beleue whatsoeuer they say vnto him. His Councill blind his eyes, so as hee cannot discerne what is the dutie of a good King: they disguise the truth from him, and studie onely to satisfie their ambition and couetousnesse. So as to please them, euen in this, he himselfe pulls out those eyes, whereby he did see most cleere, & giues them leaue to retire to their houses, there to throwd them selues from these confusions of state.

The Duke of *Espernon* was out of Court: but hee had authority from the King, to command in the Prouinces of *Aniou*, *Touraine*, *Poitou*, *Angoulmois*, and *Xaintonge*. Being at *Lockes*, hee is aduertised that the League practised with some inhabitants to deliuer them *Angoulême*. Hee posts thither, and the people receiue him with great honour as the Kings Lieutenant. He publisheth the Edict of reuinion, his words and deeds testifie nothing but a courage resolved to preferue the Catholike religion. But behold suddenly a strange Catastrophe. Some Leaguers had perswaded the people, that he ment to drawe the *Huguenots* troups into the Castell, and so subdue the Towne. The Maior (beeing the head of the conspiracie) enters into the Castell on *Saint Laurence* day, vnder colour to present vnto the Duke certaine postes that were come from Court: he mounts vp to his Chamber, at his entry he dischargeth two pistols, D and seekes to force the house: The Duke was then in his Cabinet, attending the houre of masse: whete hee red the history of *Pierce Gausson*, in old time deerey fauored by *Edward* the second King of *England*, preferred before all others in Court, enriched with the Kings treasure, and the peoples wealth, but after banished the realme, and in the end beheaded at the site of the Parliament.

This slanderous libell beeing printed at *Paris*, not so much against the Dukes honour as the Kings, compared the Duke with *Gausson*, and concluded, that vnder *Henry* the third, hee should ende his daies by the like tragedie. Vpon the first tumult the Dukes gentlemen sie to armes, and repulse this armed multitude: the Maior beeing hurt with the shot of a pistoll through a doore, died within seauen houres after. The alarme rises into the towne. The people arme, storme, and make barricadoes. But the Duke kept the Castell: the Citadell was at his deuotion, & might by either of them drawe in necessary succors to iunge him.

The *Seigneur* of *Tagens*, the Dukes Cousin, aduanced with succors: *Bordes* Capitaine of the Citadell beeing prisoner among the conspirators, loued the liberty of his place, more then his owne life. *Meré*, *Messeliere*, *Macquoyde* and *Bouchaux*, summoning the beleeged, found nothing in them but a constant resolution to die rather then to yeeld: and the people were willing to capitulate, when as *Tagens* by his arriual pacified the sedition: armes were laied aside, and the prisoners of both parts deliuered. The Duke of *Guise* hauing made his peace with the King, and disapointed his most faithfull Councillors: yet one thorne troubled his foote: The *Huguenots* Estate. Hee therefore ceaseth not, vntill hee sees them assayed in *Poitou* and *Daulphiné*: and whilst the Duke of *Neuers* prepared his armie for *Poitou*, hee sends the regiment of *Saint*

A *Saint Paul* to the Duke of *Mercur*, to annoy the Protestants, and not to suffer them to reape any commoditie in the Countie. 1588.

The Duke of *Mercur* goes into base *Poitou*, beseegeth *Montagu*, repaired by *Colombiers*, whome they of *Nantes* had hourelly at their gates. But at the first bruit that the King of *Nauarre* was come out of *Rochelle* to succour *Montagu*, hee retires straight to *Nantes*, and left the regiment of *Cersy*, to make the retreat, the which was ouertaken, beaten and defeated two leagues from the suburbs of *Nantes*. On the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* marched towards *Daulphiné* but hee plantd the limits of his voiage in *Lions*. Now are two mightie armies in field, the one vnder the Kings authoritie, the other all of Leaguers. But this is not enough. The King by a solemne oth, in the Cathedrall Church at *Rouan*, had sworne the execution of the Edict of vnion: he hath sent it vnto the Bishops, and commaunds them to presse the *Huguenots* in their diocesses, to make profession of their faith, and to abiure their errors in open Parliaments, royall iurisdiccions, and comonalities. This Edict then must be confirmed as a fundamentall law of State, and the King prest, to assemble the three Estates of the Realme, as hee had promised by the articles of the peace. *Henry* grants a conuocation, the first day of September at *Blois*: there (in the presence of the notablest persons of euery Prouince, Seneshalty and Baylewikie,) to propound freely the complaints and griefes of euery man, but not meddling with any practises, or fauouring the priuate passions of any. Cennocation of the Estates.

But amidst these Commissions from the King, the League wanted no policie to send secretly (to them that were most affectionate to the aduancement of their desseins, and to the most passionate Leaguers of the Realme) articles and remembrances which they should put into their instructions, and labour to beechosen of the Parliament. So as in a manner all the Deputies carried the badge of the League, and their instructions were conformable to those which had bene sent vnto them. The King comes first to *Blois*: hee giues order for the place, and for the Deputies lodgings. The Duke of *Guise* followes: but it was a great indiscretion for the Duke to goe to *Blois*, seeing the King would not come to *Paris*. The Deputies come one after another but the King finding not the number sufficient to begin so solemne an act, he defers it vntill October.

In the meane time, the King studies, by the credit which his authoritie giues him over the three estates of his Realme, to bring the Duke of *Guise* into open vewe, and to receiue punishment for all his offences past. And the Duke assures himselfe, that the most part of the Deputies would countenance his cause, and would serue him as instruments to controll the Kings power. So euery one labours to aduance his desene, and to deceiue one another: but hee which shall be deceiued, will verifie, that there is danger in delays. The sixteenth of October all the Deputies were readie, for the Clergie a hundred thirtie and foure Deputies, amongst others foure Arche-Bishops, one and twentie Bishops, and two Generalls of Orders: for the Nobilitie, a hundred and fourescore gentlemen: for the third estate, a hundred fourescore and euen Deputies, all lawyers, or marchants. The seuenteenth day, being the first sitting of the best wits of all *France*, raiuisht euery man with hope to heare rare propositions, and resolutions of great affaires for the reformation of the State. The Kings oration being full of liuely affection, true magnanimitie, and pertinent reasons, deliuered with an admirable eloquence and grace, without any stay, will testifie for euer, that he exceeded all the Princes of his age in speaking well, and that hee could grauely, pertinently, and very soderly make answer to the most important occasions that were offered.

Montelon keeper of the seale, continued his proposition, commended the zeale and integritie of his maiesties intentions, promised the Estates, that vnder his happie command, they should reape in this conuocation, the same effects which had bin tried in diuers raignes: hee exhorteth the Clergie to restore the beaultie and dignitie of the Church: The Nobilitie, to frame themselves after the mould of pietie, bounitie, iustice, and

1588. and other vertues of the *French* nation, so much honoured in all histories: The people A
to reuerence Iustice, and to obserue good orders, to fite wrangling sutes, swearing, bish-
phemies, play, lust, v. surie, v. iust, getting, corrupt trading, and other vices, which be the
seeds of troubles, and seditions, and the ruine of flourishing Estates. He layes open the
Kings great debts, his charge and care to roote out heresies, his religion, pietie, and deu-
otion, ending his speech with a commendation, vnder the Kings obedience, of con-
union and concord, necessarie for the maintenance of religion.

The Clergie. *Renauld of Beaulne* Arche-Bishop of *Bourges*, Patriarke and Primat of *Aquitania*,
thanked the King for his loue to his subiects: and God, to haue installed on the throne
of this Crowne, a King endued from his youth, with the spirit of wisdom, to gouerne
his people, who had cast the lightning of the high God, euen vpon the face of the ene-
mies of his diuine Maiestie, hauing by diuers and dangerous voyages, through diuers B
nations gotten the knowledge of affaires, who by his onely wisdom and vertue, had
lately dispersed a great and mightie armie of strangers, and giuen vs hope, that vnder
so good and great a King, wee shall see heresie suppressed, peace confirmed, the ser-
uice of God established, Churches and Temples restored, Iustice and peace embrac-
ed, charitie abound among men, & by vritie of religion begin here on earth to raigne
with Christ, the *Idea* and patterne of that heavenly kingdome, whereunto wee aspire.

The Nobilitie. The Baron of *Sensci* testified the Nobilities affection to the Kings seruice, confessing,
that to him alone belongs to worke those good effects, for the establishment of the ho-
nour of God, the Catholike religion, things profitable for the Estate, and necessarie C
for his people, offering in the name of them of his order, the zeale, faith, and dutie
which the gentlemen of *France* haue alwayes borne vnto their Kings, their armes,
meanes, liues, & persons, to maintaine the obedience, honour, seare, & respect, where-
vnto the lawes both of God and man tie the subiects to their Soueraigne.

The third Es-
tate. *Michell Marteau* Prouost of the marchants at *Paris*, President for the third estate,
first thanked God, who had cast his eyes of pittie vpon this realme, in the extremitie
of their afflictions, then the King to haue yeelded to the humble petitions of his sub-
iects, heard their griefes and complaints, and shewed a great desire to restore his peo-
ple to their former Estate, religion to her former dignitie, to rule and settle all orders
in their ancient forme, being disordered by this iniurie of times, protesting that in so
doing their most humble and faithfull seruice should not faile vnto the last breath. D
And to the first sitting ended.

The oth of
the vnion re-
nued. In the second, the twelofday following, the King at the instance of the Arche-bishop
of *Ambrun*, the Earle of *Brissie*, and the Aduocate *Bernard*, speakers for the three Es-
tates, to content the importunitie of the League, did againe sweare the oth of the vn-
ion, lately made at *Roman*, and making his Edict of Iuly last a fundamentall lawe of the
Realme, to bind him, them, and all their posteritie (yet not derogating from the liberties
and priuileges of the Nobilitie) he caused it to be publickly read by *Ruze Seignieur* of
Beaulieu his chief Secretarie of State. And to make the memorie of so sollemn an othe
more autentike to posteritie, he commaunded the said Secretarie to make an act, that E
all the orders of the realme had sworne in the bodie of the state, all with one voyce,
the Clergie laying their hands vpon their breasts, and the rest lifting them vp to hea-
uen. An oth performed with great ioy, and generall reuiuing of that happie acclama-
tion of, *God save the King*; so many yeares forgotten among the *French* nation: and
followed with a singular testimonie of the Kings clemencie, remitting the *Parli-*
sens offence, for the common good of the Catholikes of *France*, and the ease of
his people, whose miseries made him treade vnder foote, his iust displeasure. Hold
(saith hee to the Prouost of marchants of *Paris*) this word assured, as from the mouth
of your King, and take heed that *Paris* fall not into a relaps, which will be fatal and not
recoverable.

But there was a brute spread ouer all *France*, that vnder colour of this assembly, they F
practised an exemplary reuenge against the chiefe of the Estates. Advertisements came
from all parts: this seare went from Chamber to chamber: the most apprehensue de-
sired

A fitted to be satisfied. The Arch-Bishoppe of *Ambrun* makes report vnto the King, 1588
Lenore (saith the King) the liberties and prerogative of the Parliament: they ought to
trust in my word. It is a sinne to growe in ielousie of your King: and these reports come not
but from such as haue no loue to their King, but seeke to make him odious to his people. There
shall neuer any cause growe from me to disjurb this assembly. In the end, the familiarity
and thewes of loue from the King to the Duke and Cardinall of *Guise*, and (for their
sakes) to the chiefe of the League, made them lay aside all suspicion of a bloudie act,
whereof they were aduertised from all parts. And without doubt, if the League had
not stirred vp the coales of forepassed indignities, the fire of his wrath had not per-
chance deuoured them.

B This blast past ouer, there are other attempts no lesse dangerous. The League sets
them on worke that beares their badge, to hit the marke whereat they aimed. To
put the King in disgrace, and to install the Duke of *Guise* in his thorne, (for the King
of *Naurris* is now by this new fundamentall lawe, excluded from the royall suc-
cession.) But what meane they to do? The Collosse they seeke to build, shall bee their
minette fire they kindle, shall burne them: the knife they forge, shall be thered in their
owne bowells, and finally shall leaue of this League a shamefull and reprochfull
memory. To hit this pretended marke, they must make the Kings actions odious to
all the world, reproch to him his vreasonable prodigality, his dissembling, the op-
pression of his people, the erecting of newe offices, thereby to bandie against him
C the most apparent families of the third Estate, wronged in the suppression of them: or
elle (neglecting to redresse it,) they should declare him an enemy to the people, and a
tyrant ouer his realme, and so the people should presently resolute to confine him in-
to a monastery.

They still lay before him the wonderfull coldnesse of the greatest part of the Ca-
tholikes to his loue and obedience, seeing themselves forced to liue a nongest them
that had burnt their Churches, profaned their altars, massacred the Prelates & spoiled
their goods. They beseech him to defend the Church, and to prefer the iniuries done
to religion, before the violences committed against the state. They propound vnto him,
the excessive impositions and subsidies, which had already withdrawne most part of
D his subiects: and the filthy auarice of strangers, who by continual inuentions did cruelly
impouerish *France*. They repress vnto him the abuses of the gouernment, the bestow-
ing of benefices to all men indifferently, either married, or souldiars, the lechery, disso-
lutes and ignorance, of Prelates: the sale of Offices and places of iudgement. They ex-
hort him not to deale in spirituall causes, or at the least to proceede holily, as it be-
longs to holie things. To degrade a great number, as well of Prelates, as of ciuill
magistrates in soueraigne Courts and inferior Iurisdiccions, and to punish with
death those ministers which by corruption haue crept into the Church, Iustice and
gouernment, else hee cannot preserve the Estate. In the end, they presse him to re-
forme the excesse and disorders of his Court, the which are odious to so many
E noble spirits, fraught with holinesse, magnanimity and courage, to so many great and rich
maides as be among the Nobility, which beeing employed, would in fewe moneths re-
pare the ruines of this Estate.

Such as find themselves interested in the cutting off the superfluous number of of-
fices, and in the buying of their places, dissuade the King from this resolution, but to
maintaine them in the honours which they enioye vnder the countenance of his Ma-
iesty. The third Estate exhibit their complaints, of the excesse of taxes, and subsidies,
wherein they are oppressed, of the customes, forraine impositions, rents vpon salt, en-
tries, loans, gifts, increase & decrease of the prizes of money, with many other exac-
tions and furcharges, whereof the King receiued not any benefite, but what was dipt in
the bloud of his poore people. The Nobility complaines of seruices done without re-
compence, & indifferet distributiō of the Kings liberality. The Clergy exclaime, that
money which hath bin drawn from the, had nothing aduanced the cause of religion.
Fro complaints of the languishing people, grew the suppression of officers of the new
creation,

Practises to
make the
king odious.

1588 creation, and an intent to ease their subsidies. But oh politique stratagemes! The King yeelding to haue them reduced to the yeare 1576, sees himselfe deprived of all meanes to leuy his armies, and to entertayne the greatnesse of his Maiesties Estate. If he refuseth it, an occasion is giuen to murine the Estates, to chase away such as are neere his person, and to giue him a gouernour.

The Duke of *Guise* on the one side, dissuades the King to subiect his authority so much: but on the other side he prickes them forward to be vehement in their pursuits. In the end the King passeth this graunt of reduction: but he hopes to make it knowne vnto the Estates, that with so small meanes he cannot maintaine his royall dignity, nor the warre against the hereticks, which they had so solemnly sworne. They deuote of meanes to make vp the stocke, and demande an account of such as had gouerned the treasure, and abused the Kings bounty.

Effects of the
Duke of Ne-
uers army.

But whilest they turne ouer their papers at the Parliament, let vs see the progresse of the two armies which we had left in field. That of the Duke of *Neuers* consisted of *French, Swisses* and *Italians*, with many voluntary gentlemen. *Sagonne* was Marshall of the light horse, *la Chastre* Marshall of the field, *Chastaigneray*, *Lauerdin* and many others commanded the troupes. *Mauleon* was the first object of their armes. It is a rathernesse to be obstinate in the defence of a place, which is not to be held: but it is a treachery to ill intreate them whome we haue receiued to composition. So this first victory was bathed with their bloods, who trusting in the force of their courages, neglected the weakenesse of their walls. *Montagu* was defended some daies by *Cocombiers*, who at the first saluting the Duke with a furious skirmish, putts him to some losse. But the Cannon hauing both shaken their walles and their constancies, they entered into capitulation, the which was honourable graunted the last day of November.

The Duke of
Mayenne
stay at Lion
suspect to
Mandrot.

La Ganache, situated vpon the marches of *Brittaine* and *Poitou*, annoyed both the one and the other Prouince. Let vs leaue the armie there, to see howe the Duke of *Mayenne* spends his time at *Lion*. The desciins too lightly grounded vpon a peoples mutiny, are alwaies ruinous. The Duke of *Mayenne* knowes it well: and moreover there is nothing but blowes to be gotten in *Daulphiné*. He desires rather to attend the issue of the Parliaments in a pleasing and delightfull abode: but this stay is a great scourge to *Mandrot*. He fears to bee dispossessed of his gouernment. It is giuen to the Duke of *Nemours*, and therefore he wonderfully suspects the Duke of *Mayennes* presence. Finally hee grewe so zealous, as seized with apprehension, with the cholicke, gaueuer, the goutte, and the fluxe, he carried (the foure and twentieth of November) this testimony into the other world, by the mouth of father *Edmond Anger* a Iesuite, in his funerall sermon. That he had neuer signed the League, & that he died firme in his religion and the Kings seruice.

Whilest the King labored at the Parliament, to cut off all difficulties which prolonged the warre, and the Duke of *Mayenne* being at *Lion* suffered the heat of of his passage into *Daulphiné* to growe colde: *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy* foreseeing the dissipation of this Estate, hee thought that as a sonne and husband of two daughters illued fiō the bloud of *France*, he should be the first which should set his hand to the diuision. The marquisate of *Salusses* is in the midst of his territories, he thinks, that for such a prise he may well breake friendship and alliance with the King his neere kinsman, who of neere curtesie had newly deliuered vnto him *Sauignan* and *Pignerol*.

The Marquis-
sate of *Salusses*
turne it to
the Duke of
Sauoy.

With this dessein (seeing the Kings thoughts otherwise engaged then beyond the Alpes,) he makes a leuy of men, threatens *Geneua*, makes a shewe to beleege *Montferiat*, causeth the Marquis of *Saint Sorlin* to go to horse, and on all Saints night surpriseth the Towne of *Carmagnole*, and then the Cittadell, being vnfinished of victualls, which *Saint Siluie* successor to *la Casse* had drawne forth, with hope (saied hee) to refresh them: so as in lesse then three weekes he possessed all the *Marquisate*, leaving a reprochfull suspicion against the Captaines of the *Cittadell*, to haue treacherously exchanged

1588 A exchanged the double Canons of that ancient arenall of the warres of *France*, beyond the Alpes, with the double pistolets of *Spain*. This conquest made the Duke proud, and already in conceite he had deuoured both *Prouence* and *Daulphiné*. For a colour he wikes both to the Pope and King: That the generall respect of the Church had made him seize vpon these places, least *Les Diguieres* should make it a retreat and refuge for *Huguenots*: and the priuate interest of his Estates, which hee desires to maintaine in the puritie of the ancient religion, vnder the obedience of the holy Sea: and by his Ambassadour hee disguiseth this wrong with the goodlyest colours that may be.

Hee makes a shew, not to hold these places, but vnder the Kings authoritie: but in time hee vsurpes all actes of Soueraignty: hee displaceh his Maiesties officers, beates downe the armes of *France*, sets vp the crosse of *Sauoy*, and in a brauery hee causeth peeces of siluer to be coyned with a centaure treading a Crowne ouerwhelmed vnder his foore, and carrying this deuise, *Oportune*. The King iustly moued with this vsurpation, applies this branche to the body of the conspiracies of the League: he resolues now to pacifie the ciuill warres, to attend after forrainers: and euen then hee determines to giue the Protestants a peace, and to vse their assistance against such as make a benefit of the discords of the realme. Such as respected truly the glorie of the *French*, gaue him to vnderstand, that hee must appease both *Huguenots* and *Ligner*, and seeke reuenge of this new indignitie: and hunt the Wolfe which breakes into the fold, whilest the Shepheards are at variance. Shall a petty Prince take from a King of *France*, the pawne which remains to recouer *Naples* and *Milan*? foure hundred peeces of Canon, which might beate the proudest Fortes of the *Spaniards* to powder? that ancient see of *Daulphiné*, comprehended in the gifts which Prince *Hubert* made to the Crowne of *France*, whereof our Kings haue so often receiued homage and fealty of the Marquises, and haue often seized thereon for forfeiture and treachery?

The Kings
desseigne vp-
on this suc-
cede.

All the Kings seruants, all the Courts of Parliament, all the assemblie of Estates, iudge that these be the effects of the League, and that this inuasion is not without the intelligence of the Duke of *Guise*: euen those which fauour his part, cannot digest it. But to auoyde this common hatred which was ready to fall vpon him, hee beseecheth his Maiesty, onely to assure his people, and make them to taste the frutes of contentment, which he had promised in the othe of the holy vnion, that hee would quench the fire which the *Huguenots* did nourish in this realme, and giue him this commission against the Stranger, he will be the first that shall passe the Alpes, to make the *Sauoy* cast vp his gorge.

But could they hope for any remedy from him, who by his continuall practises with strangers, had giuen life and motion to the mischief? So the King, considering that neyther his Edict of reuinion, nor the othe to depart from all associations, produced the effects were promised: and that the League (consenting to the pernicious desseignes of the Stranger,) had made the way for the breach of the sayd vnion, hee thinks himselfe no more bound to the othe of this vnion, and euen then denieth to bee reuenged of all the offences past. In the meane time he dissembles his discontent.

As these newes troubled the assemblie at *Blois*, the King of *Nauarre* (seeing the practises of the League had excluded him, whereas hee should hold the first place) let another in the Towne house at *Rochelle*, and by their aduise hee sent (in the name of the *French* exiled for religion, a common petition to the Estates, beseeching the King, To restore them the liberty of the first Edict, which they call of *Ianuaire*. To appoint a Nationall Councell, where controuersies of religion may be mildred, futed, and holily resolved, To grant them restitution, and free enioying of their goods, To suffer their petition to bee inrowled, and the contents thereof granted by his clemencie, to the end that nothing may bee done to their preiudice.

Assembly and
petition of
the Prote-
stants.

Nothing lesse. This petition was directly against the principall intentions of the
P p p p Estates.

1588. Estates, affected to aduance the League. And therefore, not satisfied with the King's owne mouth a more particular declaration, touching the perpetuall insubordination of the King of *Nauarre*, and other Princes of the blood his Cousins, adherents (Lutherans) and fautors of hereticks, to the succession of this Crowne.

The conclusion of this Parliament should haue bene for the good quiet of the Common-weale. And doubtlesse some smal number (whose wills were not tied to the passions of the Leaguers,) wished that remedy which had bin practised in former times against most pernicious heresies: which was a free and lawfull Councell, vniuerall or nationall: but the greater part ouer-ruled both the King and the Estates. The League, to ruine the state, will ouerthrowe the pillars, which be the Princes of the blood: and if the branches of *Valois* and *Bourbon*, that is to say, if all the race of Saint *Leuys* be not degraded, they cannot passe ouer the Crowne to the family of *Lorraine*. The King by his Edict promisseth to dispose of the succession: but he and the Queene his wife are yet in the vigor of their age, they hope that God will blesse them with heires males. Hee takes no pleasure they should harpe vpon this string: it is a blemish to his authority, and disturbes him before he is readie to sleepe: when as a Prince hath named his successor, his testament is made.

Yet he is content to satisfie the violent appetits of the League. He suffers them to dispose of the succession, and (in the assemblie of all his subjects) to exclude the lawfull successor: hee is content they should propound that which most part of the deputies had already resolved. The Clergie had the 4. of Nouember condemned the King of *Nauarre* for an heretike, the chiefe of them, relapse, excommunicate, deprived of the government of *Guienne*, and of all his dignities, vnworthy of all successions, Crownes and realmes. The Arch-bishop of *Ambrun*, the Bishop of *Bazas*, the Abbot of *Citeaux* and other Clergie men impart it to the deputies of the Nobility and third Estate: all consent to the first conclusion, and appoint twelue of euery chamber to acquaint the King with their resolutions.

But the King of *Nauarre* had often giuen them to vnderstand, that he was borne during the permission of both religions, instructed and bred vp in one from the which he cannot in conscience depart, without better instruction: neither hope nor dispaire of a Crowne can drawe him to so violent and rash a change: he should thereby incur the blame of inconstancie, infidelity and hipocrisie: He is, and alwaies will be readie to receiue instruction from a free and lawfull Councell. These submissiōs are full of iustice and consideration: he defends nothing obstinately, it is the honour and zeale of his conscience that binds him. There is no reason then (saied the King) to condemn him without hearing. Let vs consider with iudgement & foresight, whether it be expedient to summon him againe, to sweare the Edict of vniōn, and to declare himselfe a Catholike.

The Parliament is not of this aduice. The Cardinall of *Bourbon* his Vncle (say the deputies) hath once obtayned absolution for him: the Queene Mother hath labored to winne him. The King hath sent Doctōrs to reclaim him: he is bred vp from his Cradle in this newe opinion, condemned by the Councell of *Trent* and many others. The Consistory hath receiued him into grace, he is fallen into the error which he had abjured: he is therefore an heretike: hee is relapse, and vnworthy of obedience, vnworthy of respect, and vnworthy to be praied for. The holy see of *Rome* hath declared him a Schismaticke, excommunicate, incapable of the succession of the Crowne: the Estates therefore must ratifie this sentence. To conclude, an Heretike cannot raigne in *France*, it is an incompatible thing with the Coronation and oath which he ought to take, hurtfull to the honour of God, and preiudiciall to the good of this Realme.

Soft and faire: nature and the Common consent of nations will, that the accused should bee heard. God himselfe, who hath no neede to bee satisfied by humane witnessess, and is not bound to any iurisdiction, would not condemne our

1588. But must before he called him into iudgement; examined him, checked him, and heard his excuses. Heare then the King of *Nauarre*: he may say vnto you, that the Pope himselfe hath noted him of heresie: hee knoweth not yet any other truth, then that herein the Queene of *Nauarre* his mother hath bred him. If he hath at any time yielded vnto the force and violence of the time, hee had not then his will free, and as soone as opportunity gaue him meanes to retire from Court into his Countie of *Auern*, he framed his beliefe to the modell of that which had bene prescribed him: but protesting alwayes to the Estates and Parlements of *France*; that he hath no greater desire in his soule, then to see the seruice of God vntied vnder one religion, by the meanes of a free and lawfull assemblie of the vniuersall Church, or a nationall Councell of the *French* Churches.

The Deputies notwithstanding (especially the Clergie,) will allowe of no reason. They are for the most part transported with passion, and apprehend nothing but what may aduance the League. If the King refuseth this article, the Duke of *Guise* will dissolve the Estates, and laie all the blame vpon his Maiestie. He hath so well provided for his affaires, as he holds himselfe master of the Castle of *Blois*, and of the Kings person. There is neither gate, hall, chamber, nor Cabinet, but the keyes are at his pleasure: He hath great forces ready. He checkes them that speake not to his liking: their voices and consents are forced in the Parliament house: he puts in, and puts out, and doth what he pleaseth. Those whom the King and Parlements hold importable, finde access and support with him: To conclude, see the first Prince of the blood, the first of the most ancient, and most famous house that doth at this day weare a Crowne, the first of that royall branch of *Bourbon*, which onely remaines after many sisters and cousins of *Anjou*, *Alençon*, *Eureux*, *Berry*, *Bourgogne*, *Angoulême*, and *Orleans*, and which onely succeeded that of *Valois*, deprived of the right which nature hath giuen him; without calling him, or hearing his iustificatiōs. The Clergie sayes, he ought to be no more cited, his heresie, his incapacity to the Crowne is apparent. The Bishop of *Chaalons* in *Champagne*, deliueres this conclusion to the Nobility. The Bishop of *Cominge*, to the third Estate: and the Arch-bishop of *Ambrun*, to the King, to make a law thereof: and then followed the last act of the League: the death of a dispossessed King.

But oh men! the Eternall lookes on you, and laughes at your Counsells: he nowe comes vpon the stage to act his part, and to bring forth effects far from his thoughts. The King is aduertised from all parts, of a great conspiracy against his Maiestie. The Duke of *Effernon* assures him by letters. The Duke of *Mayenne* (iealous it may be of his brothers greatnes) aduertiseth his Maiesty from *Lion*, by a Knight of worship: and the Duke of *Anmale*, from *Blois* it telle by his owne wife, that the Duke of *Guise* had very pernicious desseines: that the houre of the execution did approach: that they refused to seize on him, and to lead him to *Paris*.

These aduertisements kindle a newe courage in the King, hee meanes to preuent him, and discouers his minde to foure, whom he knowes as faithfull to his Maiesty, as enemies to the damnable projects of the League: He must suppress this newe starr in the East, whom the people worshipped already. The present necessity will not suffer him to bring him forth in viewe: the Popes respect retaines him this oath to protect the Estates, makes him irresolute: the troubles, which this execution will cause in people disposed to the League, makes him doubtfull: yet he must die. Hee hath no other way in *France* but is a simple subject: and yet without the Kings authority, contrary to his Maiesties commandment, he hath built a League, had intelligence with the stranger, leauied soldiers, attempted vpon townes, and broken the publike peace. He continues his resistance against the oath of the Edict of vniōn, with the Cardinall *Morosse*, Legate of the Pope, and *Don Inigo* of *Mendoza* Ambassador of *Spain*. He confirms his priuie negotiations with the Gouernors of revolted townes. Hee published by his declarations, that hee hath not taken armes; but for Gods and the Kings seruice: and yet by the surprise of so many townes, he hath hindered the aduance-

1588 ment of the Kings army in *Guienne* against the *Huguenots*. The object of his armes is the safety and religion of the Catholikes, and to deprive the King of *Nauarre* of all hope of succession to the Crowne: and in the meane time it appears, that he hath fought the loue of the King of *Nauarre*: he hath promised to giue him his sonne in hostage, and to meete him with seenteene Princes of his house, at the riuer of *Lore*, to serue him, and make him King of *France*. Many letters intercepted discover, that after his maiesties pardon of many capitall crimes, he renues his disleynes, against the King and against his estate. The surprile of the Marquisate of *Saluffes* is by his intelligence. He disgraceth the Kings actions, he blames him to haue vnwillingly made warre against the *Huguenots*: to haue sold the said Marquisate, that vnder colour of recovering it, hee might diuert the warre against the *Heretikes*. In steed of reducing the Townes held by the *Huguenots*, hee keepes his Captaines and men of warre at *Blois*, vpon assurance of a profitable change. Hee hath caused bookes to bee Printed in fauour of the lawfull succession of the house of *Lorraine* to the Crowne.

Objections against the Duke of Guise

At the Barricadoes this voice was heard: *It is no longer time to dally, let vs lead my Lord to Reimes*. He hath suffered himselfe to be saluted by the people, with cries and acclamations which belong onely to the Soueraigne Prince. He hath vaunted that he was able to take the King prisoner, or to do worse, although he entered but with eight horses into *Paris*, being assured of the force and wills of the Cittizens: He hath seized on the places of strength within *Paris*: made Governours, Magistrates and officers at his pleasure: He hath so corrupted the Estates, as the Deputies speake not, but by his mouth: they produce nothing but what hath beene first examined in his Council. Many cry out, that he staves too long before he strikes. Hee speakes no more but in termes of a Souereigne, with pride, disdain and threats: He hath refused to subscribe the Edi& which the King would publish, in cases of treason: He doth already seale Letters patents with his great seale: He forbids the Commons to giue victuals or munition to such companies as the King had sent vnto them. There remains no more, but to consume in his person that ancient greatnes sometimes vsurped by the Maors of the pallace: and to deale with the King, as *Charles Martel* had done with *Childeric*. In the ende, they represent vnto the King, the Proesse of *Salcedo*, a party in this conspiracy, the counsells of *Nancy*, and of *Paris* in Lent last, whereof the chiefe point was: To seize vpon the Kings person: the instructions of the Aduocate *David*: the letters of the *Queene Dowager of Denmarke*, to the Duke of *Lorraine* her sonne: the attempt of the Barricadoes, and (to heape vp the measure) the practices, corruptions, and violences done by the Duke of *Guise* to the Estates. The like and lesse crimes haue in former ages brought more famous heads then the Duke of *Guises* to the blocke. The Leagues and practices of an Earle of *Harcourt*, of a Constable of *Saint Paul*, of a Duke of *Nemours*, haue brought them to shameful endes.

Pope *Sixtus* now liuing, hath of late put to death the Earle of *Pepoli* of the noblest families of *Italy*, only for that he had concealed some banished men in his house. The Duke of *Guise* himselfe did of late pursue with all violence the disobedience of the Duke of *Anjou*. His holiness hath beleueed, that religion was the onely motive of the Duke of *Guises* armes. The Barricadoes, with the vsurpation of the Bastille, and *Bois de Vincennes*, haue made him to change his beleefe. Hee himselfe hath layde vnto the bishop of *Paris*, that the fact was too bold, that the estate is interested, and that the offence is irreconcilable. Hee hath written vnto the King, aduising him to assure himselfe of the Estates at what price soeuer: that in such imminent dangers, hee must seeke out all extraordinary remedies: and vpon this consideration hee graunted the King a confessor to absolve him of all, reseruing the matter to the holy sea.

Objection.

Yea, but the Estates are vnder the kings oath & prote&ti&. With out doubt an oath was neuer brok& without rep&ntance. But how is the soueraigne bound to his subiect who by rebellion

1588. Rebellion hath violated his oath to his Prince. Necessitie forceth the law: great punishments of rebels haue beene often done in great assemblies. The Kings of *England* and *Poland* do practise it well, and our *Charles* hath died his sisters nuptials with more blood then wine. Moreover, the Duke of *Guise* hath great credit with the people of *France*. It is true: but his partie hath no credit but with the multitude: the which is a very moueable and inconstant foundation. Men of account, Townes, gouernours, and the Kings officers, mutine not but by meanes of the multitude, and seeing him fallen that gaue mouing to their rebellion, they will containe themselves. Lige, say they who feare least this violent counsell which they gaue him in to vrgent a necessitie, (should be discovered) the Duke of *Guise* will surprise you. They haue already published in *Paris*, that this is your climacterical yeare: they shewe forth the rasor that shall shauo you: they demaund how long they shall suffer you to line in a Cloyster. The lightning goes before the thunder: the guilt of treason, is extraordinary in the head: to the punishment goes before the instructions and formes of Iustice. One must punish the offendor, and then informe of the offence. The mildest common-weales, most politike, and greatest enemies to rigour, haue alwaies held, *That whereas the estate is in danger, they may begin with the execution*. In the end the King is faultied, hauing remained long in suspence, betwixt the rigour of his reuenge, and the mildnesse of his owne disposition.

An other.

The Kings last resolution

By the Kings countenance, or some wordes let slippe by some one of the foure, they find it dangerous to continue long at the Estates. But the more the Duke of *Guise* enters into discourse, the more the Kings good countenance disswades him. And the Archbishop of *Lion* attending a Cardinals hatt within a few dayes from *Rome*: Retrying yourselfe from the Estates (said he vnto him) you shall beare the blame to haue abandoned *France* in so important an occasion, and your enemies making their profit of your absence, wil soon ouerthrowe al that which you haue with so much paine effected for the assurance of religion.

Man doth often loose his iudgement vpon the point of his fall. Aduertisements were come to him from all parts, both within & without the realme, from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Lorraine* and *Sauoye*, that a bloodie Catastrophe would dissolue the assemblie. The Almanakes had well obserued it: it was generally bruted in the Estates, that the execution should be on *Saint Thomas* day. The eue before his death, the Duke himselfe sitting eare to dinner, found a seroule vnder his napkin, aduertising him of this secret ambush. But (as ambition blinds those whome shee hath raised vp to the pikes nest, and the faine of Gods iudgements confounds such as trust in their authoritie) he writ vnderneath, with his owne hand, *They dare not*: and threw it vnder the table.

The Duke of *Guise* following the counsell of the Cardinall *Morosin*, had the one and twentieth of December incensed the King a new, by some bold and presumptuous needles. Lige, said he) being I find that the affaires decline from bad to worse, and that those things which seemed curable, are growne desperate: I beseech your Maestie to receiue againe the charge you haue committed vnto mee, and giue me leaue to retire my selfe. He spake this, to the end that by this discontent hee might take an occasion to dissolue the estates, and bringing the King into extreame hatred with his subjects, hee might play the last act of his long foreplotted Tragedie. The King had the two and twentieth day following, prepared seuen of his fine and forte: they were gentlemen whome hee had appointed to be neere his person, besides the Cardinall Archers of his gard) to execute his will, and by many dispatches had assured those Townes which hee held to bee most mutinous. The three and twentieth, hee troubles his Councell somewhat more carely in the morning then was vsuall, hauing a deuotion to go after dinner, and to spend the holidayes at our Ladie of *Gen*. The Cardinalls of *Vendosme*, *Guise*, and *Gondy*, the Arche-Bishop of *Lion*, the Marshalls of *Almont* and *Retz*, the Lords of *d'O*, *Rambouillet*, *Maintenon*, *Marcell* and *Petremolie* ouerfeers of the Treasor, were assembled. The Duke of *Guise* comes, and attending the beginning of the Councell, sends for a handkercher: (the groom of his

1588. his chamber had forgotten to put one into his hole.) *Pericard* his Secretarie, mada-
ring to commit this new aduertisement to any mans report, ties a note to one of the
corners thereof, saying, *Come forth and see your selfe, else you are but a dead man.* But
they stay the page that carried it. *Larchant* Captaine of the Kings gard causeth ano-
ther to be giuen vnto him with all speed by *Saint Prix* the chiefe groom of the Kings
chamber. The Castle gates are shutt, and the Councell sits about eight of the
clocke.

The spirit of man doth often prophecie of the mischeefe that doth pursue him.
So whilest they dispute of a matter propounded by *Petremolle*, the Duke fees
strange alterations, and extraordinary distemperatures, and amidst his distrust, a great
fainting of his heart. *Saint Prix* presents vnto him some prunes of *Brignolles*, and
raisins of the sunne. Hee eats, and thereupon the King calls him into his Cabinet by
Renoll one of the secretaries of his Estate, as it were to confer with him about some
secret of importance. The Duke leaues the Councell to passe vnto the Cabinet: and
as he did sit vp therapistric with one hand to enter, they charge him with their swords,
daggers, and pertuisians: yet not with so great violence, but he shewed the murderers
the last endeauours of an inuincible valour and courage.

The Duke of
Guise slaine.

Thus liued, and thus died *Henry of Lorraine Duke of Guise*: a Prince worthie to
be in the first rankes of Princes, goodly, great, tall of proportion, amiable of counte-
nance, great of courage, readie in the execution of his enterprises, popular, dissem-
bling, but covering the secrets of his minde, with his outward behauiour, embracing
all times and occasions, politike in stratagems, making much of his souldiars, and ho-
nouring his Captaines. But a Prince who hath blemished the greatest beautie of his
practises by extreame ambition, factions, a great bragger, vaine in beleeuing of South-
sayers, who assured him of his greatnes, and of the change of his familie into a royaltie,
proud, not able to submit his hopes, euen to those from whence hee should hope for
his aduancement, giuing men to vnderstand by his inclination, that he was not borne
to obey, but to commaund, and with this dessein, he framed the minds of the *French*,
by his first actions, to beleue that hee had partes fit to make a strange alteration in
a Realme. But let vs applie that great diuine Oracle, and tremble at the apprehen-
sion of the horror of Gods iudgements, *For this cause God will destroy thee in the end: D*
hee will pull thee out of thy tabernacle, and thy root out of the land of the liuing. The iust shall
see it and feare, and shall laugh at him, saying: behold the man that hath not taken God for his
ayde and succour, but hath trusted to the multitude of his riches, and hath fortified him-
selfe in vanitie.

At the noyse hereof, the Cardinall of *Guise* (being amazed) recouers the doore
to go away. *Larchant* staies him with the Arche-bishop of *Lyon*, and lodgeth them in a
little chamber aboue the Kings, lately built for Capuchins and *Fuellans*. The Cardi-
nall in the heat of this tumult casts forth some words, which he would neuer haue de-
liuered being well aduised. They report it vnto the King. The King commaunds *La*
Baside and *Valansay*, being both of the fine and fortie to kill him. The first excuseth
himselfe, the other accepts the charge, and accompanied with fixe others, goes to the
Cardinalls chamber, to make him a companion of his brothers death: but being re-
adie to do the execution, I knowe not what cold apprehension quenched this heate,
which had moued him to bath his hands in the blood of so great a Prelat without re-
spect of his order.

The Cardinall of *Fourbon*, the Duchesse of *Nemours* (mother to the Duke of
Guise), the Duke of *Nemours* her sonne by the second marriage, the Prince *Gin-*
uille now Duke of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Elbauf* had at the same instant gards ap-
pointed them, to bee assured of their persons. *Pericard* being kept prisoner, discou-
ered all the practises of the League, and by the instructions hee had in his keeping, F
hee informed the King at large of all his maisters desseins. The Earle of *Brissac*,
Bis Daulphin and some other gentlemen (faithfull to the Duke of *Guise*) the Pre-
sident *Neully*, the Prouost of marchants at *Paris*, *Compan* & *Cotteblanche*, sherifes of
the

A the said Towne, and *Le Roy* Lieutenant of *Amiens*, were put in pryson: the rest stayed
neither for boots nor spurres to dislodge. 1588.

Rosieux Secretarie to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and sonne in Lawe to *Armonuile*
Maior of *Orleans*, had already by special posts, aduertised his master of what had pass-
& so practiseth them of *Orleans*, as *Entragues* comming from *Blois* to be assured of the
Towne found a generall reuolt. Doubtlesse the Inhabitants were inclined to the kings
obedience, if before he would haue graunted them, at their humble sute, an other go-
uernour at his maiesties choise then him, who at the first had ingaged them, and after-
wards by his wilfullnes suffred them to runne into the laborinth of rebellion. It
is good to yeeld something to a mutinous multitude, not to thrust them into
dysaire.

The execution done, the King carries newes therof to the Queene mother. *Madame*
(saith he) *I will hereafter raigne aloane, I haue no more companions.* She answered him,
God graunt my sonne it fall out well for you: but haue you giuen order to assure the Townes
where the name and memorie of the Duke of *Guise* hath credit and authority. This vnex-
pected speech did wonderfully moue the Queene Mother, but that of the Cardinall
of *Fourbon* gaue her a deadlie wound. *Ah Madame* (saied he, she comming to visit him
beeing a prisoner and sicke) *you haue brought us so slaughter.* She excusing her selfe
that shee had neither consented nor giuen Councell in this action, left the Cardinall
doubling his complaints, and transported with griefe she died the fift of *Iannary* fol-
lowing.

Death of the
Queene Mo-
ther.

Arnight they drawe the Cardinall and the Arch-bishoppe from their Chamber,
to lodge them in a straighter and more obscure place, and there to passe the night,
whilest that the King, with-held the considerations of the quality of a Prelate, a Peere
of *France*, Arch-bishop of *Reims*, Cardinall of *Rome*, and President of his order at the
Estates, consulted either of his execution, or freedome from prison.

But Iustice hath no respect of persons: and treason is a worse president in a Cardi-
nall then in a simple Preeft. Moreouer the Cardinall might succeed in his brothers
credit, and his threats seemed dangerous if he liued longer. So the King giues Cap-
taine *Gass* commission to kill him. He craues pardon: but foure hundred Crownes
do easilie finde foure ministers for the execution. The Arche-bishop had his life
saied, at the humble sute of the Baron of *Lux* his Vncle. The King loued this gentlema-
n and pretended to drawe from the Prelate all the Quintessence of the League. The pu-
nishment of these two, freed the King of *Nauarre* from being the cause of the misfe-
rit of these ciuill warres, seeing the King had thereby noted the first author of these
troubles. But this Prince was neuer seene without a singular constancy in his greatest
crosses, nor an admirable modestie in his highest prosperities. Hee vnderstands of the
death of two of his mightiest enemies, and would gladlie haue seene the Kings wrath
and forces turned against the house of *Lorraine*, whereby he might make his profit in
France by the fall thereof, and applie it to his aduantage. But Noble mindes neuer
locke on their enemies head, but with a heauie countenance. Hee laments not so
much the death but the misery of them of *Guise*: and yet continues his enterprife
which hee had vpon *Niort*, and the foure and twentieth of December, vnder the Con-
duct of *Saint Gelais*, *Parabieres*, *Harambure*, *Ranques*, *Preau*, *Valieres*, and others, hee
forced and scaled the Towne beeing amazed, and spoiled it, without any slaughter
but of twentie fine, or thirty men, no rauishing of women, nor iniurie to the Cler-
ge. The same daie hee receiued the Castell by composition from *Malicorne*, by the King
furnished with fine great Cannons, and two verie long Culuerins, with the
which the Lieutenant of the Towne a wicked and a turbulent man, wanted (when
they were cast) to salute the King when hee approached the walles of *Niort*.
F But the great furie of the victors armes, hauing slaine him in the beginning of
the fight, was the cause he made not an exemplary compensation, for the outrages and
the vnworthie speeches hee had vsed against the said King and the Princes of the
blood.

Niort taken
by the King
of *Nauarre*.

1589. The Duke of *Nemours*, on the other side battered *Ganache*, & the fourth of February. A
uing spent eight hundred Cannon shot), hee made two breaches, and gaue an assault,
with the losse of aboute three hundred men, and growing resolute in this conquest,
where his honor was engaged, hee lets *Plessisgouste*, Capitaine of the place vnderstand
that hee had wonne reputation enough in the defence of so weake a place: that his ob-
stinacie did preiudice the King of *Nauarres* affaires: That the King by the executi-
on done at *Blois*, had sufficiently declared warre against the League, and that he must
to imploy the saied Kings forces against them. *Plessis* aduertiseth the King his matter,
he marcheth to succor him, but his violent trauell on foote to get him a heate in an ex-
treame colde season, made him stay so dangerously sicke of a feuer at *Saint Pere*, as
the newes of his death was carried to Court. So *Plessis* yeelded vp the Towne, his B
armes and baggage saued.

Ganache yeel-
ded to the
Duke of *Nemours*.

But this royall armie came to nothing. The Duke went to refresh himselfe at his
house, wauering some moneths doubtfull of his party: and the King of *Nauarre* (whom
God would vie in to confute a time, to bring him vpon the Theater, nor as a disin-
herited Child, according to the intent of the Estates, but to reach men that their stuning
is in vaine against the decrees of his diuine providence,) hauing recovered his perfect
health, assured himselfe of the places neere vnto *Niort*, *Saint Maixant*, *Mallespaze*,
Chastelleraut, *Loudun*, *Lisle Bonchard*, *Mirebeau*, *Vinonne* and others, pretending to do
the King some great and notable seruice.

Error in State.

The King by this blowe had amazed, but not suppressed the League. He had be- C
gun well for the waranty of his Estate, but he must not do things by halves. In stead
of going to horse, making his armes to glister, shewing himselfe betwixt *Orleans* and
Paris, calling backe his army out off *Poitou*, to oppote it against the attempts of the
Duke of *Mayenne*, and (being armed, and the Townes amazed at this great effect) to
diuert the mischiefe which oppressed him within fewe monthes, hee returns to his
first remedies, being soft and fearefull, against a mad multitude: hee is content to send
words to retayne his subiects already entred into sedition: hee releaseth some priso-
ners whom he held least dangerous, continues the Estates, renues the Edict of Union,
and by a generall forgetting of what was past, thinks they will lay downe their armes
against him, to imploy them against the King of *Nauarre*. But a multitude growes D
mad with mildnesse, and is retheyned by leuerty. The King finds, that in lesse then
fixe weekes, *Tours* and *Baugency* are the frontiers of those prouinces that were vnder
his obedience. And whereas he thought to begin, hee nowe ceaseth to raigne. So
God, who had laughed at the vaine attempts of the one, will likewise heape vpon the
other, remedies no lesse violent then those he had practised.

Pa is sens info-
lencies.

Nowe manie awaked from their amazement, and began to stirre: the people studi-
ed of newe mutinies and new armes. *Orleans* shut vp their gates, the Towne made bar-
ricadoes against the Cittadell: *Paris* shewed the furie of their mutinie against the
Louure, they beate downe the Kings armes, impryson his seruants, and atwell by
their ransomes and spoile, as by a voluntary contribution, they leuie a great summe of
money for the warre. *Marteau*, *Cotteblanche*, *Compain*, *Roland* and others (deli-
uered vpon promises to reclaime the *Parisiens*) had contrariwise seduced the people.
The sixteene (let vs knowe them by their names, euen as they are set downe in an ora-
tion made by the Bourgeses of *Paris* to the Cardinal *Caietan*) *la Bruyere*, *Crucé*, *Fuf-
syle Clerc*, the Commillary *Louchard*, *Morlier*, *Senault*, the Comissary *de Bart*, *Drouart* an
Aduocate, *Aluequin*, *Emonnot*, *Iablier*, *Messier*, *Passart*, *Oudineau*, *Tellier* & *Morin* a pro-
cutor of the *Chasteler* (euery one of which had many Agents & followers) like sixteene
furies coming out off hell, sharpened their weapons, & kindled the coales of murder &
dissolutenes, first at *Paris*, & then in a maner in all the good townes of the realme, being
seasoned with the leuaine of these furious tribuns. The Preachers (fire brands of
these furies) came not into the pulpit, but to poure forth reproches, and injuries a-
gainst the King, and by an Iliade of Curtes to kindle the peoples mindes to rebellion.
The people came neuer from their sermons, but hauing fire in their heads, readines in
their

A their feet to runne, and disposition in their hands, to fall tumultuously vpon such as
were not branded with the marke of the League. Hee was neither a good nor a zea-
lous Catholike that had not a beadroule of outrages to detest and abhorre that execu-
tion of *Blois*.

The porters at the Palace babled nothing, but a cursing of the Kings life: an ele-
gieto lament the calamitie of these two bretheren: an oration in memorie of the
commendable exploits of the Duke of *Guisé*, in *Hongary* against the *Turke*, at *Iarnac*
against the Protestants, at *Poitiers*, at *Montcontour* against the *Reistres* of *Thore*, at *Vi-
mory* and at *Aunau*. They cried aloud at *Paris*: That *France* was now sicke, and could
not bee cured but by giuing her a drinke of *French* blood. And because they haue
not the bodie at their deuotion, those things he possesseth must suffer for it: his furni-
ture at the *Louure*, his pictures are broken, his armes beate downe, his images drag-
ged vp and downe, his great seale defaced: they call him impious, vniust, vilaine, pro-
phane, tyrant, damned. The Colledge of *Sorbonne* concludes by a publike act of the
7. of Ianuary, That the people of *France* are freed from the othe of obedience and feal-
tie which they ought to *Henry of Valois*, and that lawfully, and with a good conscience,
they may arme against him, receiue his reuenues, and imploy it to make warre against
him.

On the other side, *Charles* of *Lorraine* Duke of *Mayenne*, dreaming on his brothers
death, prouided for the assurance of his owne life, and consulted with the Arche-bi-
shops Officiall, the Lord of *Botheim* Seneshall of *Lionnois*, and some others of the
chiefs, whether there were any safety for him within their Towne. We are (sayd they)
bound vnto the King before all others. Make no tryall (we pray you) of your seruants,
in that which shall bee contrary to the Kings will. Arme not your selfe against him:
without doubt hee will seeke your seruice, when you shall submit the passion of re-
uenge vnto reason, and will aduance your houte to the good of all *France*, the which
trembles with apprehension of the calamities which this warre shall cause. If the
people call you, to set them at liberty, you shall abandon them to the spoile: and to
cerend the Monarchie against the King, you shall make your selfe the head of a con-
fused and monstrous Anarchie. God did neuer forget the protection of Kings against
their mutinous subiects. They bee the image of God, the children of heauen: and
whosoeuer armes against them, armes against heauen. Moreouer the winde of the
peoples fauour, may for a time fill your sayles, and carrie your desseignes vio-
lently to Sea, but they are inconstant, light, and disloyall. And if they haue
shaken off the yoke of dutifull obedience and loue to their King, what shall they
doe to a Prince, to whome they shall not bee bound, but as to the Protector of their
mutinie?

The Duke of
Mayenne
counselle.

They spake truly, for after the tryall of all sorts of governments, *France* must in the
end returne to a royaltie: and the Duke (by a commendable resolution,) might
haue vnited the mindes which his brother had diuided. But when as others repre-
sented vnto him the aduantage hee should haue to succeed in the fauour, credit, and au-
thoritie of his brother, and by consequence his owne hopes: hee reiects the integri-
tie of the first counsell: coniures all the friends of his houte to reuenge: parts from
Lyon Christmas day: in his passage hee assures himselfe of *Mafcon*, *Chalon* and
Iyon. The Court of Parliament there, refused to consent to this rebellion, and there-
fore the chiefe were driuen away, and some imprisoned, others (apprehending the
losse of their commodities,) did easily submit their neckes to the yoke of a new
Democratie. At *Dijon* hee receiued Letters from the King, promising to surcease
the punishment of forepassed faults, with the death of his bretheren, whom (sayd he,)
I haue caused to dye, to saue my life from the danger whereof you did aduertise me.
The Duke (attributing the Kings clemency to some weake & abiect affection, procee-
ding from feare, either to haue him his enemy, or to loose his friendship) grows obstinate
in his resolution, reiects the Kings officers, giues commission to *Rosne*, *S. Paul*, and others,
to command in *Champagne* & *Brie*, and to seize vpon the best places: he comes to *Troyes*,
where

Letters from
the King to
the Duke of
Mayenne

1588 where the Towne (long before corrupted by the infected humors of the League) receiued him with as great honor as they could haue done their King: and in all places where he passed, they were easily drawne into rebellion, every Towne following themselves after the modell of *Paris* and *Orleans*.

Three thousand men sent from *Paris*, to succour the *Chenaliere d'Aumale* besieged in *Orleans* by the Marshall of *Aumont*, with the Nobilitie of the Court, (some on foot and horse, and the Kings guards,) had bene defeated neere vnto *Estanton* by *Fargis* and *Montigni*: but the Marshall vnderstanding of the Duke of *Mayenne* approach, rayseth the siege, and retyres to *Boisgency*. In the meane time, the King himselfe in person did view and examine the conclusions of the Estates: but this same enterprise of the Dukes, made him to leaue the worke imperfect, & to provide for the safetie of his person: and for a conclusion, the fiftenth and sixteenth of Ianuary, hee heard the Deputies greeces and complaints vpon the disorders which afflicted *France*.

The Estates dissolved.
The Arch-Bishop of Bourges.
The Arch-Bishop of Bourges speech.

The Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, President for the Clergie after the Cardinals death, imputed the cause of our miseries to contempt of religion, which breaking the bonds that tie vs vnto God, had in like sort diuided the hearts and willes of families and Commonalties. Hee greatly commended the Kings zeale to religion: insisted long vpon the abuses of the Church, which the corruption of the time had bred: the vniuersity promotion of Prelats: the nomination (to Abbaies, and other spirituall dignities) of all sorts of persons, fouldiars, ignorant men, stubborn men, gardeniers, simoniacs, women, & childen touching the alienation of the Clergie lands, spualitie of benefices, usurpation of the reuenues of hospitalls, deprauation of that goodly ancient order, whereby none might come vnto Commanderies of the order of the Knights of *Saint John of Ierusalem*, vnlesse hee were a gentleman of three descents: disorders of vniuersities and monasteries, in former times the nurceries of holy fathers. Then hee turned his discourse to the disorders noted in the Nobilitie of *France*, who were in former ages the terror of all nations, and from whome neighbour nations confesse to haue learned the exercise and profession of cheualrie: vpon the excessie of men of war, vpon the wasting of the treasore, & other disorders which spring from these first heades: finally hee beseecheth the King, to make a good reformation, whereby his people should multiplie, Justice should daily flourish, and peace should bee settled in the Realme.

The Duke of Brissac.
Charles of Cossé Earle of Brissac, chief Pantler & chief Fawconer of *France*, newly restored to fauour, & President for the Nobility, shewes that they be not the hands of *Fortune*, which emiouned his Mothers forehead with this double diademe. It is God, who hath ennobled him our King, who had before chosen him King of a more remote nation, for the pietie, faith, clemencie, and magnanimitie wherewith hee hath bene endued from his tender age. That heresie, schisme, and discord, which are crept into the peoples hearts, haue not taken their beginning vnder his raigne, whom God hath raised vnto the furthest of *France*, to bee reuenged by him, and aduanced above all the nations of Christendome, who draw their firme support from the stabilitie of his Crowne. That the wished victories in *France* ouer heresie, shall be vnto the King but a continuance of the route and desolate of that fearefull armie of *Rebels*, *Langueuets*, *Suisses*, and *French Huguenots*, which (like so many trumpets) proclaim to all places, the honours, prayses, and victories of his Maiestie. That now those voyes, fastings, teares, and toyles of the ancient *French*, are heard, who seemed to demand vengeance against the fire, furie, and rage of those, who (after so many religious ages) haue violated the sepulchres of their fathers and ours, and would take from amongst vs that onely religion which the holy fathers haue planted in old time throughout the world.

Then hauing represented the zeale and affection of the Nobilitie to assist the King, to restore religion, and the State to their former beautie, following the example and the hereditarie vertue of their Ancestors, who had chased and vanquished the *Goths*, *Vandales*,

1589. *A Vandales*, *Arriens*, *Albigens*, *Lombards*, *Sarrazins*, *Turkes*, and *Pagans*: and continuing the defence of the faith, and the victories of the Kings of *France*. haue left no other limits to the reputation of their valour, then those which the Sunne takes in making of his course about the earth. He beseecheth his Maiesty, to fauour the ancient priuileges of the Nobility, to recompence in them the seruices of their Predecessors: to confirme the military discipline of Kings his fore-runners, not to suffer any by fauour or purchase, to challenge the title of Gentlemen: to mainteyne the priuileges of the Knights of *S. John of Ierusalem*: to cut off the superfluities in Iustice: to moderate the subsidies: order the treasure, establish the Magistrate, plant discipline among fouldiars: reforme the Church, and to punish the enemies thereof. Finally he wished a thousand happines to the King, and peace to his people. But this braue and commendable humour shal not hold him long, but he shal returne to his first party, by a new defection.

The Adouocate Bernard.
Bernard Adouocate of the Parlement of *Dijon*, began his oration with a sollemne thanks for the Kings promise, fully to execute the Edict of the vnion: hee exhorted all the townes and subiects of the Realme, to vnitethemselves not onely in Religion, but also in good correspondency for the Kings seruice, continuation of his dignity, and defence of the Estate. He discovered all the other infirmities of this politike body, the which (besides the vicer of partialities) haue strangely corrupted: as Blasphemies, adulteries, witchcraft, Simony, outrage in fouldiars, inuention of subsidies, and newe Edicts, executors of extraordinary Commissions, Brokers, and buyers of Offices, who waste the treasure, and bring the people to beggery. An Inuective against so many Edicts registred with this Apostill: *By commandements many times reiterated*: seeing that in good and iust Edicts, the Soueraigne Princes command is not necessary: against the treasure ill employed, and the strange oppressions of *France*.

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Thus the Estates ended, and the King foreseeing the extreme oppression of his subiects, in so great a leauy of armes, abates the fourth part of their subsidies, and sent to all the Prouinces, to assure them of his good intent. But his subiects were too much affected to mutinies, too capable of disobedience, too ready to spoyle the wise and the rich. The mourning of the Duchesses of *Guise*, *Nemours*, and *Montpensier*, being set at libertie by the King, to binde them to bee intercessors to his mutinous people: the furious cries of *Boucher*, *Guarin*, *Cuicilli*, *Roze*, *Pelletier*, *Guineville*, *Hamilton*, *Christin*, *Lucain*, *Maulere*, *Commalet*, *Feurderent* and other such Preachers: (very firebrands of sedition) The perswasions of the Prouost of *Marchants*, of the Sheriffes of *Paris*, and other Magistrates of Townes, freely released by the King: had too wickedly seduced them. But the Duke of *Mayenne* arrivall at *Paris*, confirmed the inhabitants more in the execution of the foresaid decree of *Sorbonne*.

The Court of Paris.
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The Court of Rome near Paris imprisoned.

1589. pistoll in his hand, into the great chamber, with an intent to carry away the first President *de Harlay*, and the other Presidents and Councillors, who persisting in the fidelity of their charge, might crosse the madde and fatall desires of the League. The whole bodie ashamed to see themselves dismembred by this insolent and presumptuous attempt, followed their head. *Bussy* then leads them away all, in triumph, and two prisoners to the *Basilie* and *Louvre*. Such as were *Royalists* were kept there, the rest (which leaned to this popular furie) preferred their houses from the spoile which this *Tribune* had pretended, and were sent home. Some advertised of this new Commission, saved their persons, but not the confiscation of their goods and revenues. That man was happier that found a friend where to hide himselfe, or that could get away disguised in his seruants weedes, and so march many daies on foote to recover *Tours*, or some other place of the Kings obedience.

All diuine and humane Lawes were subuerted, respect of equity abolished, and the reuerence of publike authority defaced. The officers of the Parliament being misguided, giue the place of the first President to *Barnabé Brisson*: then they make a declaration in manner of another, for the entertaynement of the vnion. The Princes of *Lorraine* and many gentlemen sweare vnto it, the sixteene subscribe it, one amongst them prick himselfe in the arme, to signe it with his owne blood: but remayning lame thereby, he was mockt by his Companions.

A generall
Councell of
the vnion.

The people made a generall Councell of the vnion, consisting of fortie choicemen of the three Estates, the which was confirmed by the Parliament, to dispose of the publike affaires, and to conferre with the Prouinces and townes of the League. For the Church, *Breze* Bishop of *Meaux*, *Rozé* Bishop of *Senlis*, *Villars* Bishop of *Agen*, *Pruost* Curat of *Saint Seuerin*, *Boucher* Curate of *S. Bennet*, *Aubry* Curate of *S. Andrews*, *Pelletier* Curate of *S. James*, *Pigenat* Curat of *Saint Nicholas*, *Lainoy* Chanoine of *Soissons*, and sometime minister at *Sedan*: for the Nobility the Marquis of *Canillac*, the Seigneur of *Menneville*, *Saint Pol*, *Rosne*, *Montberault*, *Hautefort*, *Sauvay* for the third Estate, *Massaparault*, *Neuilly*, *Coqueley*, *Midorge*, *Atchault*, *Baston*, *Marillac*, *Achanie*, *de Braye*, *Beaucler*, *Bruyere* Lieutenant Ciuill, *Anroux*, *Fontanon*, *Drouart*, *Crudé*, *Bordeaux*, *Halmeguin*, *Soly*, *Bellanger*, *Poncher*, *Senault*, & *Charpentier*, 21 Lawyers or men of traffike.

The great men enter presently into ialousie of this number, whereas the people commanded so as, by the Dukes importunity and the aboue named Princesses, they adde vnto them *Hennequin* Bishop of *Rennes*, the Abbot of *Lenoncourt*, the Presidents *Lainu*, *Fetus*, *le Maisre*, *Dormesson*, *Videville*, *d'Amours* a Councillor, *Jileroi*, both father and sonne, *Sermoise*, *Dampierre*, *la Bourdaisiere*, *le Fay*, and many others, who to carry it away by plurality of voices, called vnto them the President *le Sueur*, *Bragelonne* Treasurer, *Roland* a heretic, and others, who assisting one another with their voices, ouerthrew many things which those that were deputed for the people were readie to decree, for the confirmation of their tyrannie.

Exceeding
intolerancie.

The Duke of *Mayenne* (to settle his affaires) suffers these base Companions to plaie the petty Kings. Those of the Clergie, exceeding the authority of the Church, do in their sermons excommunicate the father that knoweth his sonne to be the Kings seruant, and reueales him not to the Councell of the vnion: the sonne that discouers not his father, the wife and the husband that accuse not one another, the kinsmen and friends that discouer not the goods of their kindred and friends beeing absent, to be employed in the warres. The Nobility reapes some profit of the ransomes and spoiles of the *Royalists* and Politikes. The people condemne imprisonment, spoile and ransome, of their absolute powre, and sell the goods of any that beares not the mark of their enraged faction. This furious combustion of *Paris*, sets all the realme on fire. Townes and Prouinces frame themselves after the mould of the Capitall Citie. *Chartres* begins the dance, expells *Sourd* his gouernor, and receiues *Reclamailie* a gentleman of *Beaufe*, a partizan of the League. This Towne imports much for the estate of *Paris*, as one of their chiefe graniers for come. The Duke of *Mayenne* postes thither, to bee assured thereof, and the people receiue him as their redeemer.

Being

A Being arriued there, *Rouan* lends for him. He goes: and in all places as hee passeth, they meet him, present him their keyes, and sweare to obey him. Those of *Mans* murder many of the Kings officers and seruants, spoyle others, seize vpon *Fargis* their Gouernour, and send him prisoner to *Paris*. *Angers* was assured for the King: but the Duke of *Merceur* Gouernour of *Brittaine*, subdued in a maner all the Prouince to his partie. *Thoulouse* murders *Duranti* their first President (a man who in all the fires he had formerly kindled, did neuer shew that hee had any taste of a *Huguenot* in him) and *Dafis* the Kings Advocate. *Aix*, *Arles* and *Marseilles* plant vp soderly the ensieigns of the League, and followe the dance with the rest. *Lion* jumps with them, and growing suspicious of the passage of Colonel *Alphonso Corse* (now Marshall of *France*, vnder the title of *Ornano*) to command the armie in *Daulphiné* which the Duke of *Mayenne* had abandoned, they declare the occasion why they take armes, sweare to maintaine good correspondency with the Princes, gentlemen and Inhabitants of *Paris*, & other Townes vnto, and to put in execution all the Duke of *Nemours* commandements, who was now escaped out of the Castle of *Blois*. But we shall see this people as easie to mutine against him, as they were now readie to allow him for their Gouernour.

Chaalons retayned almost all *Champaigne* in their dutie and obedience. *Rosne* was Gouernour there. But the whole bodie of the Cittie, advertised of this great execution at *Blois*, let him vnderstand: That seeing the Duke of *Guise* his maister was dead, his authoritie was extinct, and that acknowledging no other Soueraine but the King, they would preferue their Cittie from all strange enterpriser. *Langres* deserues an honorable testimony, to haue lesse then all other fostered rebels, and to haue constantly opposed themselves against all the attempts of the League. In other Prouinces the Townes bandie directly one against another, and the most modest affecting neither partie, keepe themselves from the storme.

The King beholds this pittifull Tragedie, acted vpon the Theatre of his Estate, and thinkes yet to reclaim his subiects by mildnes. He pardoneth, he aboliseth, hee forgets all, so as euery one will performe the dutie of a subiect, and againe promisseth the obseruation of his Edicts of vnion, in fauour of the Catholikes, and for the extirpation of heresies. But in the end, patience prouoked, turnes into furie. Hee sees that these D Princesses, the Prouost of marchants, and the Sherifs of *Paris* which were dismissed, do like vnto *Noes* rauens, they cast oyle in stead of water vpon the fires that are kindled. Seeing therefore, the more hee seekes by mildnes to reduce these strangers to the right way, the more violent they grow in their furious passions: he now vieth his authority, he makes sundrie proclamations, as well against the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke and Cheualier of *Aumale*, as against the Citties of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Chartres*, *Rouan*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville* and other adherents, pronounceth both heads and members, disloyal, rebels, guiltie & conuicted of the crimes of rebellion, treachery and treason in the highest degree: degrades them and their posteritie of all honour, if by the beginning of March they submit not themselves to his obedience. And to ioyne armes to his declarations, he makes a speedy leuie of twelue thousand *Suisses*, by the Lord of *Sansy*, who molested the Duke of *Sauoye* vnder the Kings authoritie, about *Geneua*: where hauing taken the Townes of *Bonne*, *Gex*, *Thonnon* and their Castels, he besieged the fort of *Ripaille*, where the Dukes succours led by Cont *Martinengues*, were defeated, *Martinengues* slaine in battaile, with about 2000. men, and the place yielded: in the end hee calls the Nobilitie vnto him, sends forth many Commissions to leuie soldiars, transports the execution of iustice to *Tours*, which was wont to bee in his Parliament at *Paris*: hee commands his chamber of accounts, and all his officers of the marble table, to repair presently to *Tours*, to attend their charges, and deprives from all honours, charges, dignities, and priuileges, all Townes adhering to these new reuolts.

F This did but kindle more the fires of rebellion. The Duke of *Mayenne* armes both horie and foot, practiseth without the Realme, seekes to the King of *Spaine*, sends out patents and Commissions vnder a new seale, vsurpes all the parts of royall Maiestie,

The Dukes
attempts.

1589. they must beare the cheefe burthen. In deed they had need of much money, to furnish the expenses of so many petty Kings: but some filled their cofers, others payed their debts, and some bought lands and Lordshippes. Thus the people are the instruments of great men, and the selfe whereon all kind of stormes and tempests doe beate.

Diverse
de-fears
of the
League.

Of the
Gaul-
tiers.

Of Reclain-
ville.

Of Sauuise.

Libertie exceeded in all places, and rage against the Kings authoritie seemed desperate. The fire of this reuolt had kindled the heart and all the corners of the Realme: and generally there was nothing but inroads, spoiles, surprisings and sackings when as sodainly many checks amaze the League, and giue hope of a speedie reuening of the Kings affaires. The Duke of *Montpensier*, assisted by the Lords of *Hallot*, *Crencaur*, *Bacqueville* and *Larchant*, was in *Normandie*, with forces for his Maiesties seruice: and for the first fruits, hauing defeated the garrison of *Falaife*, taken three Captaines, cutt most of their companies in peeces, and dispersed the rest, they besieged the towne, and had brought it readie to yeeld, when as the Earle of *Brissac* (who of late did wonders in speaking well at the Estates in the Kings fauour) advanced with about three hundred gentlemen, and five or sixe thousand foote, whom they called *Gaultiers*, and made the Duke abandon the siege, to meet with them. They lodged in three villages: the Duke forceth two, kills such as make resistance, and chaife the rest with final diffcultie. The Earle flies with all his horse, leauing a thousand or twine hundred prisoners, and about threethousand slaine vpon the place, amongst the which were found many gentlemen.

After this attempt of the Duke of *Mayenne*, in the suburbs of *Tours*, the King sends the Lord of *Lorges* to discover the enemy: the Duke of *Aumale* hath intelligence thereof, and sends some troupes to charge him. The Lord of *Chastillon* passeth at *Boisgency* with two hundred horse, and as many harguebuziers, to second *Lorges*, and causeth *Fouquerolles* to aduance with twentie gentlemen towards *Bonneuil*. They meet with *Reclainville* (who commaunded in *Chartres*.) Hee offers to discover them, they charge him, and kill five or sixe of his men: hee retires in hast, and giues the alarm to the troupes of *Picardie*, led by *Sauuise*, and *les Broses*, who commaunded about 300. masters, and a good number of harguebuziers on horsebacke, and on foot. The two commanders, *Chastillon* and *Sauuise* are in front one of another. No man makes shew to recoyle, and both resolute to fight. *Sauuise* puts his harguebuziers before, and placeth his Lanciers in haie, approaching softly without disbanding. *Chastillon* disposeth of his foot, makes two battalions of his horse, and sets *Charboniere* and *Harembure* on his left hand, with their companies of light horses, and then hee aduanceth to the charge. *Sauuise* chargeth resolutely. His harguebuziers on horsebacke discharge very neere. *Chastillons* footmen receiue them in the like sort, and with one breath enter among the horse that were come to the charge: they kill many horses with their swords, and loose but three souldiars. *Sauuise* chargeth the light horsemen vpon his right hand, and breaking the first ranks, had vnhorsed *Chastillon*, and some eight or tenne gentlemen, but with the losse of five and twentie horse, as these rise and fight on foote, *Harembure* and *Fouquerolles* comes in: they charge *Sauuise* and his men, kill about sixefcore gentlemen, ouerthrowe the rest, and force through them. Thus broken, without meanes to make a new head, every man flies, every one placeth his safetie in the heeles of his horse. *Chastillon* goes to horsebacke, and pursues, chasing, beating, and killing about threescore more in the flight, with all their harguebuziers. Two Cornets were gotten, and fortie gentlemen taken, most being hurt in the conflict. *Sauuise* carried to *Boisgency*, died there of his wounds, not able to bee perswaded by any meanes to acknowledge the King, or scarce to aske God forgiveness.

Senlis had of late dayes, by the meanes of some good inhabitants, shaken off the yoke of the League. It was a troublesome thorne in the *Parisians* fecte, being distant but one small dayes iourney to come from their Cittie towards *Picardie*. To

A To pull it out, the Duke of *Aumale* goes from *Paris*, with some troupes of *Balagny*, *Chamois*, *Tremont*, *Congis*, *Menneville*, and an armie of the inhabitants chosen out of every quarter: he besiegeth, batters it, and makes a breache, but is repulsed from the assault.

Now they aduise the besieged to provide for their safeties: when as the Duke of *Longueville* appeared, being followed by the Lords of *Humieres*, *Bonnivet*, *la Noue*, *Guiry*, and other Commanders, the Duke of *Aumale* turnes head, and prepares to fight: but *la Noue* (whome the King had especially commaunded to assist the Duke of *Longueville* with Councill in matters of warre) did so wisely make choise of the houre and oportunitie to charge, as the Duke of *Aumale*, *Balagni* Gouverneur of *Cambray*, and the rest (putting in practise the vie of their long spurred owels, lately inuented as a mourn-
full prediction to the League) saued their persons by the swiftnes of their horses, and leitt the field died with the bloud of fiftene hundred slaine vpon the place: in the flight and poursuit, verifying the saying: He that flies betimes, may fight againe. *Chamois*, *Menneville* and diuers others could not runne fast enough. The artillerie, baggage, and many prisoners remained at the victors discretion, who by the Kings commaundement went to receiue the army of strangers which were come to the frontiers.

Of the Duke
of Aumale
and Balagni
at Senlis.

The Kings meaning was to subdue *Paris*. The greatest of the *Hidraes* heads being cut off, did weaken the whole bodie, and gaue hope to his Maiestie by that meanes to find what hee had lost, the loue and obedience of his subiects. To this end hee sends the Duke of *Espernon*, to take from the *Parisians* the commodities about the riuier, and assembles his forces to compassse them in beneath. Thus the warre growes hot. The Nobilitie goes to horse on all sides, to reuenge the wrong done vnto the King: but the more his troups increased, the more bitter his subiects grew against him.

No prosperitie is so great, but it hath some crosses. As the King attends the forces which the Prince of *Dombes* (now Duke of *Montpensier*) brings him from *Tours*, newes comes that the Earle of *Soissons* (whome he had sent to commaund in *Brittanie*) had bene defeated at *Chasteaugiron* three Leagues from *Rennes*, and led prisoner with the Earle of *Anaouour*, and many other Lords to *Nantes*: That the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken *Alençon*. That the Lord of *Albigni* (a younger brother to the house of *Gordes*, and a partisan of the Leagues) had chased the Colonel *Alphonso* out of *Grenoble*, and seized on the Towne. The taking of these Earles caused the King to send the Prince *Dombes* thither, who more happily reduced many places to his Maiesties obedience. The happie successe of the Kings affaires made men to iudge, that the League would soone be ruined, the Kings armie increasing hourly. Three hundred horse of *la Chastre* (who presently after the Tragedie of *Blois* had made shew to iustifie himselfe vnto the King for the strict familiaritie hee had with the Duke of *Guise*) were defeated by the Duke of *Montbazon*, and the Marquis of *Nesle* his Lieutenant, and fittie of his companie slaine: the taking of *Largeau*, *Pluuiers*, *Januville*, and *Estampes*, terrified the *Parisians*. They call backe the Duke of *Mayenne*: and he finding the Duke of *Longueville* farre off, goes into *Brie*, assures some places, and takes *Montreau-faut-yonne*, by composition from the Duke of *Espernon*: but the Kings approach carried him suddenly to *Paris*, where (suffering his troups to liue at discretion, in the suburbs) hee caused an ill impression to grow in some which could not well digest this confusion in the State.

Losses for the
King.

Townes
taken.

An armie of about twentie thousand men, gathered together by the Duke of *Longueville*, ioyning with the *Suisses* & *Langueuets* of *Sanst*, & *Pontoise* returned to the Kings obedience: soone after the Kings arrivall, all the Kings forces ioyned in one bodie being about fortie thousand men, lodged about *Paris*: and the taking of *Saint Cloud*, made the *Parisians* readie to yeeld: when as a deuillish monke, an excrement of hell, a *Iacobin* by profession, *James Clement*, of the age of two or three and twentie yeares, vowed (saide hee) to kill the Tyrant, and to deliuer the holy Cittie besieged by *Sennacherib*. Thus resolved, hee imparts his damnable proiect to Doctor *Bourgoing* Prior of his Couent, to father *Commalet* and other Iesuits, and to the heads of the League, to the

Paris be-
sieged.

1589 chiefe of the sixtene, and to the fortie of *Paris*, All encourage him to this, saying A
desseine: they promise him Abbaies and Bishopricks: and if he chance to be made a
Martir, no lesse then a place in heauen, about the Apostles. They caused the Pre-
achers to perswade the people to patience seauen or eight dayes: for before the ende
of the weeke, they should see a notable accident, which should set all the people at li-
berty. The Preachers of *Orleans*, *Rouen* and *Amiens*, clatter out the like at the same
time, and in the same termes.

The first of August, the Monke goes out of *Paris*, and marcheth toward *Saint Cloud*: vpon his departure, they take about two hundred of the chiefe Cittizens and
others prysoners, whome they knewe to haue goods, friends and credit with the Kings
partie, as a precaution to redeeme that cursed murder, in case he were taken before B
or after the deed. Being arriued at *Gondyes* house, where the King lodged, he goes to
la Guesle the Kings Proctor generall in his Court of Parliament at *Paris*, and saies, that
he had brought some matter of importance, which might not be imparted to other but
to his Maiesty, and had letters of credit from the first President. The King (who for
the reuerence he bare vnto Church men, gaue free access vnto such, as vnder the ha-
bit of religion made shew to bee deuoted vnto the seruice of God,) commands hee
should bee brought into his Chamber, willing the Lord of *Bellegarde*, and the said
Proctor generall to retire, who were then alone nere the King: hoping, both by
the quality of the person whome he did counterfeite, (whose long imprisonment in the
Bastille had giuen sufficient testimony of his faith, and integrity to his Maiestie) and C
the simple demonstration of the Wolfe disguised into a Lambe, to learne some se-
cret matter of importance; and receiues this counterfet letter from him. The King
did no sooner begin to reade it, but this wretch seeing himselfe alone, growes reso-
lute, and drawing a Knife out of his sleue, made of purpose, thrusts his Maiestie into
the botome of the bellie, and there leaues the knife in the wound. The King drawes
it forth, and with some struing of the Monke, strikes him about the eye. Many ranne in
at this noyse, and in the heate of choller killing this monster of men, preuented the true
discouery of this enterprise, and the authors thereof, worthie to be noted with a perpe-
tuall blot of disloyaltie and treason.

The Physicians held the wound curable: and the same day the King did write of D
this attempt, and of his hope of recovery, to the gouernors of Prouinces, to forraine
Princes, and to his friends and confederates. But fealing that the King of Kings had
otherwise determined of his life, hee did first comfort himselfe, in foreseeing that the
last houre of his crosses should be the first of his felicities: then lamenting his good
and faithfull seruants, who suruiuing should finde no respect with those whose munes
had bene so abandoned to mischiefe, as neyther the feare of God, nor the dignity
of his person could dissuade them from this horrible sacrilege. *Onething* (saied
hee) *doth comfort mee, that I reade, in your faces, with the griefe of your hearts, and the sor-
rowe of your soules, a goodly and commendable resolution, to continue united for the pre-
seruation of that which remaines whole of my Estate, and the reuenge which on one vn-
to the memorie of him who hath bloued you so deere. I seeke not the last curiosity, leauing
the punishment of my enemies vnto God. I haue learned in his schoole to forgive them, as
I do with al m heart. But as I am chiefly bound to procure peace, and reast vnto this realme,
I coniure you all, by that inuisible faith which you owe vnto your Countrie, that you conti-
nue firme and constant defenders of the common libertie, and that you neuer laye
downe armes, untill you haue purged the Realme of the troublers of the publike quiet.
And, forasmuch as diuision alone, undermines the foundations of this Monarchie,
resolue to bee united in one will. I knowe, and I dare assure you, that the King of
Nauarre my Brother in Lawe, the lawefull successor to this Crowne, is sufficiently in-
structed in the Lawes, to knowe howe to raigene well, and to commaunde reasonable things:
and I hope, you are not ignorant of the iust obedience you owe vnto him. Reserre
the difference of religion to the Connocation of the Estates of the Realme: and
learne*

The death of
Henry the 3.
being mur-
dered.

The Kings
last speeche.

A learne of mee, that pietie is a dutie of man vnto God, ouer which worldly force hath no power. 1589

Thus spake *Henry*, euen as the last pangs of death carried him within few houres
after from this vnto an other world: but (a notable circumstance) in the same cham-
ber where the Councell was held on that fatall day of *Saint Bartlemew*, in the yeare
1572. By his death hee extinguished the second parcell of the third race of *Capets*, in
the branch of *Valois*, leauing the Crowne to the third roiall branch of the *Bourbons*,
wherevnto the order of the fundamentall Law did lawfully call him.

A mild and tractable Prince, courteous, wittie, eloquent, and graue, but of easie ac-
cesse, deuout, louing learning, aduancing good witts, a bountifull rewarder of men
of merit, desirous to reforme the abuses of his officers, a friend to peace, and capable
of counsell, but weak and yeelding in aduersities, and by that meane making his ene-
mies ouer-bold in their ambitious desseins. Finally a Prince who deserved to be placed
amongst the worthiest of this Monarchie, if voluptuousnes, luxury, & excessive prodi-
galitie to some of his fauorites (the which might without enuie haue bene diuided a-
mongst many men of honour;) had not made him negligent and careless
of the politike gouernment of his estate, and so blemished the
goodliest graces which nature had planted
in his soule.

THE



HENRY the fourth, before King of Nauarre,
the first of the third royall branch of
the Bourbons. 63. King of France.

THE
THIRD PARCELL OF THE
THIRD RACE OF CAPETS, IN
THE ROYALL BRANCHE OF
the *Bourbons*, beginning at *Henry* now King of
Nauarre, and the fourth of that name,
of *France* and of *Nauarre*.

Our King shall iudge vs, and go before vs, and shall conduct our battailes for vs.
And:

*God hath annointed thee ouer his inheritance for Prince, and thou shalt deliuer his people
from the hands of their enemies, that are about them.*

And:

The Lord his God is with him, and a trief of the Kings victorie in him.

HENRY



BEhold the Theatre of mans life: diuers passions appeare in diuers acts. But sorrow yeeldes to ioy, and happines chaſeth away heauineſſe. God gouernes the being of this world by ſeaſons. Men reape not before they haue ſowed, neither doe they ſowe before they haue laboured. Thus he gouerns the ſociety of mankind by certaine degrees; that man may know, that he deſerues not the ſweet, that hath not taſted of the ſowre: and that the force of his wit can no waye aduance the happy ſucceſſe of his Eſtate, without the helpe and grace of that great Gardien, who by miraculous meanes preſerues Eſtates from apparent ruine.

B This reigne hath two parcells. The begining is painefull, full of croſſes, and con-
fuſed: vntill that our *Henry* (ſolemnly installed) be acknowledged lawfull King, by
all his ſubiects: for till then, the moſt impudent and paſſionate, called him the *Bar-
nors* in *France*. others more modeſt, left him his firſt title of King of *Nauarre*, or at
the leaſt, of Prince of *Bearne*. But the ſucceſſe wil teach vs, that euen now the Lord
would ſuſtaine this Monarchie, and in deſpight of all the violent oppoſitions of man,
make our King to triumphe ouer all domeſticall and forrayne inſolencies, which
had diſallowed him for the lawfull ſucceſſor, and almoſt diſpoſſeſſed him of
his Reſtne.

C Doubtleſſe, we muſt confeſſe without flattery, that *France* had neede of this
Prince, to roote out (like an other *French Hercules*) thoſe hideous monſters which made

it

1589 chief of the Nobility: lets them vnderstand the deceased Kings will, touching religion, by a generall or nationall Councell, whereof he protests to followe the instruction. I giue leaue, said he, to all such as would leaue mee, so to doe. Yet I am sorry they are no better *Frenchmen*, for their owne good and safety. I haue friends enough to cast out them, to mainteine my authority. God hath neuer left mee, and will not now abandon mee. He hath not begun this so miraculous a worke, to leaue it vnperfect, for my sake alone, but for his owne names sake: and for so many soules affected in this Realme, whome I desire, and promise by the faith of a King, to releue, to more as God shall giue mee the meanes. But how grievous is this to mee, that am your lawfull King, and who leaue you in the liberty of your religion, to see you go about to force mee to yours, by vnlawfull meanes, and without forme or instruction.

This declaration reteyned them that were least scrupulous in their duties: and his promise not to alter any thing in religion, might haue shaken many of the League. To crosse him, the Duke of *Mayenne*, publisheth an Ediēt of the 5. of August, in the name and the Councells, of the holy vnion established at *Paris*, attending a generall Assembly of the Estates of the Realme, to vnite (said he) all *Frenchmen* that were good Christians, for the defence and preservation of the Catholike, Apostolike, & Romish Church, and the mainteynance of the royall Estate, in the absence of their lawfull King *Charles* the 10. of that name. For whose liberty, he inuited them all to armes. But he desired no more the liberty of his pretended King, then our *Henry* did to force C religion, the support whereof serues them for a goodly cloake.

Violent
decrees.

Some Parlements growe ielous of these sodaine changes in the State, and seeme to entertaine the people in doubt and feare of the subuersion of their religion. That of *Bordeaux* commaunds all men vnder their Iurisdiction, by a decree of the 19. of August, to obserue inuiolable the Ediēt of vnion to the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church: and declarations were thereupon made. That of *Tholouse* is more violent. They decree, that yeerely the first day of August, they should make processions and publike prayers, for the benefites they had receiued that day, in the miraculous and fearefull death of *Henry* the third, whereby *Paris* was deliued, and other Townes of the Realme: forbidding all persons to acknowledge *Henry* of *Fourbon*, the pretended King of *Nauarre*, for King: declaring him incapable euer to succcede to the Crowne of *France*, by reason (said the decree) of the notorious and manifest crimes conteyned at large in the bull of excommunication of Pope *Sixtus* the 5. Without doubt the authority of the Soueraigne court, is much blemished in pronouncing a decree which they must reuoke by a contrary sentence.

The King
raileth his
leage from
Paris.

Thus the League kindled anewe the fires which the seege of *Paris* had somewhat quenched: the Kings troups decreased hourly, sickness diminished their numbers and the Duke of *Mayenne* increased. The King therefore diuides his army into three: one vnder the command of the Duke of *Longueville*, into *Picardy*: the other into *Champagne* vnder the Marshall *d'Aumont*: and he is aduised to passe himselfe into *Normandy*, with twelue hundred horse, three thousand *French* foote, and two regiments of *Suisses*, as well to receiue succours out of *England*, as to assure some places & passages fit for his desires, but with direction to ioyne at neede.

His conquests

In his passage, he causeth the Kings body to bee conducted and left at *Compiègne*, and reduceth to his obedience, *Ateulan*, *Gisors*, and *Clermont*: he receiues from Capitaine *Roulet* both the place and the hearts of the inhabitants of *Pont de l'Arche*, foure leagues from *Rouan*, a passage very commodious for the traffike betwixt *Rouan* and *Paris*. He visits *Depe*, confirms the towne of *Caen*, forceth *Neufchâtel* to yeeld, hauing by *Hallot* and *Guitry* his Lieutenants ouercome the succours that were sent thither, and slaine seuen or eight hundred men vpon the place.

The Duke of
Mayenne fol-
lows.

All these surprises could not draw the Duke of *Mayenne* out off the walles of *Paris*. But when as he sees the King lodged at *Dernetal*, a league from *Rouan*, and the Towne of *Eu* vpon *Bethune* brought to his obedience: at the instant request of the Duke

A Duke of *Aumale*, and the Earle of *Eriffac* commanding within *Rouan*: hee goes to field, with about three thousand horse and fiteene thousand foote, *French*, *Germanes*, *Italians*, *Flemings* and *Spaniards*. He promisseth the *Parisians* to pursue, beseege, take and bring the *Bearnois* prisoner, and makes them all readie by supposition to hire shoppes and windowes in *Saint Anthonies* streete, to see him passe in chaines vnto the *Bastille*. Hee passeth the riuer of *Seine* with this mightie armie, and recouers *Courmay* (being lately taken by the Duke of *Longueville*) *Neufchâtel* and *Eu*, and then hee aduanceth to stay the course of the Kings prosperity, who triumphed in *Normandie*.

This proceeding made the King imagin, they should not part without blowes, and full of that generosity, constancy, and readie resolution which hee did alwaies carrie in accidents which did seeme dangerous, sends for his Lieutenants, the Duke of *Longueville* and the Marshall *d'Aumont*, to approche, for that he foresces a dangerous fit in the estate which was very sicke. The King parts from *Diepe*, and marcheth towards the Duke: he lodgeth at *Arques*, three miles from thence, betwixt two hills diuided by the riuer of *Bethune*: at the foote of the one is the village, and the Castell which commandeth it. He vewes the situation, and finds it fit to receiue the enemy. And not to loose the aduantage which time or industry might giue him, he casts vp a trench of seauen or eight foote deepe, on the toppe of one of the hills: rayseth the defences, furnisheth it with artillery, and foure companies of *Suisses*: prouides for the safety of the village, casts vp trenches vpon the weakest places of approach: and a thousand paces off nere to the riuer side, where the enemies should passe, hee lodgeth eight hundred *French* Harguebusiers in an hospitall, to cut off the enemies passage.

The King
marcheth
towards him.

The Duke (whose army was nowe thirty thousand men) chooseth rather to leaue the shortest way, then to fight for this passage: and passing the riuer about, hee incampes on the other hill right against *Arques*, and three daies after, the 16. of September, marcheth against the *Pollet*, a suburbe of *Diepe*, where the Lord of *Chastillon* did fortifie, leauing some number of horse, and troups of foote, to garde his hill, and lodging of *Martinglise*.

There is no such policy as to strike first, and to charge the enemy while hee consuls, being irresolute whether hee shall fight or retire. The King knowes it well: his owne experience hath often tryed it. Hee therefore sends to vewe this army, to discover their forces, and to obserue their countenance. He leaues the Marshall of *Biron* to command at *Arques*, & lodgeth in a mill, which they had intrenched vpon the approach to this suburbe. There they make a furious skirmish. But the Leaguers hauing lost nine or ten Captaines, and a great number of their most resolute soldiers, they had no will to proceed. They leaue the place, & lodge at the nereest village to the suburbs of *Diepe*: an open place, without defence, or houses. So many discōmodities were scarce tollerable. *Chastillon* also dislodged them soone, and made them to seeke another quater.

Notable ex-
ploits at
Arques against
the League.

E On the other side, the Corps de gard lodged in the guest-house, would not suffer the enemy which kept both the hill & the lodging, to approach nere the riuer side. Being impatient then to haue such vigilant neighbours, they resolute to charge this Corps de garde, and to become masters of either banke, that they might approach more freely to the trenches at *Arques*. The Marshall sees them come, & drawing them on by light skirmishes, makes the beleue they shall haue the better: but suddenly with a furious charge he scatters them, some here, some there: & many seeking to saue thescues fro the fight drowne in the riuer. So this army is charged in three places at one instant: at the mill, by the King: at *Martinglise* by *Biron*, and at the *Pollet* by *Chastillon*. These first amazements whet their courages. They are not danted for this first check. Battailes are variable, & it may bee, a second attempt wil giue them a more happy successe. Being thus resolute, the Duke leaues that great dessein he had vpon *Diepe*, and propounds to set vpon the guest-house. Three or foure volles of four Canon (said he) wil beat it down. They shot, but preuaile nothing: and seeing their attempts vaine, they leaue force to flee to surprises.

The first
charge in
three places.

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The 21. of September they passe the water in the night, without drum, without trumpet and without light, they put themselves in battaile, and meane at the breake of day to worke some great effect.

But they haue a vigilant enemy, who will see all, knowe all, and do all: the King causeth a long trench to bee drawne from the topp of his hill vnto the guest-house, and mans it with foure compaines of *Suisses* and *Lansquenets*, and some *French*, supported by the Earle of *Anuergne*, (who in this warre gaue braue and singular proofes of his valour) commanding three compaines of light horse, and three other compaines of men at armes, seconded also by the compaines of the Princes of *Condé*, and *Conoy*, and on the topp of the trench hee placeth the Marshall of *Biron* with the compaines of *Chastillon*, and of *Maligny*, (afterwards *Vidame of Chartres*), and a good number of the Nobility.

A second charge.

All these compaines march by the fauours of the Cannon, (which played from the Castell to their aduantage) and charge the Duke of *Mayenne's* corner, ouerthrowes *Sagonne* with some horse-men dead vpon the place, and disperse the rest. But a newe supplie forceth them to retire. The *Suisses of Colonnell Galatti* stay their violence. The *Lansquenets* of the League (degenerating from the ancient constancy of the *Germanes*), approach neere the trench, but seeing themselves weake, and engaged with the hazard of their liues, they make offer to yeeld vnto the King. Those within the trench giue them their hands to receiue them. The King seeing them ioynd with his men, runnes to charge them, not knowing they had called vpon his name. But seeing his Maiestie, they yeeld themselves, and lay downe their weapons. He receiues them, and assures them of the pay they had gotten in fighting against him. Seeing themselves freed from danger, and the King, *Biron* and the other troupes of horse, fighting heere and there, and that the bodie of the Dukes horse aduanced to charge the *Suisses*, they turne their armes against them which had newly giuen them life: charge the Marshall of *Biron's* troupe, make them abandon the trench: become masters thereof, spoile all the Kings soldiars, take the Enseignes of his Maiesties *Suisses* & *Lansquenets*, and deliuer this trench vnto the Leaguers: but they shall not long enioye it.

Treachery of the Lansquenets of the League.

For the King seeing that the treachery of these villaines had made the issue of the combat doubtful, (seconded by the Duke of *Montpensier* and his Corner, and reinforced with five hundred shot led by the Lord of *Chastillon*) hee comes furiously to charge, imbues his sword with the blood of many of them, takes many prisoners, drives them out of the trench, and presently plant two Cannons there, which shot into the battayllion of the enemies *Suisses* that made the retreat, and strikes such a terror among them, as in short time all leaue him: the place of battaile, being couered with the carcasses of his rebells.

A third charge.

Doublelesse this ipittle-house should bee honored with an eternall triumphe. It is the place where they thought to haue driuen the King into an extremity, cyther to suffer himselfe to be taken at *Diepe*, or to seeke his safety beyond the seas. It is the place where the veins of the League being opened, they poured forth streames of that blood and vigour which maintayned their first ioylity. It is the place where five hundred horse, twelue hundred *French* foote, and two thousand *Suisses*, had as it were prodigiously triumphed over thirtiethousand men, who with a giantlike brauery, boasted to bring cyther dead or bound hands and feete, the greatest King, the greatest Captaine of the world, who like a lightning finding nothing that might withstand the furie of his victorious armes, dispersed and suppressed with the point of his sword, the presumptuous and rash attempts of his malicious subiects.

The King approaches to Paris.

The Earle of *Blain* (one of their Marshalls of the field) was taken prisoner: many soldiars, but a greater number of men at armes: many Gentlemen, and more Commanders serued as a prey to the birdes of the aire, and the beastes of the fields. The King lost the Earle of *Rouffy*, sixe or seauen Gentlemen, and some soldiars.

Some

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Some few dayes after, the King doubting his troupes (being but small) might be beaten from their lodging at *Argues*, he abandoned that quarter, and lodged them nere vnto *Diepe* vnder the fauour of the Castle. The Duke of *Mayenne* finding that lodging abandoned, passeth with his whole armie vnto the other side of the Towne, within halfe a mile: he plants sixe Canons, and about midnight shootes into the port of the Towne, to keepe them from issuing forth. The King vpon this alarm, cast vp a trauers before the port, to blind their sight, and sends speedily into *England*, cast vp the forces which he expected from the Queene, the which were 4000. men, vnder the command of the Lord *Willowbie*. But some few dayes after (these troupes being ready to land) the Duke of *Mayenne* (seeing all his attempts prooue vaine) dislodgeth, and thinkes he hath done much for his reputation, if (by some volee of Canon, where the King was, and then against *Argues*) hee publisheth throughout all *France*, that he is maister of those Townes, without entering. In the end, toiled with the Kings continuall skirmishes, and toucht with apprehension at the first newes, he hearing of the Earle of *Soissons* approach, (who had cunningly escaped out of prison) of the Duke of *Longueuills*, and the Marshall *D'Aumonts* with their troupes, he went to seeke his safetie beyond the riuer of *Somme*. To assure (sayd he) those places which by the treatie of *Arras* he was to deliuer vnto the *Spaniard*, and then returning to *Paris*, did nothing memorable, but established his Councell of sixteene, and forty, the which afterwards he reuoked and disannulled all he could, as wee shall see in the course of the Historie.

In the meane time (to busie the *Parisiens*), those three Enseignes which the treacherous *Lansquenets* had by a traitorous stratagem stolne in the Trenches, brought forth twenty other counterfeits, which the Dowager of *Montpensier* sister to the Duke of *Mayenne*, caused to be made at *Paris* in the *Lombards* streete. This was a patterne of the subtil deuises of that woman, who euery morning suborning some new poste made him to go forth at one gate, and to enter at an other, as bringing still some aduertisement of happy successe, which she sent vnto the Curats to deliuer in their Sermons. And by these politike stratagems, entertained the people in their disorder, and sleeved the purfes of the most credulous.

The Dukes retreat made the King suspect, that hee retired for an aduantage, and that marching to defeat the supplies that came vnto him, he would retorne, putt vp with greater courage, and new hopes. His Maiestie therefore leaues the Marshall of *Biron* at *Diepe* with the armie, and resolues to goe meete the Earle and the rest with foure hundred horse. Being ioynd, he takes the Towne and Castell of *Gamache*, and recouers the Towne of *Eu*. This bayte might haue drawne the Duke; but hee found his aboad in *Picardie* more safe, and *La Fere* which hee deliuered into the Strangers and enemies hands, made him continue the intelligences hee had with the Duke of *Parma*, whereof wee shall shortly see strange effects. So the King returning to *Diepe*, provided for the affaires of *Normandie*, leauing the Duke of *Montpensier* there, with the forces hee had brought for his Lieutenant generall: hee receiued from the Queene of *England* foure thousand men, money, and munition belonging vnto warre.

With this supply his Maiestie parts the 21. of October, and alwayes coasting the enemy, comes to passe the riuer of *Seine* at *Meulan*, and marcheth directly to *Paris*, with a double desseigne, cyther to fight, or at the least to drawe the Duke out of *Picardie*. The last of October hee arriveth about *Paris*, and diuides his troupes into three battallions. The first had foure thousand *English*, two regiments of *French*, and one of the *Suisses*, vnder the command of the Marshall of *Biron*, for the suburbs of *Saint Marcell*, and *Saint Marcell*. The second was of ten regiments of *French*, and Strangers committed to the Marshall *D'Aumont*, for *Saint James* and *Saint Michell*. The third, ten Regiments of *French*, one of *Lansquenets*, and one of *Suisses*, commanded by *Chastillon* and *La Noue*, for *Saint Germaine*, *Bussey*, and *Nesle*. Hee giues to cyther of these troupes a good number of Gentlemen on foote well armed, to support

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port

1589. port the footmen, in case of resistance: and behind eyther of them two Cannons, two Culuerins. The King commanded the one, the Count *Seiffons*, and the other of *Longueville* the other. Hee causeth the Trenches and Rampars without the Towne to be viewed, and the next day by the Sunne rising, hee sets vpon them, and forceth them in lesse then an houre: seauen or eight hundred souldiers slaine in the streetes, thirteene peeces of Cannon carried away, foureteene Enseignes taken, and much spoile gotten, did verifie the saying: That all comes to one end to him that can attend. Here *Chastillon* did not forget to inuite his friends to reuenge the blood so vnworthily spilt at those bloudie *Parisien* mattins, but by the effusion of his owne blood, who now suffers for others.

The Suburbs
taken.

At this new and sudden terror of the *Parisiens*, the Duke of *Mayenne* passeth to the Citie with the greatest part of the armie. His Maiestie (to see if he would fall forth) presents himselfe the second and third day following, in the suburbs, and without the suburbs, in view of the Citie, and then afterwards towards *Linas* vnder *Montleher*: but all was in vaine. Thus being content to haue taught the *Parisiens*, that hee wanted no meanes to punish them, but desired rather to reduce them to obedience by mildnesse, the King went and tooke the Towne and Castell of *Eslampes*, where *Clermont* of *Lodesue*, with about three score Gentlemen or more, had shutt vpon himselfe vpon the Duke of *Mayennes* worde, to vngage him with all the rest of his armie.

Here the Queene Dowager sent a petition to his Maiestie, beseeching him to do iustice of that cruell and execrable murther committed on the person of the deceased King her husband. The King sent this petition to the Court of Parliament, removed to *Tours*, to the end that his Maiesties Proctor generall requiring it, they should frame inditeiments against such as were held culpable, protesting neyther to spare care nor force, to take that iust reuenge which reason and his dutie required. Doubtlesse the horror of this sacrilege had so wonderfully moued some of the officers of the Court, as, if they had bene beleueed, the order of the *Jacobins* had by dectee bene rooted out of *France*, their couent at *Paris* pulled downe, and a piler set vp as a perpetuall monument, and the hangmen of *France* should haue bene afterwards attired like *Jacobins*. The Queene Dowager hath long pursued the rooting out of them. But the memory of Ancestors is venerable, and their Sepulchres religious. Seuentene Princes and Princesses of the house of *Bourbon*, buried in the monasterie of the *Jacobins* at *Paris*, haue chiefly preferred and kept the order and their couents.

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new con-
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The King seeing that by no meanes hee could drawe forth his enemies, hee sends backe the Duke of *Longueville* and *La Noue*, to refresh themselves with their forces in *Picardy*, *Giury*, into *Brie*, and passing farther into *Beauisse*, takes *Janville* by composition, then from *Chasteaudun* he sends to inuest *Vendosme*, his ancient patrie. *Maille Benchard* commanded about foure hundred men of garison, and eight hundred Townesmen armed against their Soueraigne and lawfull Lord. The Artillerie had no sooner made a hoale of foure paces wide, but the Souldiers impatient flies to the assault, takes the Castle, and so enters the Towne pel mel with the garrison, so as his Maiestie seeing himselfe in lesse then halfe an houre in possession both of Towne and Castle, gaue the inhabitants their liues, but the Souldiers the spoile.

The treacherous part of *Benchard* to the great Councell, (as wee haue sayd,) with the treachery of a vassall and subiect, and the seditious preachings of *Jesse* the Friar, were the cause that these two principall motiues of rebellion suffered for the people: the one beheaded vpon the pauement, and the other hanged. *Lauerdon*, *Montoire*, *Montrichard*, and *Chasteau du Loir*, became wise by the example of *Vendosme*, and opened their gates to the Marshall of *Biron*, who entred into the Towne with all his companie very peaceably,

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Pois-Dauphin commanded in *Mans*, accompanied with a hundred Gentlemen, and twenty Enseignes on foote, who in shewe would die with their armes in their hands, rather then suffer the King to enter. But must they cause the people to spend a hundred and fifty thousand Crownes to fortifie the Towne and suburbs? burne so many houses without the town, to yeeld it at the third vole of the cannon? Learne oh yee people, that great men play with you, as with a tennis ball: and be not wedded to any other party, but that of your Souereigne and lawfull Prince. You run rashly into a bad action: they fortifie you at your owne charge, and you are the meanes to vndermine your selues.

The taking hereof, caused the Castles of *Beaumont* and *Touteuoyes* to yeeld, with the Townes of *Sablé*, *Lanai*, *Chasteaugonthier*, *Mayenne*, *Alanson*, *Falaise* and many others in the Prouinces of *Touraine*, *Aniou*, *Mayne*, *Perche*, and *Normandy*. So as in lesse then two moneths, his maiestie marched with his army (furnished with many cannons, and a great number of Strangers, *English*, *Suisses*, and *Germains*) about eight score leagues, hauing atchieued many memorable seeges, taken foureteene or fiftene good townes, assured many Prouinces: and in all places as hee passed, *Hee came, he saw, and ouertame*.

Thus our Conquerour made the round of a third part of his Realme, not finding any let to stay the course of his prosperities: when as the Court of Parliament at *Rouen*, no lesse violent and presumptuous then that of *Thoulouse*, pronounceth them guilty of treason both against God and man, & the Estate and crowne of *France*, that had opposed themselves against the holy viſion: and all Royallists and their successors deprived of all prerogatives of Nobility, their offices to be voided, and not to be recovered: them as vnworthy to possesse any offices, benefices, or dignities, and all their goods forfeited. These armes were too weak to terrifie his maiesties tenants: this decree did little aduance the League. And the Duke of *Mayenne* (seeing the King farre off, partly through shame, partly through despayre, and importuned by the *Parisiens*) was constrained to pacifie their exclamations by some great exploit. But the taking of *Bois de Vincennes* and *Pontoise* ended all his Conquests.

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So many new triumphs did wonderfully amaze the Leaguers: the people grewe weary with the burthen of imposts, the spoyle of souldiers, and a thousand calamities that did oppress them. To mainteyne them in the gulf of this confusion, the malicious and corrupt tongues of the Preachers charmed the blind with an impression of many intelligences both within and without the Realme, by the hope of a speedy and great succour from *Spaine*, by the publication of many libells, which they continually vied as firebrandes to feede this combustion, and by counterfeiting they made the Kings name and his actions very hatefull vnto the people.

In the meane time, continued the course of his victories in base *Normandy*. Where, hauing taken *Honfleur* a Port Towne, hee came and raised the *Fort of Ardenne*, where the Duke of *Mayenne* had lien fiftene daies, being distant from *Honfleur* about thirtie leagues, where he offered him battell. The advantage being as many in number as the King) could not draw him to it.

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An vnjust & treacherous decree.

E So many new triumphs did wonderfully amaze the Leaguers: the people grewe weary with the burthen of imposts, the spoyle of souldiers, and a thousand calamities that did oppresse them. To mainteyne them in the gulfes of this confusion, the mutinous and corrupt tongues of the Preachers charmed the blind with an impression of many intelligences both within and without the Realme, by the hope of a speedy and great succour from *Spaine*, by the publication of many libells, which were continually vied as firebrandes to feede this combustion, and by counterfeiting they made the Kings name and his actions very hatefull vnto the people.

The King in the meane time, continued the course of his victories in base *Normandy*, where, hauing taken *Honfleur* a Port Towne, hee came and raised the Siege of *Meulan*, where the Duke of *Mayenne* had lien fiftene daies, being distant from *Honfleur* about thirtie leagues, where he offered him battell. The advantage being twice as many in number as the King) could not draw him to it.

Rrrr 3

The

1590. the memory of *Arques* was yet too fresh, and the supply of fiftene hundred Lances, and five hundred Harguebuziers which the Duke of *Parma* sent him, vnder the command of the Count *Egmont*, made him forbear. Whilest the Duke goes to ioyne with his Strangers, the King takes *Nonancourt*, and then besiegeth *Dreux*.

Siege of
Dreux.

In the beginning of *Marche*, the Duke turnes head towards *Mantes*, to passe the riuier eight Leagues from *Dreux*. His Maiestie hath intelligence thereof, and giues him leaue to approach within two Leagues. To giue and winne a battaile is indifferent vnto him. Hee causeth his Armie to march towards *Nonancourt*, to view the foard of the riuier of *Eure*, which runnes there: hee himselfe treads out the place of battaile: he imparts it to the Duke *Montpensier*, the Marshalls of *Biron* and *Aumont*, to the Baron of *Biron* Marshall of the field, and to the chiefe Captaines of his armie: he makes choise of the Lord of *Vieq* for Sergeant Maior of the field: he appointed the *Rendezvous* for his troupes, at the village of *Saint Andrew*, foure Leagues from *Nonancourt*, vpon the way to *Tury*, and the place of battaile in a great plaine neere vnto it. All these old Souldiars found the place chosen with so great iudgment and military wisdom, as they altered not any thing.

The King hauing deliuered it vnto the Baron, to appoint euery man his place; sayd: *It is no desire of glory, nor motion of ambition, nor appetite of reuenge, that makes mee resolute to this combat, but the extreame necessitie of my iust and naturall defense, the pity of my peoples calamitie, and the preservation of my Crowne. Let vs all refer the event of this enterprise, to the eternall providence.* Then afterwards, lifting vp his eyes to heauen: *Thou knowest O God (sayd he) the secret of my thoughts. I beseech thee put me not in the number of those Princes, whom thou hast forsaken in thy wrath, but of those whom thou hast chosen to repaire the ruines of a desolate Estate, and to releue my miserable people oppressed with the violence of warre. O Lord I yeeld my selfe to the disposition of thy holye and infallible will, and desire not to liue, not to raigne, but so farre forth as my life may be to the aduancement and glory of thy name, and my authoritie the raisine of vertues, and the banishment of vices.* These and such like religious words, moued all the Campe to prayers and workes of piety, euery one according to his deuotion. This done, the King disposeth his armie according to the plotte which hee had layd. Hee diuides it into seuen esquadrons, and in euery one three hundred horse, flanked on eyther side with footmen: the first hee giues to the Marshall *D'Aumont*, with two regiments of *French*: The second to the Duke *Montpensier*, with five hundred Lanquenets, and a Regiment of *Swisses*. The third to the Earle of *Auvergne* and *Guiry*, eyther of them commanding a troupe of light horse, and on their left hand foure Canons and two Culuerins: The fourth to the Baron of *Biron*. In the fift were five ranks of horse, and sixe score in fronte, Princes, Earles, Barons, Officers of the Crowne, Knights of the Order, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the chiefe families of *France*, besides those which the Prince of *Contie* and *La Guishe*, great Maister of the Artillerie brought that day. His Maiestie was in the head of this troupe, shining in his armes, like the Sunne amidst the seuen Planets: hauing on the side of E him two battailes of *Swisses*, with the regiments of his gardes of *Brigneux*, of *Vignoles* and *Saint Iohn*. The sixt to the Marshall of *Biron*, with two regiments of *French*: The teuenth were about two hundred and fiftie *Reisfres*. These Squadrons were all in a front, but somewhat bending at the ends, in forme of a Cressent. There was nothing more terrible, then to see two thousand *French* Gentlemen armed from the head to the foote.

The disposition of the Kings armie.

The Duke of *Mayenne* appeared a farre off, and had taken a Village betwixt both armies: but his Maiestie forceth them to dislodge, and wearies them with skirmishes, to drawe them to fight: and the approaching night leaues our warriors burning with desire, to haue the day call them to the field, to make prooffe of their seruice and duties to their King and Countrey. At the breake of day, the men at armes were in their Squadrons, the Souldiars in their Battaillons, and by nine of

At the clocke euery man did fight in his gesture, in his threats and words. At the same instant the enemy shewes a bodie of about foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foote, and almost in the same forme, but most glistering, with more fethers, more men, and lesse courage, almost like a Cressent. The Dukes Comet was about two hundred and fiftie horse, augmented with the like number by the Duke of *Nemours*, who ioyned with him: and was almost in the midst of his esquadrons as that of the Kings, but flanked with two Squadrons of Lancers that came out of the Lowe Countries, who were about eightene hundred horse, marching all together. On the side were two regiments of *Swisses* covered with *French* foote, then two lesse Squadrons of Lances, seauen hundred on the right hand, and five hundred on the left, two Culuerins, and two bastards.

The sunne and the winde might haue greatly amazed the Kings army. To prevent this inconuenience, his Maiestie aduanceth about a hundred and fifty paces, gets both the sunne and the winde, and finds the enemies number greater then he esteemed. But this multitude serues as a spurre to euery Capitaine to encourage both himselfe and his men. The King goes to the head of his Squadron, beginnes his first worke by praier, exhorts all the rest to do the like, passeth from Squadron to Squadron, animates, exhorts and encourages them with a Countenance full of Maiesty, ioye and constancie. *Mariauault* arriues and giues him intelligence, that the Lords of *Humières*, and *Mouy*, are within two thousand paces of the field. But the King had well obserued the point of his happinesse, and will not giue his enemy that honour, to strike the first stroke. He that beginnes well, hath halfe ended; saith the prouerbe. Hee commandeth *La Guishe* to discharge his Cannon. It perceth through the thickest Squadrons of the enemies, and shoots nyne voltes before theirs could beginne: five or sixe hundred light horse, *French*, *Italians* and *Wallons*, aduance with a full carrier, to charge the Marshall *D'Aumont* on the one side, on the other side their *Reisfres* charge the Kings light horse. The Marshall ioynes with them, and makes them turne their tayles presently: their groue of *Reisfres* is so violently repulsed and driuen backe, as they turne sodenly to rallie themselves behinde the other troupes. An other Squadron of Lancers, *Wallons* and *Flemings*, (seeing his Maiesties troupe separated some-what from the rest which the *Reisfres* had charged) come hotly vpon them. The Baron of *Biron* makes it good, and not able to charge them in the front, takes them behinde, perceth a part of them: the rest breaketh away like a billowe against a rocke, The Baron had two wounds, one in the arme and the other in the face.

The first charge.

A second charge.

Nowe comes the Duke of *Mayenne* with his bodie of horse-men, in the which were the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Aumale*, having vpon their wings foure hundred *Carabins*, (which were Harguebuziers on horse-backe, armed with murrions and plaistrons) who make a furious fallie five and twentie paces off vpon his Maiesty troupe. This done, the King parts like a violent lightning from the head of his Squadron, beeing sixe hundred horse, hee chargeth two thousand of the enemies: hee beakes them, scatters them, and is so engaged among the thickest of them, as (notwithstanding the great plume in his Caske, and that in his horse head which made him apparent) hee remayned a good quarter of an houre vnkowne euen to his owne people, in this great forest of Lances, amidst a great shower of strokes, giuing a good testimony, that if before he could do the office of a great King and Capitaine in ordering, so could hee now performe the dutie of a braue soldiar, and resolute man at armes in fighting.

A blowdie charge.

But aboue all, of a most milde and mercifull Conqueror: who in this bloudie fight, did sound forth that gracious speech. *Save the French, and downe with the stranger*. Doublesse hee is well kept, whome God keepes. Some were greatly astonished and amazed: others trembled and quaked, hauing lost the sight of the Kings Maiesty. This great bodie, whose foundation was so much shaken, beganne to wauer: those who euen now presented their faces so

1589. furiously with the points of their Lances and swords, do now shew their heeles, cast away their armes, and trust to their horses. His Maiestie being freed from this perill, having with twelue or fifteene in his company, taken three Corners, and slaine the *Wallons* that did accompanie them, and returning to his Squadron a triumphing Conquerour, he filled the armie with exceeding ioy, and the armie the ayre, with their louing crye of, *God save the King*.

A generall
one, that owe,

The *Swisses* remainyng yet whole, but abandoned of all their horse, and layed open. They propound to send the *French* foot on the right hand, who had not yet fought, to breake them. But the respect of the ancient alliance of that nation with this Crowne, made the King to graunt them life, and receive them vnto mercie. Laying downe their armes, they passed to his Maiesties side, and those *French* that were with them, moved the like clemencie. But the time his Maiestie lost in pardoning the *Swisses*, did greatly fauour their retreat that fled, gaue the Duke of *Mayenne* leisure to paide the river of *Eure*, to breake the bridge after him, and to recouer *Mante* in safetie. The Marshall of *Biron* stood firme without flincking, yet did he more terrifie the enemye then any other: for seeing this troupe of rescue whole, they supposed that this old fouldlar having bin practised in so many battailes in his life time, would easily breake them, and make the victory absolute. Hereupon the Marshall d' *Aumont*, the Earle of *Clermont*, the Baron of *Biron*, and other Commaunders, returne from the chase, gather together their troupes, and ioyne with the King. And the King having received his forces that came out of *Normandie*, makes a bodie, leaues the Marshall of *Biron* with the armie to follow him, sends the Earle of *Auvergne* before, takes the Baron of *Biron* on his right hand, and an other troupe on his left: and accompanied with the Prince of *Conty*, Duke of *Montpensier*, Earle Saint *Paul*, Marshall d' *Aumont*, the Lord of *Tremouille*, and many others, pursued the point of his victorie, chasing, bearing, and killing, vntill that the broken bridge (diuerting them a League and a halfe out off the way, to passe at the foard of *Anet*, and the horses (whose legges the *Reisires* had cut to stoppe the way) hindring the ponsure, and the approaching night, ended the victorie.

Loss of the
Leaguers.

The disorder was great in the retreat of the vanquished, and the slaughter great in the fury of the fight: about fixe hundred horse were slaine or drowned, and about foure hundred prisoners. The Count *Egmont*, the yong Earle of *Brunswike*, *Chastellain*, and a great number of other Noblemen slaine, *Bois-Dauphin*, *Meslaur*, *Cigogne* (who carried the white Corner to the Duke of *Mayenne*) *Fontaine Martel*, *Louchamp*, *Lodouan*, *Falandre*, *Hengueffan*: the Marshalls of the field, *Trenay*, *Castelliere*, *Dijon*, and many other *French*, *Germisines*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Flemings* were prisoners, whereof the most part being graciously released, did afterwards abuse the Kings bounty by a reuolt, whomeuer could practise that vnciuill maxime of State, a dead man neuer makes warre. There were twentie Corners taken, the white Corner, the great standard of the Generall of the *Spaniards* and *Flemings*, the Corners of the Colonnell of the *Reisires*, three score ensignes of foot of diuers nations, and the foure and twentie of *Swisses* which yeilded. All the footmen which yeilded not, or were not drowned, were cut in peeces. All their artillery, all their baggage carried away. Such as fled into the woods found lesse mercie in the peasants, then in the men of warre. The Duke of *Mayenne* saved himselfe in *Mante*, and gaue the Townesmen this flout for their comfort, that the *Bearnois* were still one, or little better. The Duke of *Nemours*, *Bassompierre*, the Vicont of *Taunnes*, *Rufne* and some others tooke the way of *Chartres*. To conclude, his Maiestie pourses them almost to the gates of *Mante*, finding the wayes (notwithstanding his lets) full of runners away which remainyng at his discretion. And if those of *Mante* resisting in their first resolution, to keepe their gates shut, had not yeilded to the Dukes earnest request, both hee and all his followers had fallen into the victors hands. Thus God poured out his wrath vpon this armie: thus a handfull of men defeated many Leaguions: thus the *French* spoyled *Perou* euen in *France*. On the Kings side were slaine *Clermont* of *Entragues* Captaine of his Maiesties guards, *Tieb*, *Schemberg* Colonnell of the *Reisires*, fighting then vnder the white Corner, *Loncaulnay* of *Normandie*,

Lost on the
Kings side.

Amandie, being three score and twelue yeares olde (an honorable graue for that braue olde man) *Crenay* Corner to the Duke of *Montpensier*, *Fesquiers*, and at the most twenty Gentlemen more. The Marquis of *Nesle* being hurt, died within egiu daies after. The Earle of *Choisy*, the Earle of *Luden d' O*, *Montlucet*, *Lauergne*, *Refuy* and some others were lightly hurt.

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In this battaile they obserue three chiefe things. The first the Kings firme resolution to giue battaile, with an assured confidence, that the sincerity of his intent, and the equity of his cause should bee fauored with the assistance of heauen. The second, that at the very instant of the fight it seemed that the earth did bring forth armed men for his seruice: for on the eue and the day of battaile, there came about fixe hundred horses vnto him vnexpected. The third, that of two thousand *French* Gentlemen, only twelue hundred did fight: twelue hundred put to rout an army of foure thousand horse, fresh, well mounted, & well armed, and twelue thousand foote. Without doubt the Eternall God of armes doth neuer forget the right of Princes, against their rebellious subiects: and a braue resolution, with a wise commaunde giues a happie ende to battailes.

Conquests
after the victory.

This victory purchaseth *Vernon* and *Mante* vnto the King, two principall bridges vpon the riuer of *Seine*. And the heauens seemed to poure more blessings vpon our *Henry*, and to make his way easie to an absolute Royaltie: for the Earle of *Rendun* (chiefe of the League in *Auvergne*,) was the same daie of the battaile of *Yury*, shamefully chased from the siege of *Issire*, slaine in battaile, his troupe cut in peeces and his artillery taken, by the Lords of *Curton*, *Rosignat* and *Chastillon*.

Another
battaile, vnto
the League.

As they had abused the *Mantois* with a vaine assurance of his death, whome they durst not looke vpon nor incounter. so with the like practises they must delude the *Parisens*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, his sister of *Montpensier*, and the other heads of the League, deceiued of hopes, published by printed bookes, That at the first assault at *Dreux*, the *Bearnois* had lost about fixe hundred men, that their wounds had made a greater number vnfit for their armes: That the Marshall of *Biron* was wounded vnto death. That in another encounter neere vnto *Poissy* the *Vision* had gotten a great victory. That in the battaile of *Yury*, the combate had beene long, and the losse almost equall. That if the *Bearnois* beene not dead, hee is little better. But such as (glad to haue saved themselves,) came to *Paris*, marred all, in verifying the Contrary: making the people to hang downe their heads, and to wish for peace by a still and mournfull muttering. The fire brands of hell in their pulpits made the losse farre lesse then it was, giuing them an assured hope of speedie and newe succors from *Spaine*, for the restoring of their Estate and the destruction of the *Maheustres*. so they then called such as did fight vnder the Kings Ensignes.

To that ende the Duke of *Mayenne* went into *Flanders*, to the Duke of *Parma*: that Eisto say, hee went to ruine his honour and reputation, for being a master at home among his owne countrymen, hee went to make himselfe a seruant and slaue to an ambitious proud man, who hath often made him attend at his gate, and lacquay after him, before hee could receiue an answer of any matter of small importance: to the great grieve an disdain of the *French* Gentlemen, that did accompanie him. Doubtlesse it was necessary the Duke should trie the insolvency of strangers, the better to know the courtresie of the *French*, and submit his armes and person to the King his soueraigne and lawfull Lord: the means whereby hereafter hee shall abolish the memory of things past.

Aduersity makes the wilfull more obstinate. The Court of Parliament at *Rouen*, for execution of the former decree, puts to death the sequenth of Aprill, some prisoners the Kings seruants: and three daies after they declare all those persons guilty of high treason to God and man, that followed the King of *Nauarre*, (so speake the decree,) and would not yeeld to King *Charles* the tenth of that

1590 that name, joyne with the Vnion, and carrie armes vnder the Duke of *Mayenne*. Who left these threaten by their decree, and the Duke goes to beg releefe, the King being at *Mantua* laboured to reduce the *Parisiens* to reason by mildnes. But these trumpets of sedition, imputing this delay to want of courage, perswaded the people, that though their sworne enemy should haue worke mough, and that at length he should be beaten, that a little patience would giue them a great victorie: that they must not yeeld in any article whatsoeuer: making impudent allusions to the name of his familie, who is now seated in the throne of this monarchie.

Seige of Paris.

These insolent exclamations brought the King about *Paris*. *Paris* is accustomed to liue from hand to mouth: the benefit of the Hales, the Place *Maubert*, and other market places, is the cause that the most part of households doe not knowe what provision means. And the cheefe of the League had to setle this former beleefe in the Citizens minds, as of a hundred, fourescore and nineteene had neglected to provide for things necessarie to endure the toyle of a seige. So as the taking of *Ante*, *Poissy*, *Pontcharenton*, *Corbeil*, *Meulan*, *Montreuil* vpon *Seine*, and *Logny* vpon *Marne*, brought *Paris* in few moneths to extreame necessitie. *Compiègne*, *Creil*, and *Beaumont* kept the river of *Oise*.

Erronious decision of *Sorbonne*.

But the ordinarie cries of the Preachers: the practises of the cheefe, and the Ladies of the League, and the erroneous decision of the facultie of *Sorbonne*, giuen the seventh of May in the third generall congregation, held to that end in the great hall of the sayd College, prohibiting all Catholikes according to the law of God, sayd they, to receiue for King an heretike or fauor of heretikes, relaps & excommunicate, although he do afterwards obtaine by an outward iudgement absolution of his crimes and Censures, if there remaine any doubt of dissembling, treacherie, or subuersion of the Catholike religion. Condemning all them for heretikes, forsakers of religion, and pernicious to the church, that should suffer any such to come to the crowne. All these made the multitude more oblitate against the extreamest miseries which the rigour of a long and painful seige may cause. Besides this decision, they had yet stronger restraints to bridle mens tongues & actions that fauoured the flower *de Liz* in their hearts. The sixteene set spies to obserue the speeches and countenances of such as they suspect: that is to say, of such as wish for peace, and haue not lost the remembrance of the true Princes of *France*. And if any one chance to say, It were good to treat of a peace. He is a politike: he is a *Royalist*, that is to say, an heretike, and enemy to the Church. They spoyle, imprison, yea put to death, such as doe not applaud this horrible tyrannie.

Miseries of the *Parisiens*.

The Duke of *Nemours*, in the Duke his brothers absence commaunded at *Paris*, and for his cheefe Councillors he had, the Popes Legat, the Ambassador of *Spaine*, the Archbishop of *Lyon*, the Bishops of *Paris*, *Rennes*, *Plaisance*, *Senlis* and others. *Panigraue*, Bishop of *Ast*, *Bellarmin* and *Tyccus* Iesuits, who with diuerse precessions, fasting, vowes and supplications, bewitched the people in their greatest famine: many zealous doctors, Curats, Preests, and Monks tooke armes, and the friars with their breuiaries in open musters were admired by some, and laughed at by others. The Cheualier *d' Aumale*, with some others, laboured by sallies to annoy the kings troupes, who content to repulse them, hoped their bellies would shortly make their tongues to sing a new note. The Duke of *Mayenne* on the other side courted the *Parmesans*: and the King of *Spaine* proceeded so slowly in his succours, as the best iudgements did perceiue, he rather sought to entertaine, then to quench their thirst.

The *Parisiens* in the same time had leisure to sharpen, but not to satisfie their appetite. The Corne and other provision of the publike, was wasted the first moneth. Such as had any provision in their houses, kept it very secret, and others that trusted too confidently to the words of the cheefe Commanders and Preachers, perished of hunger, or at the least indured much, striving against the crueltie of famine. All passages by water were cut off, the taking of *Saint Denis* deprived them of the plenty of *France*, & but for the passports (which a little fauour or money obtained easily of the Captaines and

A and gards) the Cittizens had in few weekes beene brought to the Kings discretion, 1590 who yeelded good for euill, suffered them to carrie victuals for the Duke of *Nemours*, and others who practised his ruine.

Their miserie grew extreame in the third moneth of the seige. There were a hundred thousand people dead of hunger, greefe, and pouertie, in the streets and hospitals, without releefe, and without pittie. The suburbs ruined, beaten downe, and wast. The Cittie needie and solitarie. The rents of the Towne-house (being the cheefe liuings of many families) were extinguished: their lands about the Cittie wasted and desolate, the vniuersity forsaken, or serving to lodge peasants, and the scholes for stables for their cattle. The Pallace not frequented; but by some idle persons, the grass growing where as before they could hardly go for presse. The shops either without workemen, or without trafficke. No corne, no wine, no wood, no haie vpon the riuier. Nothing passed but were subiect to the garrisons of *Saint Denis*, the sort of *Gournay*, *Charenton* and *Corbeil*. The Halls were emptie, no marchants in market places, no meanes to make money, nor to get meate. To conclude, see this Queene of Citties, this little world, this *Paris* without peere; wast, desolate, and at the last gaspe, and (to augment the disorder) many relikes were eaten, the Jewels and the Crowne of ancient Kings molten, and for a peece of bread, many wiues and virgins do willingly abandon their bodies, and their honours to the souldiars.

But all these miseries and horrors cannot moue these hard harted *Pharises*. The sixteene, the fortie, and the cheefe of the faction, bewitch the people, as it were with a sleeping potion which benums the members, to cut them off by peccemeale when they bee asleepe, that hauing sucked the blood, the heat, and the hearts out of their bodies, (as they haue done the silver out off their purses) they might confirme their insolent tyrannie, without controull. They force the Parliament (being subiect to the houses of *Spaine* and *Lorraine*,) to publish a decree the fifteenth of Iune, forbidding all men to speake of any composition with *Henry of Bourbon*, but to oppose themselves by all meanes, yea with the effusion of their blood. And the Preachers did still feede them with hope of a speedie deliuerie.

But the bellie hath no cares: the people are not fed with paper, or with the Duke of *Mayennes* promises, nor with his trumpets. They haue already eaten dogges, cats, horses, asses, moyles, heibes, roots, and anything that might quench the rage of famine in such extreame dispaire. They come tumultuously to the Councell assembled in the pallace, to require a peace. They provide for this mutinie by a fillic reliefe of eight or tenne dayes. At the end whereof a great number appeare armed in the same place, and demaund peace or bread. *Le Gois*, a Captaine in the Towne, steps forth to feed these famished people with words, but no bread, and for his reward hee was wounded in the shoulder with a sword, whereof hee died within few dayes after. The Chaulier *d' Aumale* flies thither, and followed by a troupe of men at his deuotion, shuts the Pallace gates, imprisons them that were armed, and hangs two out of the whole multitude, to suppress the like fits of this dispaireing people. These popular mutinies had confounded the cheefe Leaguers, if they had not prevented it. To this end, they assemble with the cheefe of the Cittie, and notwithstanding the decision of the *Sorbonne*, and the decree of the Court, they resolute to send the Archbishop of *Lyon*, and the Bishop of *Paris* to the Kings Maiestie, to seeke some meanes of pacification.

A mutinie of the people.

Before they part, they will haue leave from the Legat, lest they incurre some Ecclesiasticall censure. The Legat consults with *Panigraue*, *Bellarmin*, and *Tyccus*, whether the *Parisiens* did fall into excommunication, being forced by the famine to submit to an heretike Prince. If the Deputies going to such a Prince, to convert him, or to better the Estate of the Catholike Church, were comprehended in the excommunication of the Bull of Pope *Sixtus* the first. The Doctors answer no.

Thus the Deputies come to the king, to *Saint Anthones* in the field. The King hears their speech, tending to a generall peace for the Realme, or a particular for *Paris*, if the

Deputies sent to the King.

1590 the Duke of Mayenne will not seeke a Generall. But what can they hope to obtaine of A
a King of France and of Nauarre, treating with him but with the simple qualitie of King
of Nauarre?

The Kings
answere to
the Deputies.

Your Councell (said his Maiestie) *contradicts it selfe, demanding peace of him, whome they will acknowledge but for a King of Nauarre. I will, and desire peace, to ease my people: but not according to your propositions. I loue the Cittie of Paris as my eldest daughter, and will doe her more good then shee requires, so as she be thankfull vnto mee, and not to the Duke of Mayenne, nor to the King of Spaine. The brute of the Spanish succours for Paris doe not amaze mee. I know the practises of Spaine, and with the helpe of heauen will conuert them into smoke. Paris and the Realme of France are not fit for King Philips mouth. I will giue the Parisiens eigh dayes to consider of their yeelding, and of the articles of peace for the whole B
realm. Vpon their refusall, I know well how to use a Conquerors right against the cheefe mo-
tiues & fauours of rebellion. The constancie of them of Sancerre: the dispaire and victory of
the Gantois, whereby you magnifiethem of Paris, is impertinent: for those of Sancerre were
prest to these extremities by the violences of such as would take from them their goods and li-
berties, their religion & liues. Contrariwise I will giue the Parisiens life, which Mendoza the
Ambassador of Spaine takes from them by famine. As for religio, informe your selues of these
Princes and Noblemen Catholikes, if I do force their consciences in the exercise of their religio,
or otherwise. The comparison with them of Gant is not good. The Parisiens haue suffici-
ently shewed their courage, in suffering their suburbs to be taken. I haue five thousand Gentle-
men with me, who will not be intreated after the Gantois maner. I haue likewise God, and the C
equitie of my cause. Make a faithfull report of my words to them that haue sent you.*

With this answer, & other speeches testifying the Kings good meaning, & the smal
feare he had of the League, these Deputies go to the Duke of Mayenne: and hee sends
them backe to the King, and giues great hope to incline to a peace. But, *Be not amazed
at this treatie* (said he to the Parisiens, by a Secretary of his, going after the Deputies)
I will rather die then make a peace. And being aduertised, that Paris would shortly be
forced through want to yeeld vnto the King. *The taking thereof* (answered he) *shall be
preiudiciall vnto him: this conquest shall disperse his armie, and then we shall preuaile easily.*
But his Maiestie would neither see, nor suffer the ruine of his capital Cittie: and his mean-
ing was not to seize vpon Paris in such sort as his enemies supposed. It grieved him D
to see so many ill aduised people. And if the Dukes of Mayenne and Parma, coming to
succour them, would hazard a battaile, he hoped by their ouerthrowe to bring the Pa-
risiens vnto reason.

The King
goes aginst
his enemies.

Thus the Duke thought to abuse the King with deuises, and vnder a colour of trea-
tie win time, in fauour of the beleeged. But the King being aduertised, that the Duke
of Mayenne was parted from Bruxelles, and tooke the way to Paris, followed by Balag-
ny, Capitaine Saint Paul and other troupes, his Maiestie aduanceth with a troupe of
horse, and marcheth seuentene Leagues, to incounter him: and missing them but one
houre, he forceth them to flie into Laon. The Duke fortifies himselfe there with his
forces, and approaching vnto Meaux, he giues a generall hope of a battile. The King E
goes againe towards him: but hee finds the Duke fortified betwixt two riuers, attend-
ing the Duke of Parmas comming, who being come, renues this first hope, and with
this dessemel he goes to lodge at Claye and Fresnes, sixe Leagues from Paris. The King
raiseth the seerge, comes to meet him, appoints the Rendezuous for his armie. The next
day, the thirteenth of August, on the plaine of Bondy in the way to his enemies, he chaseth
their quarter masters from Chelles, who began to marke out their lodging, and forceth
a troupe of eight hundred horse to retire into the bodie of their armie.

The seige of
Paris raised.

The King
offers battaile

The first of September, the Kings armie is in battaile about the village of Chelles, a-
bout five thousand horse, in the which were sixe Princes, two Marshalls of France, many
Noblemen, more commaundets, more great Captaines then are in all the rest of F
the world, foure thousand French Gentlemen (whom the bare shew of a combat doth
draw more cheerefully to the place of battaile, then to a gallant wedding) & eightene
thousand foote French and strangers. The Duke of Parma standing vpon a hill to
view

A view them. *Be these* (sayd hee to the Duke of Mayenne) *the tenne thousand men, which* 1590
*you assured mee would be so easily overcome? there appears above five and twentie thou-
sand in the best order that I haue seene.* This Duke made more account to saue one of
his men, then to kill ten of his enemies. So resoluing not to hazard anything, they
change their Swords and Lances, into shouels and Pikeaxes, and intrenching them-
selues in the Fenne, auoyded the danger, and preserved his armie: and neither could
skirmishes nor alarmes make him abandon his trenches.

On the eighth day of the moneth, the mist was great, and the winde being contra-
rie, carried away the noise of the enemies Canon. The Dukes laying holde of this
occasion, make a bridge of Boates, besiege Lagny vpon Marne, a weake Towne,
lying behinde their backs, and halfe a mile from their Campe: they batter it, and
take it by force, but not without an honourable and vertuous resistance of three hun-
dred men, that kept it, but holding it not gardable they razed it. To drawe them out
of their Forte, his Maiestie makes shew of a great enterprise against Paris: he makes Lagny taken
his desseigne knowne; that hee will attempt it by scaladoc: and the tenth daye at
night goes from the Campe with a good troupe. But they keepe themselves with-
in the Fenne, yet could they not long subsist in this straight, where they endured
all want: and hungar in the end would driue the Woolfe out of the wood. The
King offered them battaile in vaine: hee attended the tryall of the Dukes forces in
vaine. (Hee therefore mans those places hee held about Paris, sends backe some of
his troupes into Touraine, Normandie, Champagne and Bourgogne, and retaines a
sufficient armie to annoy his enemies.)

This proceeding drawes the Dukes to field, to free Paris. Parma calles himselfe a
redeemer: and to make his profit of this aduantage, hee besiegeth and taketh Cor-
beil by force, and kills all that hee findes in armes. Rigaude (a braue and valiant
Captaine) commanded there, and hauing no time to fortifie against so great a pow-
er, hee found there his honourable Sepulcher. For dying at the breach, hee per-
formed the dutie of a faithfull and valiant seruant to the King. But the Parmesan lost
the Marquis of Renty, with a great number of men, blemished his reputation, and
weakened his armie: for whilst that he wastes time, the King makes new desseignes,
which shall bring the League into greater difficulties.

Euenthen the Agents of Philip would haue filled his good Cittie of Paris (for
the Spaniard called it) with numbers of Spaniards and Walons. But on the one
side the plague was great, and vctually very skant: and on the other side, the forces
of Maurice Earle of Nassau preuailed in the Lowe Countries: the Queene of Eng-
land sending great succours thither. And the sixtene of Paris seeing themselves at
some more libertie, thanked the Duke of Parma, giuing him to vnderstand, that his
abode at Bruxelles, would be more pleasing and more safe for him. His armie de-
cayed visibly: hee sees himselfe in the midst of an inconstant multitude, and to dis-
member his forces, to leaue any with the Parisiens, were to loose them, to drawe the
King vpon him, and to be in danger of an ouerthrowe. So in the end of Nouember
he gathers together his troupes, and makes his retreat, being pursued, tyred, and
beaten with dayly losse, euent to the frontiers of Arthois, by the King, the Dukes of
Neuers and Longueuille, by the Baron of Biron, Ciury, Parabell, and others. To teach
Strangers, that France cannot be taken nor ruined, but by it selfe.

The Duke of
Parma re-
treats.

Hee had no sooner turned his backe, but Corbeil and other small places held by
them, returned to the Kings obedience: the garrisons placed there by them, repayed
the French blood lately shed at the taking thereof: and Paris fell againe into new
confusions and like necessitie. The Duke of Mayenne was greatly troubled to assist
the Parmesan in his retreat. During the which, the Marshall of Biron tooke Cler-
mont Beauchassin for his Maiestie, five or sixe other Townes, and twentie Fortes or
Castles, possessed by the enemy. The Duke of Parma being out of the Realme, the
King made his entrie into Saint Quentin, being receiued with an honourable enter-
tainment, and exceeding ioye of the Inhabitants: and the tenth of December, hee
S f f
Was

1590. was advertised, that *Humieres*, *Boissiere* his brother in lawe, and *Parabell*, had forced *Corbie*, scaled the walles, fought with the garrison, slaine all men of defence, and conquered the Towne for his Maiestie.

Diuers exploits.

We haue conducted a mighty enemy out off the realme: let vs now obserue some particular exploits, for which we would not interrupt the continuance of our History. The Leaguers forces consisted of men, who sought their priuate profit in the confusion of the Estate, and by consequence, wished for nothing but increase of disorders: so all their desseignes tended onely to spoile and desolation: to the preiudice of the Kings subiects, but to no aduancement of their party. In *Dauphiné* those of *Vienne* fought in the moneth of Marche, to shew some effects in fauour of the crosses of *Lorraine*. Those which had the Flower de Luze printed in their hearts, assure the Towne for the King. The Colonel *Alphonso*, and *Les Diguieres* go to succour them: and from thence go and take *Pont of Beauuoisin*, and *Saint Laurence du Pont*, possessed by the League.

In the meane time, the Marquis of *S. Sorlin*, brother to the Duke of *Nemours*, hath an enterprise vpon *Vienne*. These two Commanders flie thither with speed, and repulse the enemy. *Alphonso* desires to see how he carries himselfe in his retreat, hee falls into an ambush layd by the Baron of *Sencey*, is taken prisoner, and payes afterwards fortie thousand Crownes for his rancome. *Les diguieres* tooke the Townes and Castles of *Briançon* and *Dexilles*, and entred vpon the territories of the Duke of *Sauoy*. Then in Nouember hee beleeged and forced *Grenoble* a Parliament Towne, to set vp the armes of France, and to change their affections, which inclined to the factions of Strangers. So wee may say, that *Dauphiné* was the first Prouince of the realme, wholly subdued to the King from the League: the which was chiefly performed by the valour and diligence of the Lord of *Les Diguieres*.

Gregorie the 14. a papian of Spaine.

In *Normandie* the Duke of *Montpensier* tooke *Honfleur*, and forced the Leaguers to leaue the field. Thus the League decreased in diuers Countries: and to giue them a mare, the King did sollicite a leuie of *Reistres* in *Germanie*, by the *Viconte of Turenne*. On the other side, *Gregorie Sfondrate*, lately installed in the Pontificall Chaire, and a Partisan of *Spaine*, renewed the hopes of the League, promising a succour of fiftene hundred horse, and eight thousand foote, vnder the command of *Francis Sfondrate* his Nephew. During these preparations, the Cheualier *D'Aumale* attempts vpon *Saint Denis*, scales the wall by night, enters the Towne without losse, and held himselfe for maister thereof, when as the Lord of *Vieq*, a valiant, wise, and resolute Gentleman, comes into the streete, chargeth the Knight, layes him dead vpon the place, killes most of his followers, and puts the rest to flight. This Knight was one of the chiefe of the League, violent, hardie, and valiant, but of a strange disposition, insupportable and dissolute.

The King tyred the *Parisiens* with continuall alarums, and new enterprises, but rather to terrifie them then to ruine them, and to giue them occasion to open their eyes, and to consider of their estate. They growe so amazed, as they wall vp *Saint Honories* gate, vpon an aduertisement that the Kings troupes would make some great attempt the 20. of Ianuarie. The *Parisiens* feare serues the Agents of *Spaine* for a pretext to drawe in some regiments of *Spaniards* and *Neapolitaines*, attending some greater succours from the Duke of *Parma*. The hope of these new succours from *Spaine* and *Italy*, serued the chiefe of that faction, as a bridle to restrain the *Parisiens*. But the more to incourage and content the whole body, *Gregorie* the 14. of that name, assisted by many Cardinalls, doth againe excommunicate the King and his adherents: hee sends a monitorie to the Cardinall of *Plaisance* his Legate at *Paris*, by *Marcellin Landriano* his Nuncio: and for the effect of his purposes and promises, hee begins to arme, to nourish (in steed of quenching, as the common father) the combustion of this Realme.

On the other side (the *Castilian* hauing priuate intelligence with the Duke of *Mercour*) the *Spaniards* land in *Brittanie*, and fortifie *Blauet* a port of the sea: and thereby

in

A in a manner dismember the whole Prouince, vnited to the Crowne vnder *Charles* the eight. The King sent *la Noue* to make head against them: and retyring to *Senlis*, hee tooke the way to *Brie*, accompanied by the Duke of *Neuers*, (who hereafter shall be of the Kings party, vpon the assurance the Cardinall of *Bourbon* gaue him, that hee might without scruple of conscience carry armes for his King, although of a contrary religion,) he makes a shew to beleege *Prouins*, *Sens*, or *Troyes*: then with a todaine change he giues out, that his meaning was to go to *Tours*, to redresse some disorders: but hee commands the Marshall of *Biron* (who returned from the conquest of *Candebrce*, *Harsleur*, *Fescamp* and almost *Normandie*, for his Maiefty, except *Neue-hauen*, *Rouan*, *Pontise* and two or three other places) to make a shewe to passe through *Beaulse*, to ioine with him, and that sodenly hee should turne and beset *Chartres*, before that any greater forces should enter.

Chartres was enuironed the tenth of *Februaire*, beleeged, battered, and assaulted, but valiantly defended almost two monethes and a halfe. *La Bourdaisiere* commanded there, who hauing endured some assaults, it was propounded in the Kings Councill to raise the seege: but the Earle of *Chemery*, lately restored to the office of Chancellor, by his Maiefty, did vehemently impugne it, hauing an especiall interest in the reduction of this towne, by reason of some lands he possessed there about: he aduiseeth the King to giue a general assault: insistes vpon the dishonor & preiudice it would bring to the Kings affaires, and the commodities hee should receiue by the taking thereof, being one of the keyes of *Paris*, which might greatly settie his Estate, and annoy his rebels. The Lord of *Chastillon*, (comming from rayling of the seege of *Aubigny*, which *la Chastre*, chiefe of the League in *Berry* had beleeged) promisseth the King that if hee will make him his Lieutenant on this side the riuer, hee will deliuer it into his power within eight daies. His Maiefty giues him this Commaunde. Hee makes a bridge of woode, the point whereof reached vnto the breach, that they might come couered to handie stroakes with the enemy. This newe engin amazeth them, and drawes them to composition: the which they obtained on good-friday, vpon condition to yeeld within eight daies, if they were not releued.

The Duke of *Mayenne* would not loose the certaine, to runne after the vncertaine. D Hee held *Chasteau-Thierry* so straightly begirt, as the *Viconte Pinard* was forced to capitulate with him before the King could come to his succour. So the King lost *Chasteau-Thierry*, and in exchange tooke *Chartres*, a goodly and strong place. There came forth about sixe hundred men with their armes, horie, and baggage, and the 19. of Aprill the King made a triumphant entry in armes, appointed a garrison, restored *Sourdis* to his gouernment, reduced *Aulneau* and *Dourdan*, to his obedience, and then went to refresh himselfe at *Senlis*.

Let vs now see for other sinister accidents, which in time shall helpe to ruine the League. A thousand horse, and eightene hundred Harguebuziers, *Prouensals*, *Sauoyards* and *Spaniards*, seeke to subdue that Prouince for the Duke of *Sauoy*. *La Vallette* E inuities *le-Diguieres* to do the King herein a notable seruice: he goes, and both ioynly charge these troupes of strangers, and *bastard French*, they kill foure hundred masters and fiftene hundred Harguebuziers, take many prisoners, and carrie away fiftene Enseigns, winne many hories and much baggage, and loose but one Gentleman and some twenty souldiars. This done *Les Diguieres* returnes into *Dauphiné*. Being gone, the League recouers new forces in *Prouence* by the fauour and credit of the Countesse of *Sault*: but shee had neyther force nor vigour able to countenance the factions of *Spaine* and *Sauoye*. The Duke of *Sauoye*, lately returned from *Spaine*, growes iealous of some intelligences preiudiciall to his Estate, and lets gards both ouer her and the Lord of *Genes* her son. She is cunning, counterfeits herselfe like, conceales her discontent, in *Palov*. In the end shee finds means to escape with her sonne disguised to *Marceilles*.

In *Porton* the gouernor of *Loches*, hauing taken the Castell of *la Guterche*, the *Viconte* of the sayd place preieth his friends, intreats the Duke of *Mercour*, assembles all hee can, to recouer his house. The Baron of *Kochepose* ioyned with some other

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Com-

1591. Commanders of the Country for his Maiesties seruice, comes and chargeth the *Vicomte*, kills aboute three hundred gentlemen, his best footemen, & aboute seauen hundred naturall *Spaniards* that were come out of *Brittaine*, to succor the *Vicomte*. The *Vicomte* after he had maintayned a little fight, flies to a riuer by, where thinking to passe in the ferry-boate, the presse grew presently so great, as boate and passengers sunke. *La Guerche* with many other gentlemen slaine or drowned, did almost equall the number of the Nobility which died at *Couttras*.

The Popes
Bull disapul-
led.

Then the Princes, and Noblemen, Catholiks, following the King, did sollicite his Maiesty to turne to the Catholike religion, and had by the Duke of *Luxembourg* sought to appease the bitterness of the Court of *Rome*, against the estate of this realme. The Dukes returne with small hope: the petitions made vnto the King, to prouide for his dutiull subiects of both religions: to prevent the new attempts of *Gregory* the 14. and his adherents, to the preiudice of this Crowne, were the cause of two Edicts made at *Mante* in the beginning of *July*: the one confirmed the Edicts of pacification made by the deceased King, vpon the troubles of the realme, and disannulled all that passed in *July*: 1585. & 1588. in fauour of the League. The other shewed the Kings intent to maintaine the Catholike, Apostolike and *Romish* religion in *France*, with the ancient rights & priuileges of the *French church*. The Court of Parliament at *Paris*, resident at *Tours* & *Chalons* in *Champagne*, hauing verified these Edicts, did presently disannul all the Bulls of Cardinall *Caietans* Legation, and other Bulls come from *Rome* the first of March, proceedings, excommunications and fulminations, made by *Marcellin Landriano*, terming himselfe the Popes *Nuncio*, as abusive, scandalous, seditious, full of impostures, made against the holy decrees, Canonick Constitutions, approved Councells, and against the rights and liberties of the *French Church*. They decree, that if any had bene excommunicate by vertue of the sayd proceedings, they should be absolved: the said Bulls and all proceedings by vertue thereof burnt in the market place by the hang-man. *Landriano* the pretended *Nuncio* (come priuily into the realme without the kings leaue or biling) should bee apprehended and put into the Kings pryson, and so to proceed extraordinarylie against him. And in case he could not be taken, he should be summoned at three short daies, according to the accustomed manner, and ten thousand frankes given in reward to him that should deliuer him to the Magistrate. Prohibitions bee made to all men to receiue, retayne, conceale or lodge the sayd pretended *Nuncio*, vpon paine of death. And to all Clergie men, not to receiue publish or cause to be published any sentences, or proceedings coming from him, vpon paine to be punished as Traytors. They declared the Cardinalls (beeing at *Rome*), the Archbishops, Bishoppes and other Clergie men, which had signed, and ratified the sayd Bull of excommunication, and approved the most barbarous, abhominable and detestable *Parricide* trayterously committed on the person of the sayd deceased King, most Christian and most Catholike, deprived of such spirituall liuings as they held within the realme, causing the Kings Proctor generall to seize thereon, and to put them into his Maiesties hand: forbidding all persons eyther to carry or send gold to *Rome*, and to prouide for the disposition of benefices, vntill the King should otherwise decree.

That of *Tours* added this clause to their decree: they declared *Gregory* calling himselfe Pope the foureteenth of that name, an enemy to peace, to the vnion of the Catholike Apostolike and *Romane* Church, to the King and to his Estate, adhering to the conspiracy of *Spaine*, and a fauor of rebels, culpable of the most cruell, most inhumane, and most detestable *Parricide*, committed on the person of *Henry* the 3. of famous memory, most Christian and most Catholike.

The Parliament of the League, did afterwards condemne and cause those decrees to bee burnt at *Paris*, which were made against the Bulls, and ministers of the *Rome*. So one pulled downe what an other built vpe. During this contrariety of *Parliaments*, there falls out a crosse to diuide the intentions of the *Spaniard*, and *Lorraine* without the realme, and of the Dukes of *Mayenne* and

A and *Nemours* at *Paris*. Euery one by diuers practises affected this Crowne, and euery one tryed all his wittes to set it vpon his owne head. But these men had diuided it amongst them, giuing the rest to vnderstand, that they fedde themselves with vaine hopes. To cast more wood and oyle into the flames of their diuision, and to ruine one by another, matters were so handled, as the 15. of August, the yong Duke of *Guise* escaped out of prison from *Tours*, and not farre from the riuer, found a troupe of horle appointed by the Lord of *La Chastre*, to conduct him. This escape caused many bonfires, and greatly reuiued their hearts, who held this Prince fitte to make a King of the Vnion. But the cleere sighted thought with reason, that his arriual at *Paris* would rather ruine then aduance their partye, and the deuises and practises of other pretendants, must needs soone kindle an extreame and common ielousie amongst them.

The Duke of
Guise escapes.

Whilest these consult with their most trustie friends and seruants, what effects might grow by this new accident: the King in the same moneth besieged *Noyon* in *Picardie*, defeated the succours sent by the League, foure times, killed their most resolute men at armes, tooke many prisoners, put the rest to flight, and at the Duke of *Mayennes* nose (who to auoyde this check, which the League was like to receiue, attempted vpon *Mante*, sought to force his Maiesties *Suisses* lodged at *Houdan*, and approached neere to *Noyon*, but would not fight) heaping shame vpon his enemies: hee forced the besieged to yeeld to his obedience: and moreouer went and dared him to fight before *Han*.

Noyon taken
by the King.

C Let vs returne into *Daulphiné*, to behold the most memorable, and most fatall defeat for the enemies of this Crowne, the most vertuous expedition of armes, which for these many yeares hath most broken their desseignes vpon *Prouence* and *Daulphiné*, and most weakened the League in those Prouinces, which the *Sauoisien* affected: *Don Amado*, bastard brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, *Don Oliuares* chiefe of the *Spaniards*, (whom the Duke had lately obtained of King *Philip* his father in lawe,) the Marquis of *Trevis* and others, conducted twelue or thirteene thousand men, by the plaine of *Pontcharra*, neere to the Castle of *Bayard*, in the vallee of *Graisinodan*. Doubtlesse the place should reuiue the memory of that incomparable Knight, who by the valour of his armes, hath in former times wonderfully tyed the realme to recommend his merits: the Lord *Les Diguieres* meetes them, chargeth and ouercomes them, leaving two thousand five hundred slaine vpon the place, carries away many prisoners, and most of the Commanders, takes eightene Enseignes with Red Crosses, and makes bootie of all their baggage, which amounts to aboute two hundred thousand Crownes, in Chaines, Jewels, plate, money, both golde and siluer, horse and armes. Two thousand *Romaines* and *Milanois*, which had saued themselves with Conte *Galeas of Bel-Ioyuse* their Commander, in the Castle of *Analon*, were the next day at the Victors discretion: sixe or seuen hundred were cut in peeces, the rest were sent to a place of safetie, with white wands in their hands: and then sent home into *Italy*, with another neuer to carry armes against *France*.

The arme of
Sauoy defeated.

D The King seeing, that neither by the taking of *Noyon*, nor by any other baite, hee could draw his enemies to fight, doth presse them yet more neerely. To this end hee commands, that *Paris* should bee restrained on all sides, both by water and land, and should enioy no commodities, but by the mercie of the neighbour garrisons (the which he entertained, vpon the tributes and customes imposed vpon victuals, which they suffered to passe to *Paris*: and by this meanes empied the inhabitants purses, stript them, and drew out of the Citty necessary commodities for his troopes,) then with one part of his army, hee marcheth into *Normandie*, surpriseth *Louiers*, approacheth to *Rouen*, to tire the inhabitants, who seemed no lesse obstinate then the *Parisians*. He is no sooner arriued, but they crye out for succors: and his Maiestie sees them neere their ruine, or at the least ready to yeeld to some reason.

Rouen besieged.

E So the King of *Spaine* solicited from many parties, and thrust on by the consideration of his owne priuate interest, and satisfaction, sends to the Duke of *Parma*, with commands

Succoured by
the Duke of
Parma.

1591. commands him to leaue the gouernment of the Lowe Countries in his absence, to A the Cont *Mansfield*, to go and free *ROUAN*, and to imbrace such occasions as should be offered.

The Kings happy successe, and his enemies miseries, drawes the Prince of *Parma* the second time into *France*: hee parts from *Bruxelles* with foure thousand foote, and three thousand horse: and fortified with the succours of *Italy*, and three thousand *Suisses*, hee marcheth by small iourneys, for hee wisely conceiued that his Maister sent him into *France* for the same considerations, that hee would haue giuen him the conduct of his armie by sea into *England*, and vnder this shew of armes hee practised another desseigne: To cause the Estates of the League (whereof they purposed a conuocation the next yeare) to giue the Crowne of *France* to the *Infanta* of *Spaine*, whom B the father promised to marry with one of the heads of the partie, whome the Estates should name.

Division be-
twixt the
Duke of *May-
enne* and the
sixteene.

This tended greatly to the preiudice of the Duke of *Mayenne*, for hee was married: and the eldest sonne of *Lorraine*, the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours* were to marry. Hee is therefore now resolutely determined to crosse the sixteene Tribunes of *Paris*, who with their Champions carried away the peoples voyces, and aboue all others, did feed the *Spaniards* hopes in this realme, to whome (incited by the gold of *Pern*, and his prodigall promises) they had already sold the Capitall Cittie. The sixteene growne hatefull through their tyrannous authoritie, feare to be soone suppressed: they C resolute to preuent it, and rather to vnhorse the Duke, the better to aduance their affaires according to King *Phillips* intentions.

One thing seemed to aduance their desseigne: they held prisoner one named *Brigard* a Proctor of the Towne-house, accused to haue had intelligence with the King, and of letters written to his Maiestie. *Brigard* escapes out of prison: They suspect the President *Briffon*, and the Councillors *Larcher* and *Tardise*, to haue fauoured his escape. In this furie the 15. of Nouember, they seize vpon these three venerable persons, hale them to the *Chastelet*, cause them to bee strangled in the close prison, and the next day, hang vp their bodyes at the *Greue*, with infamous writings on their breasts.

This execrable fact might haue extended farther, and made the like spectacle of D any one that should in any thing haue controuled the actions of these homicides. The Duke of *Mayenne* (who treated with *Parma*), posts to appease this tumult: hee caused *Louchart*, *Auroux*, *Hameline*, and *Emonnot*, the chiefe authors of this cursed attempt, to bee apprehended and executed in the open view of all the people, who bowed their backs mournefully, at the damnable commands of these Tribunes: hee shortned their number, weakened their authoritie, and maintained his owne as well as hee could: and to pacifie the people guiltie of this mutinie, hee published the 10. of December, an abolition of things past in this disorder. The King in the meane time made his necessary prouisions for the siege of *ROUAN*, and appointed his store-houses at *Caen*, *Pont Larche*, *Ponteau de Mer*, and other places. On the other side, the hope of E speedy succours from the Stranger, the presence of *Henry* of *Lorraine*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the arriual of the Seigneur of *Villars*, with fixe hundred horse and twelue hundred Musketers, made the Cittizens to persist in their rebellion: and the Parliament, to forbid all men by a decree, in any sort to fauour the part of *Henry* of *Bourbon*, vpon paine of death: ordaining that the oth of the vnion made the 20. of January, in the yeare 1589. should bee monthly renewed in the generall assembly made to that effect, in the Abbay of *Saint Owen*, with commandment by the sayd Court to the inhabitants, to obey the Lord of *Villars*, Lieutenant to the sayde *Henry*, in all hee should command for the preseruacion of the Towne. Moreover, *Bauquemare* then first President, procured that all the Inhabitants should swear before *La Londe* Mayor of *ROUAN*, to reueale all such as by worde or deed should fauour the King of *Nauarre*, to be exemplarily punished.

Villars

A *Villars* hauing got footing within *ROUAN*, hee presently displaced his superior fortifications his authority, expells all such as hee suspected, fortified *Saint Catherins* mount, and did all acts of hostility against the King, annoying his army what he could, the which besides the obstinacy of the beleeged, was to encounter with the extreame rigour of the winter, sickness, and want of victualls.

But they surpassed all these difficulties cheerefully, and the beleeged were readie to yeeld: when as newes comes that the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Parma* had taken *Neufchâssell*, (abandoned by the Kings garrison) and were lodged at *Franque-Ville* halfe a daies iourney from *ROUAN*. The Duke of *Guise*, *la Chastre* and *Vitry* his Nephew led the foreward. The Dukes of *Mayenne*, of *Parma* and *Sfondrate* Nephew to *Gregorie* the 14. the battaile. The Duke of *Aumale*, the Earle of *Chaligny*, brother to the Queene D'Angoyr, *Boisdaulphin*, *Balagny* and *Saint Paul* the rereward: *Bassompierre* and *la Motte*, *Lorrains*, led the *Suisses* and the artillery.

Whilest that the King made a necessary voiage to *Diepe*, to frustrate some intelligences of his enemies, the Marshall of *Biron* drawes forth seauen peeces of artillery to *Bans*, a village aboue *Darnetall*, plants them in three places, and puts himselfe in battaile, to receiue the Duke of *Parma*, who should come to lodge in the valley on that side, and by his countenance, made them thinke that hee had a desire to fight. The King arriues, continues in battaile almost thirtie houres, and prouokes his enemy by continuall skirmishes. But he was encountered by a cunning temporizer, who passing with his troupes wide of *Darnetall*, made the King to deuise a new stratagem, to C drawe him on more, and to engage him, as it happened soone after. The King dismisseth his Nobility, but with charge to be readie at the first command, and by continuall skirmishes kept *ROUAN* from any releefe, from the twentieth of March to the 21. of Aprill.

In the ende the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Guise* and *Parma*, seize vpon *Caudebce*, from whence the garrison was dislodged, and the same day they come to *ROUAN*, but staid not many howers, neyther had they meanes to victuall it. His Maiesty seeing that *ROUAN* was not supplied with victualls, passeth at *Pont-Larche*, causeth his armie to aduance towards *Fontaine le Bourg*, and sends for all his garrisons of *Louuiers*, *Mante* D *Meulan*, *Vernon*, and other places nere, so as fortified with aboue three thousand horse and fixe thousand foote in lesse then fixe daies, hee turnes head towards the village of *Incotot*, where the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guise* were lodged, chargeth their foreward and defeats it quite, chaseth the Dukes aboue two leagues from *Parmaes* quarter, leauing their baggage and plate in the possession of *la Guishe*. The first of May hee takes from them an other lodging, leaues aboue fixe hundred Leaguers dead vpon the place, and looseth but fixe souldiars and eightene or twentie hurt.

The enemy
defeated at
Incotot.

All these checkes should drawe the Dukes to fight: but *Parma* seekes onely to free himselfe from the King, and the rest had no desire to make tryall of their sufficiency. They held themselues verie close intrenched and fortified within their Campe, issuing forth no more then they had lately done neere vnto *Lagny*. The King presseth them, and takes from them all passages both for victualls and retreat. They likewise intrench a great woode: and to stoppe the Kings approach, lodge there two thousand *Spaniards* and *Wallons*. In sight of their whole armie his Maiestie forceth this intrenchement, and (had it not bene for a small number who by great speede recovered the army,) had defeated the whole troupe.

For ten daies space the King tired them with continuall skirmishes and inroads, during the which heeviewes the situation of their Campe: the tenth of May hee made choise of such forces as hee held necessary, and by fixe of clocke in the morning chargeth a quarter which the Leaguers held to bee most safe, and without resistance, kilis about two thousand fixe hundred men vpon Sfff 4 the

Atreacherous
decree of the
Court of Par-
liament of
ROUAN.

2592

1592. the place, carries away about two thousand horse, and winnes all the baggage. To conclude, this warre brought forth nothing so memorable as that which was done at *Candebee*, at *Iuetot* and at *Annale*. But for a prooofe of the perpetuall assistance and fauour of heauen to our King, amidst this thundring of artillery, and so many showers of shot, his Maestie was hurt with a Harguebus in the reynes: but yet so miraculously, as the force of the bullet was spent in the emptines of the aire, and lay betwixt his armor and his backe, giuing the King this lesson by a diuine aduertisement, *My Lord, busband your life more sparingly: it is necessary for your subjects*. The Duke of *Parma* escaped not all these encounters without a musket shot in the arme: the wound did accompany him to his graue.

The King miraculously hurt.

The Dukes retreat.

Death of the Duke of Parma.

In the end blowes, hungar and extreame thirst, forced these Dukes to take their way to *Paris* in confusion, from whence *Parma* (carrying no tokens of victory) passed through *Brie*, recovered *Arthois*, and so went to refresh himselfe at *Bruxelles*: then in the ende of the yeare he died in *Arras*, as hee returned from the *Spaine*. His reputation beganne to decay. He had preuayled little in *France*, and *Conte Maurice* did daylie take something from him in the Lowe Countries. Hee had bene aduertised, as by a prognostication, that hauing taken the Towne of *Antwerp* (against the opinion of all the world) in the yeare 1585. hee should shake hands with warre. Doubtlesse this Prince should haue ended his labours by this great seruice done to King *Phillip* his master, as the most glorious triumph, which *Spaine* had of long time seene.

Death of the Marshall of Biron.

The Kings proceeding.

The Duke of Mayenne.

The Duke of Nemours.

Thus the Duke of *Parma*'s troupes by land were weakened, and those he had imbarked were fought withall, some taken, and the rest sunke by the *Hollanders*. So *Sfendrate* came to consume his troupes in *France*. Thus *France* escaped at this time the proud threats of her ancient enemies. *Roman* pressed with as great necessity as before, brought corne out of *Villars* store-houses, at his owne price, whereby he got an infinite treasure. The King weighing well the toyle his Nobility had endured, dismissed some, and reteyned the most resolute, and to hinder the *Parmaesin* from attempting any thing, hee sent the Marshall of *Biron* to followe him at the heeles. Who loath to remaine idle, beseegeth, battereth and takes *Espernay*. But *Espernay* must be the farall place to end his labours, and by his death breake off some other desseins which his Maestie had, who to stoppe the entry of another army of Strangers (which King *Phillip* at the intreaty of the chiefe of the League, nothing sorry for the Duke of *Parma*'s disgrace, whose pride they could not beare) determined to send, vnder the conduct of the yong Duke of *Parma*, assisted by the Duke of *Feria*, vntill the coming of the Arch-Duke *Ernest*, brother to the Emperour *Rodolphus*, gaue order for the most urgent affaires of his realme: hee diuided his forces into the most conuenient places, to set vpon the League, where they had greatest strength, and labored to effect some intelligences hee had within *Paris*. But the periode of his happinesse was not yet come.

During these practises, the Duke of *Mayenne* surpriseth *Pontau de mer*. and to get more bagges of double pistols, he treats againe with the Agents of *Spaine*, touching the assembly of their Estates, to make the Crowne electiue, against the fundamentall Lawe of the realme. But he had his desseine a part, and the greatest part of the Parliament was tired with this hideous confusion, vnder the which their scarlet robes could not appeere so beautifull, as vnder a stately Royalty: and the chiefe of the third Estate inclining vnto peace, abhorred these tedious furies of the League. The Duke of *Nemours*, for his part, layed the foundation of a pettie Monarchie at *Lions*, but he built it vpon the sand. He was now installed in the Towne which *Maugisson* had sold him treacherously (considering the shewe hee had made of faithfull seruice to the King, and the towne and Castells of *Vienne* in *Daulphiné*, the which he had received to the preiudice of the truce which was then betwixt them of *Lions* and *Daulphiné*: Being assured of these good places, hee goes to field, but with more brute then fruite: for hee did not fortifie his party, but by the taking of *Saint Marcellin* and *Eschelles*,

Eschelles, places of weake resistance: and doubtlesse *Belriere* won more honour in the defence, then the Duke did in the conquest of the last. The Colonel *Alphonso* and *Les Diguieres* vpon assurance of the truce were farre off, the one in *Prouence*, the other in *Languedoc*, where both opposed themselves against the forces of the League. This breach recalled them soone into *Daulphiné*, where with their ioynt forces they recouer that which the Duke had taken, not daring to oppose himselfe.

Les Diguieres.

In the end *Les Diguieres* hauing thrust the Duke of *Nemours* out of *Daulphiné*, (who by fauour of the forces of *Sauoye*, thought to settle himselfe there) enters into *Piedmont*, in the moneth of September, fortifies *Briqueras*, batters and takes the Towne and Castell of *Canours*, chargeth the Dukes men at *Vigon*, forceth and defeats them. The Duke of *Sauoye* posts to *Turin*, and seekes to take the fort begun at *Briqueras* by scalado. Hee is repulst with dishonour and losse. They charge him in his retreat, but some feare of an ambush made them retire. And *Les Diguieres* (hauing left the Lord of *Puet* to command in *Piedmont*), returnes to *Grenoble*, whether the affaires of the Province did call him.

On the other side, seing the armes of *Spaine* had preuailed so little on the land, they must trie if some enterprise by sea would repaire their former losses. The Gouernour of *Fontarabye* had long practised vpon *Bayonne* with a Physician named *Blancpignon*, who had intelligence with a *Spaniard* that had liued long in the Towne, and vnder borrowed termes of arte, did by letters negotiate the surprise of *Bayonne*, and therooting out of all the Kings officers and seruants. Their treason was so well aduanced, as a meet of ships with an armie at land, was readie for the execution, when as by Gods permission *La Hiliere*, Gouernour of *Bayonne* surprised the Lacquay coming from *Fontarabye* with letters of credit to the Traitors, who being taken and beheaded afterwards, discovered soone the whole practise: but the *Spaniard* chose rather to die then to write those letters hee was required, to giue direction to the attempters, and to lay a plot for his companions. In October the Duke of *Bouillon* followed with foure hundred horse, & two hundred harguebusiers, before the Towne of *Beaumont*, defeated *Amblise* great Marshall of *Lorraine*, and Lieutenant generall to the Duke, accompanied with eight hundred horse, and two thousand foote: hee slue the Commander, and about seuen hundred others, tooke their artillerie, their ensignes, and their Cornets, sent home foure hundred Lanquenets, with white wands, and lost not one man of marke.

Duke of Joyeuse.

A small fish called *Remora* stayes a great shippe: so a paultrie hens roult ruines the League in *Languedoc* and *Quercy*. The Duke of *Joyeuse* (brother to him who died at *Contras*), hauing spoyled the Countrie about *Montauban* with six hundred masters, and foure thousand foot, French, and *Lanquenets*, in the end became master of *Monbequin*, *Mombartier*, *Monbeton*, and tooke *Barte* by composition: but in reuenge of foure score souldiars hee had lost before it, (contrary to his faith) hee put most of them that yeilded, to the sword. A treacherie which caused his brothers death, and for the which, the vengeance of God shall soone confound this man. The fort of *Saint Maurice* came in like sort into his power, and then hee beleeged *Villemur*. The Lord of the place called *Reniers*, commaunded about two hundred and fiftie souldiars, whome the Lord of *Themines* Senehall of *Quercy* (a wise and valiant gentleman) releued suddenly with fixe and fortie men, as well cuirasses, as harguebusiers, led by the *Seigneur* of *Pedone*: and then (being ioyned with the Duke of *Espenon*) he caused *Joyeuse* to raise the seige, recovered *Mauzac*, and some other small places thereabouts.

But whilest his troupes sleepe at their ease, after the order and manner of the French, with too great confidence and contempt of the enemy: the Duke of *Joyeuse*, sets vpon them with all speed in the night, kills foure hundred, hurts a great number of them, and but for the wisdom and aduise of *Themines* had slaine all the rest, and gotten two Cannons of *Montauban*. This done the Duke

1592. Duke of *Espernon* retires into *Prouence*. His brother *La Valette* died in February, and the Estate of *Prouence* required the Dukes presence being Gouverneur. *Joyeuse* takes hold of this occasion, and the tenth of September returns and camps before *Villemur*. *Reiners* commits the place to the Baron of *Mauzac*, to *Chambert* and *La Chaze*, valiant and valiant Commanders in warre: and goes himselfe to gather together some forces at *Montauban*. The seigneur of *Desme*, is happily there with some forces, & without any stay puts himselfe into *Villemur*. *Joyeuse* made his battery of eight Cannons, and two Culverins, when as *Themines* accompanied with fixe score maisters, and two hundred hargue-bushers marcheth courageously to succour them, causeth his horsemen to light, and sends their horses safely backe to *Montauban*, and so with great devotie, thrusts himselfe into *Villemur*. And in good time, for the next day, the twentieth of September, *Joyeuse* gave a sharpe assault: but it was valiantly defended, with great losse to the enemye. At the same instant *Themines* gives an alarm with foure Trumpets, which he had brought with him, chargeth *Joyeuse* fiercely, and defeats a regiment newly come from *Tholouse*, with a supplie of powder, bullets, pikes, and iron forks.

Hereupon the Marshall of *Montmorencie* Gouverneur of *Languedoc* supplies the beleeged with some troupes led by *Leeques* and *Chambault*, who advertised of new forces, come to *Joyeuse*, attend some dayes for *Missillac* Gouverneur of *Anuergne*, to ioine with him. *Joyeuse* means to prevent them, & before they ioine with the *Auvergnas*, to set vpon them. Hee chargeth them at *Bellegard*, and finds the beginning successefull and pleasing, but the end foule and mournfull: for he left the field, and returned with great losse.

Norwithstanding hee means to amaze the beleeged, and by the Councell of *Onoux* and *Momberault* politike Captaines, he makes many fires in his Campe, as signe of victorie and ioy: but *Themines*, *Leeques* and *Chambault* did but laugh at this policie. *Missillac* arrives at *Montauban* with a hundred maisters, and a good number of hargue-bushers. *Joyeuse* having his troupes then dispersed, some before *Villemur*, others in field against the Kings servants, all the Commanders resolute to fight with him. *Missillac* leads the forward, *Chambault* the battaile, *Leeques* the reereward: and the 19. of October they resolutely set vpon the Dukes first trench, by the regiment of *Clouzel* and *Montoisson*, garded by two hundred souldiars, and presently succoured by foure hundred others, they force them, and chase them to their second trench, after an houre and a halfe fight vnder their Commanders. The rest of the Kings armie comes violently vpon them. *Themines* issueth out of *Villemur* and chargeth them behind. He leaves the place, and retires farther off to *Condommes*, where his campe and artillerie remained. His men seeing themselves pursued, take this retreat for a flight: they grow amazed, all disband, all flie in disorder, feare makes them to loose their iudgement, and the most part casting themselves into the river of *Tar*, (the bridge of boats which *Joyeuse* had made being vncapable of so great a presse) desired rather to trie the fortune of the water, then of the victors sword. They cut the bridge, which was in a manner the death of all them that had trusted in this violent Element. *Joyeuse* disappointed of the vse of the bridge, leaps amongst the rest into *Tar*, being full of them that fled, and the *Tar* swalowing vp his bodie, as the rest, leaues his foule to seeke the place of his destiny. The victors passe the foard, and charge them that did swim in the water, pursue them that flie, cut all in peeces they encounter, and of so greata number bring but fortie three prisoners.

The death of about three thousand men ruined the League in *Languedoc* and *Quercy*. Three Cannons, two Culverins, two and twentie enseignes, and all the baggage, were the spoyle of this so memorable a day. And to make it the more memorable, the victors lost but tenne men, whereof foure, being not well knowne, did by mistaking run like fortune with the vanquished. Thus *Villemur* having endured about two thousand Cannon shot, was fully deliuered, with the losse of seuteene souldiars onely. The Dukes bodie was drawne out of the water, and buried in *Villemur*: and the Kings army, consisting

The Duke of
Joyeuse drown-
ed.

A consisting of five hundred maisters, and two thousand and five hundred shot, besides those which remained in the place beleeged, retired, (having purchased great honour) to their garrisons. Thus the Leagues affaires began to languish: the impatience and lightnesse of people (who promise vnto themselves much, and suffer little) did quench this great heat which was lately seene in good Townes, & the whole partie runs headlong to their ruine. They did no more take for payment the assurance which was given them, to provide shortly for this common disorder: and by an assembly of the Estates, proceeded to the Election of a King, who should raise the pillars of the Estate, and restore the good order and harmonie that should bee betwixt them. The zeale of the new Pope, *Clement* the eight, moved them very little. The forces and pistoles of *Spaine* grow hatefull vnto them. The actions of the Duke of *Mayenne* are detested, they abhorre the tyrannies which other petty Kings would practise in their Prouinces, and did well foresee, that the ambition of great men would soone thrust the people into the gulfe of utter ruine: finally quay one begins to lift vp his head, and to desire peace. They speake of it in the open Parliament of the League. The cheefe of the Cittie ioine with them that are most desirous of quiet, and in the end procure an assemblee of the Cittie of *Paris*, in the midst of November. They speake very plainly, to end these troubles, and to send to treat with the King to that end and purpose: besides (by the death of the Cardinall of *Beaumont* lately deceased,) the preferring and aduancing of the vnckle before the nephew, which they pretended, was no more of force.

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The League declines.

The Duke of *Mayenne* seeing himselfe readie to be disappointed, goes to the Townehouse, intreats the assemblee to referre the decision of that point to the Estates, and to forbear to deale therein. Otherwise (said he) I shall haue reason to thinke that the authors thereof are ill affected to our partie, and will deale with them as with the enemies of our religion. Norwithstanding all his threats, it was decreed, that attending a conuocation of the Estates, they should send vnto the King to obtaine a free traffike betwixt them and the Townes of this Realme. The Duke not able to impugn this conclusion, seemed to allowe thereof.

This was to recover some life after a longuance and fainting, and to returne to the way of obedience: But the Legat of *Rome* (a pensioner of *Spaine*, and the cheefe of the League,) hoping to draw the affaires to another course, calling from all parts the Deputies of Townes confederate to assist at the Estates at *Paris*, they sought all means to mortifie these motives of charitie to their countie, which remiued in the most modest. And the better to aduance their desseins, they publish a certaine writing in forme of a Bull, commanding and giuing authoritie to the Cardinall of *Plaisance* to assist and to confirme the future election of a new King. This dorh sufficiently discouer that which hitherto they haue concealed and kept secret, couering (with the pretext of religion) their wicked and damnable conspiracie: which opened the gate to the overthrow and ruine of all order and humaine societie, instituted by God, especially of this most famous and flourishing monarchie, whereof the fundamentall law consists chiefly in the order of the lawfull succession of our Kings.

The Court of Parliament (being remoued from *Paris* to *Chalons*), by a decree of the eighteenth of Nouember, (confirming the request of the Kings Proctor general,) allowed of his appeale from the grant of the said Bull, and authoritie contained therein, the publication and execution thereof, and whatsoever was therein contained. They decreed, that *Phillip* of the title of Saint *Onuphre*, Cardinal of *Plaisance*, should bee cyted to plead against the sayd appeale. They exhorted all men not to suffer themselves to bee infected with the poyson and witchcraft of such rebells and seditious persons: but to continue in their duties like good and naturall Frenchmen, and to retaine still the obedience and loue they owe vnto their King and Countie, not adhering to the practises of such as (vnder the colour of religion) would inuade and trouble the State, and bring in the barbarous *Spaniards*, and other vsurpers. They

A sentence against Clement the 8. Bull.

1592. They did expressly inhibit and forbid the keeping of the sayd Bull, to publish it, to A aide or fauour the sayd rebels, or to transport themselves into any townes or places that might bee assigned for the sayd pretended election: vpon paine for the Nobles to be degraded of their Nobility, and they and their posterity to be declared infamous and base, and for the Clergie to loose the possession of their benefices, and to be punished, as all other offenders, guilty of treason, troublers of the publike peace, traitors to their Country, without hope to obtaine pardon, remission or abolition. And all townes not to receiue the sayd rebels and seditious, to make the sayd assemblie, to lodge, entertayne or harbour them. Moreouer they decreed, that the place where that resolution had bene taken, together with the towne of the sayd assemblie, should be quite razed, without hope to be reedified: for a perpetuall memory of their treachery and treason. Commanding all persons to set vpon such as should transport themselves to the sayd towne, to assist at this assembly: And to the Proctor generall to informe against the Authors, and procurers of such monopoles and contrapacies made against the Estate.

This decree was but laughed at by the heads of the League, and did nothing daunt their priuate hopes. Euery one makes his faction apart. Euery one desired to set in his masters chaire: and not one would bee a seruant or Companion. The Dukes of *Guise*, *Mayenne*, *Nemours*, and *Sauoy*, the Marquis of *Pont*, sought by sundry practises to get the voices of the pretended Estates. The instructions found in the cofers of the Baron of *Teniffey*, after his defeat by *Vaugrenan*, who commanded for the King in Saint *Iohn de Laune* in *Bourgogne*, did sufficiently discouer the high projects which certaine bad Councillors made this yong Prince to conceiue. But about all, the Duke of *Mayenne*, supposing that after the death of the Duke of *Parma*, (whom he feared as very opposit to his authority,) this occurrent would giue him meanes to recouer his credit, began to play the King within *Paris*, hoping the Estates would prefer him before the yonger: or at the least, the title of Lieutenant generall to the King of *spaine*, could not escape him in the Conquest of the realme.

The Popes Bulls declared.

For the first fruits of his absolute power, he forceth the Presidents and Councillors remayning at *Paris*, to receiue *Rosne*, one of his most trusty friends, with the title of Marshall of the Crowne & gouernor of the *Ile of France*, dignities fit for a Nobleman D of a better house & quality. And to bridle the *Parisians* who demanded peace, he caused on Christmas Eue, going vp to the pallace (the City being in armes,) the foresayd decree against the Popes Bull to be openly burnt, then by a publike declaration he invited all the Catholikes of the realme to vnite themselves, & to forsake the obedience which they shewed to a Prince, whose profession & perseuerance made him incapable, & appointed the conuocation of the Estates on the 17. of January following at *Paris*. There ioyntly to seeke (without passion feared he or respect of any mans interest) the remedies which they should thinke in their conscience to be most profitable for the preservation of religion and the Estate.

But what Estates? Like vnto those of *Troyes*, where they disinherited *Charles* the 7. E the true and lawfull heire of the Crowne, as excommunicate. Estates chosen almost of all the scomme of the people, of the most malicious and seditious: corrupted by money, and all pretending some priuate profit in change and inuouation. A Parliament compounded of men, which eyther enioyed the benefice, the office, or the houle of their neighbour, or that had stolne his goods or detayned his reuenues, or (to conclude) that feared by a peace to be toucht for some committed Crimes, bankroucs, infamous, and wicked. Estates where there appeeres not one Prince of the bloud, no Chancellor, no Marshalls of *France*, no Presidents of Soueraine Courts, none of the Kings Proctors generall in his Parliaments: fewe men of reputation, knowne to haue loued the peoples good and their owne honours. No men of marke and account: F without whom they could not assemble, nor hold any iust and lawfull Estates. Finally a Parliament, where they see none but passionate strangers, gaping after *France*, geecdie of the bloud and welth thereof, ambitious and reuenging women: corrupt

Preests

A Preests, licentious and full of vaine hopes. No Noblemen of worth, but three or four, who already had resolved to abandon that faction: all the rest were beggarly, louing warre and trouble, during the which they ate the good mans bread, not able to maintayne their owne traynes in time of peace. An *Italian* Legat, and vassall to a strange Prince, (who in this quality neyther can nor ought to haue any place) sent to hinder the liberty of voices, and to authorise such as had promised him to do wonders for the affaires of *Rome* and *Spaine*. A Cardinall of *Pelue* a *Frenchman* by nation, but pleading the cause of the King of *spaine* and the rights of *Lorraine*. The Duke of *Feris*, and *Mendosa* Ambassador of *spaine* had their Agents and aduocates, by whom they gaue them to vnderstand, that the King of *Spaines* intention was only, to haue a King chosen that might pacifie the troubles of the realme, deliuer them from their enemies, defend them against all assaylants, and restore the Crowne to her first beauty. And representing the voluntary bounty of the Catholike King, and the great effects of the succors giuen by him vnto *France*; wherein hee had imployed about sixe millions of gold, he would inferre, that now but he was capable of this election: or else in regard of him, the *Infant Donna Isabella*, to whome the sayd Ambassador durst mayntaine, that by the Lawes of nature, of God and of the realme, it did belong. Doubtlesse from the insolent proceedings and proud desseins of strangers, the soueraigne author and gardien of Estates caused the preservation of this monarchie to growe.

The desseins of *Spaine*.

C They commended this Ambassage, and receiued it with honour. But the pretensions of this *Infanta* were reiected at the first, as a proposition contrary to the fundamentall lawes of the realme. His Agents seeing themselves frustrate of this first demand, they frame a second, vpon the election of the Arch-duke *Ernest*, first brother to the Emperour, to whome the King of *Spaine* promised to giue his daughter to wife, when as the assemblie had declared her Queene of *France*. But what should become of so many Competitors growne vp in *France*? So this proposition finding no man willing to entertaine it, remayned frutelesse.

Cross by some men of honour.

Nowe some thinking to giue the last mate to the Kings good fortune, vnto a third expedient: That if they giue this Crowne vnto the Noble *Infanta*, and to him of the D Princes of *France*, comprehending the house of *Lorraine*, whome the King of *Spaine* should choose, they would cause this election to bee seconded with an army of eight thousand foote and two thousand horse, and within fewe monethes to be fortified with the like numbers, which soone should reduce *France* wholly and peaceably to these newe Kings: that they would giue a hundred thousand Crownes monethly, so long as the warre should last, to entertayne ten thousand foote, & three thousand horse within the realme. Was not this to feed mens mindes with fancies, dreames and imaginations? But no man giues his voice to this last proposition. Doubtlesse there was no proportion, to recompence the succors sent by *Philip* to the reuolted townes, with the Crowne of *France*.

E Contrariwise many hauing their mindes merely *French*, knew wel that this proposition was to make matters irreconciliable, and to bring an immortal warre into *France*, and therefore with a feruent zeale, and great affection they opposed themselves against the reception thereof: hoping the eternall providence, who had so often rayed *France* from most greuous falls of warre, and from greater infirmities, would now preuent these latter dangers, otherwise then by the subuersion of the lawes which were made to support it. The declaration which his Maiesty opposed to that of the Duke of *Mayenne*, did much preuaile to fortifie those good mindes in their commendable resolution, and prepared their hearts generally to conceiue a great hope of a speedy peace. For the King discouering the practises of his rebellious subjects, namely of their heads, & the Dukes treachery, presuming to assemble the Estates of the realme, which may not be called but by royall authority, and for matter of religion, hee protesteth that besides the Couocation of a Councell, if there may be found any better or more speedie meanes to come to the instruction which they pretend

The Kings declaration against the League.

T t t

pretend

1553. pretend to giue him, to diuert him from the exercise of his religion, to that of the Catholike and *Romish*, he will willingly embrace it with all his heart, giuing leaue to the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and other Noblemen that did assist him, to lend their Deputies to the Pope to deale in this instruction, and to be pleased therewith, and blaming the Leaguers who had hindred the effects, hee layed a good foundation of the obedience which his subjects prepared for him. Declaring moreover this pretended assemblie at *Paris*, to be attempted against the Lawes, against the good and quiet of the realme: and all that should be treated or concluded therein, abusive, and of no force. Terming the Duke and his adherents in that case, guiltie of high treason: shewing that he could maintaine his authoritie against all vsurpers. But offering pardon to all Townes, Comonalties and persons seduced by the cheefe of the League, and exhorting them to remember themselves, hee made his subjects begin to taste that great and admirable clemencie, whereby he hath won the hearts, and brought the affections of the *French* to a perfect and most voluntarie obedience.

The conference at *Surene*.

To this declaration of his Maiestie, the Princes, and Noblemen Catholikes that were about him, added an other, which they sent to these pretended Estates, and required that some should be deputed on either part, to resolve of the fittest expedients to pacifie these troubles for the preseruacion of the Catholike religion and the Estate. The Duke of *Mayenne* and his partie accept of this conference, so as it may be done by Catholikes only, and it began the 29. of April at *Surene* neere *Paris*. Whilest the good Cardinall of *Bourbon* liued, he was an instrument for the League: now he is dead, religion is their onely pretext. And the more the King giues them hope of his conuersion to the *Romish* Church, the more violent they are to draw the people from this beleefe.

Cross by the court of *Rome*.

The Legat seekes to crosse it, and by a publike exhortation full of iniuries against his Maiestie, hee labours to perswade the *French*, that the King long since dismembred from the bodie of the Church, was most iustly pronounced incapable of the Crowne. Then opposing himselfe against the decrees of the Parliaments of *Tours*, and *Orleans*, made against the monitories of *Landriano*, he extols his masters praises, condemnes the Parliament which had condemned his Bulls, magnifies the Estates of the League, who reiected an obstinate heretike and relaps, with a resolution neuer to yeeld vnto him, for (said hee) such is the Popes will and pleasure. But why a relaps and obstinate, considering the due submission which our *Henry* makes to yeeld to better instruction? The Pope himselfe will harken soone vnto him, and all the Consistory will blesse his resolution.

The answer of the Estates to the Legat of *Spain*.

Both the Duke and Legat preuaile little in their deniues. Those which held the first place in this assembly, & had no other care but to preserue this Monarchie, found this expedient: That to frustrate the former propositions, they should say to the Duke of *Feris* and other ministers of *Spain*, that it would bee now out of season, and dangerous to make this election: and that the assemblie referred the conclusion thereof, vntill they might see an armie readie, by meanes whereof their resolutions might be supported and put in execution. Courage: this calme promisseth that wee shall soone anchor in a safe harbour. And that which aduanceth the ship of our Estate with a more prosperous gale, that great Senat of *France* remayning at *Paris*, resumes their credit, and the beautie of their scarlet robes: they exhort the Duke of *Mayenne* to imploy his authoritie of Lieutenant, that vnder colour of religion, the Crowne fall not into strangers hands, against the lawes of the Realme, and to prouide speedily for the peoples quiet: and by a decree of the eight and twentieth of Iuly, they declare all treaties made, or to bee made to that end, voyde, and of no validitie, as being made to the hurt and preiudice of the *Salique* Law, and other fundamental Lawes of State.

A decree of the Parliament at *Paris*.

This decree did wonderfully moue the Duke of *Mayenne* and the agents of *Spain*, especially against the President *le Maistre* who deliuered the speech: who encouraging all their chollers, left them to bite vpon the bridle.

But

1593. But see now the fatall blowe, which ruines that third party, by the which many Catholikes were readie to thrust the realme into newe combustions, and cuts off all difficulties, as well in them which made a scruple to fight vnder the Enseignes of a King of any other religion then their owne, as in others which had so long time shadowed their mutinies and rebellions with this goodly pretext. The King, after the taking of *Dreux*, satisfied in his conscience, by the instruction of the Arch-bishop of *Bourges*, of *René Benoist* Curate of *Saint Eustache* of *Paris*, and of some other doctors, desires to be admitted into the bosome of the Catholike, Apostolike and *Romish* Church, and the 25. of Iuly made a publike and sollemne profession at *S. Denis* to the sayd Arch-bishop, assisted by *Charles* Cardinall of *Bourbon*, Arch-bishop of *Rouan*, and Nephew to the deceased, nine Bishops with many other prelates and religious men: hee protested to liue and die in the sayd Catholike religion, swearing to defend it against all men: hee made profession of his faith, and performed all ceremonies requisite in so sollemne an act: and then he received absolution and blessing, with an admirable ioye and acclamation of the people.

The Kings Conuersion.

Presently after this sollemne act, his Maiesty sent the Duke of *Neuers*, the Marquis of *Pisani*, and *Henry* of *Gondy*, Bishop of *Paris* to the Pope, to yeeld obedience by them to the holy see, and to testifie that hee desired no lesse to imitate the example of Kings his Predecessors, and to deserue the title and ranke of the first sonne of the Church by his actions, then they had beene carefull to get it and preserue it, and to beseech him to allowe of his conuersion, and to countenance it with his owne blessing.

This is that great action of state which the chiefe of the League most feared: for what could they nowe obiect against the King, to contradict his right, and to terme him incapable of his inheritance? See nowe by what subtlety they seeke to crosse his Maiesties affaires, and to support the strangers. They complayne first of his sodaine change, & say they may not trust him. That his Holines must begin & send this worke. That the King should make all submissions to the see of *Rome*, and attend if the Consistory would declare him capable to gouerne the realme of *France*. That hauing commandement from the Conclauie they would aduise to do what should bee reason. Vntill the which were effected they could not treat any more with the Kings deputies, and till that this change of religion which the King had made, were approued by the Pope, whereof afterwards they would take aduise, for assurance of the preseruation of the onely Catholike religion in this realme.

The Duke of *Mayenne* hauing (to his great preiudice) so often tryed the proude insolencies of the *Spaniards*, and since knowne that their practises tended onely to feede a perpetuall fire of diuision among the *French*, by meanes of the election of a newe King, whome they promised to marrie to the *Infanta*, had often protested, that when hee should see the King returne into the bosome of the Church, from the which his religion had excluded him, he would presently yeeld him obedience as his most humble seruant. The Kings conuersion doth nowe free him of this imaginative scruple. The King himselfe offering him offices, and honorable aduancements, seekes to drawe him out off those snares from the which hee would willingly bee freed. But he is so farre engaged as hee can hardly retire himselfe: and some hope that the decisions of *Rome*, the resolution of the Estates, the conclusions of the Colledge of *Sorboane*, and the practises of *Spain*, would yet worke some good effects in his fauour, do withhold him from accepting of his Maiesties offers.

But on the other side he cannot digest the aduancement of the Duke of *Guise*, whose marriage with the *Infanta* the Partisans of *Spain* did solicit, as being heire to his Fathers pretensions. And to ouerthrowe it, hee seemes in generall termes to approue so great an honour done vnto his Nephew: but requiring for his owne particular so high and difficult things, hee piques them easily to vnderstand, that he will not submit his will, to the appetites of Pope *Clement*, nor of *Philip* King of *Spain*, neyther yet to the decision

The Duke of *Mayenne* seekes to crosse his Nephew.

1593 decision of Estates in that: whilst that he crosseth the propounded election of the Duke of *Guise*. The Conference at *Surene* giues the subiect meanes to tast the liberty of the fields and the sweetnesse of peace, concluding the last of Iuly a generall suspension of armes on eyther side for three monethes: a meanes which shall soone reduce whole provinces withdrawne from their ancient obedience. In the meane time, the more the Agents of *Spaine* see their practises disapointed, the more vehement they are that the Court of *Rome* should giue no audience to the Kings submission.

A generall
truce.

They oppose themselves by the meanes of the Ambassador of *Spaine*, at *Rome*, against the negotiation of the Kings Ambassadors with the Pope. They speake of his maiesties conuersion, as of a counterfeit thing, to deceiue the Church, and after his confirmation to ruine the Catholike religion. To conclude, they do their best to quench these coales of charity, which were kindled in the peoples hearts, and cause the Pope to reiect this faithfull and willing obedience, whereby the King will shewe himselfe a successor of the piety of *Clouis*, *Charlemagne*, and *Saint Lewis*, as well as heire of their scepter.

Execution of
Peter Barri-
ere.

But see one of the most violent attempts of the league, which had almost dissolved this harmony, which was prepared by a generall reconciliation of the *French* among themselves, and of them to their lawfull and soueraigne Lord. The 26. of August *Peter Barriere* borne at *Orleans*, was taken prysoner at *Melun*, where his maiesty was then, by the discouery of a Iacobin a Florentine, to whome he had confessed himselfe in *Lions*: (the Priest reuealing this crime incurres no Ecclesiasticall Censure) He confessed, that seduced and perswaded by a Capuchin of *Lions*, and afterwards confessed by *Aubry* Curate of *Saint Andrew des Arts* at *Paris*, by his vicar, and by father *Varade* a Iesuite, hee was come thither expressly to murder the King. And in truth the wretch was found seized of a sharpe knife with two edges: and for this cause hee was pinched with hot pincers, his right-hand burnt off, holding the sayd knife: his armes, legges, and thighes broken, and his bodie burnt to ashes and cast into the riuer.

Reuolt at
Lions against
the Duke of
Nemours.

Whilst the Agents of *Spaine* labour for this election, and their partisans doting do as the frogges, who weary of their quiet King, made choise of the *Storke*, who in the ende denoured them all: the Duke of *Nemours* made his faction apart, and seeing that by the nomination of these goodly Estates hee should be excluded from his pretensions: knowing moreouer that his brother on the Mothers side, did crosse all his desseines, and bare him no good affection, hee resolved to canton himselfe in his gouernment, and by many and sundrie fortes both on the water and on the land, to plant his fortunes there. Already the *Citadells* and fortes he held a *Toissay*, *Vienn*, *Montbrison*, *Chastillon in Dombes*, *Belleuille*, *Tiff*, *Charlieu* and else where, threatened all *Lionois* with seruitude, if the Lord of *Saint Iulian* would haue sold him *Quirieu* for readie money: whome in the ende, (thrust on by the perswasions and presence of their Arch-bishop, sent by the Duke of *Mayenne* with this Comission among others) they force in his house, and the 18. of September put him with a gard into a straight priion in the Castell of *Pierresence*, from whence in the ende disguised, (playing the part of a grome of the *Chambre*, which carryed forth the excrements of his master,) he passed through the gardes turning away his face more for feare of beeing knowne, then for the ill smell: and escaping from them the three and twentieth of March following, being dispossessed of all his meanes, and expelled from his places, hee went and died in *Ancy*, a house of his owne, in the County of *Geneue* in *Sauoye*, not without suspicion of beeing poysoned at a feast that was made him.

Assembly at
Mante.

This generall surceasing of armes prolonged vnto the ende of the yeare, and religion only obserued on eyther side, brought a great quiet to *France*, & gaue the king leysure to assemble some of the chiefe of the realme at *Mante*, to consult vpon sundy affaires, and particularly to heare the complaints of such as stood in doubt of the Kings change

A change in religion, and were greeued at diuers contrauentions of his Maiesties Edicts, whereby they suffered many wrongs in all Prouinces: for the partisans of *Spaine*, for their last refuge; continually exclaymed of the incompatibility of two religions in *France*, and many inclined to this opinion: That the King ought not bee admitted, but he should promise expressly to banishal such as made profession of any other religion then that which hee did embrace: or at the least to abolish all publike profession. But the King employed all his care to vnite his people in concord: and this new change did nothing alter the affection which hee did beare indifferently to all, as a common father of his subiects.

Thus armes were layd aside; whilst the Lord of *Les-Deguieres* hauing beaten the *Sauoyard* in diuers encounters, in *Prouence*, in *Dauphiné*, vpon the frontiers, and in *Sauoye* vpon his owne land, conquered many places in *Piedmont*, and lately succored *Cuours* which the Duke had beleeged two monethes, gaue great hope to force this neighbour enemy soone to yeeld what hee had lately vnrped of this Crowne, if hee had beene supplied with men, munition and money, and if some priuate seeds of new combustions had not drawne him away, to quench those fires which threatened to consume *Prouence*.

By what meanes and degrees, the townes

subiect vnto the League, returned to the obedience
of this Crowne: and the Spaniard cha-
sed out of the Realme.



V T courage oh my Countrymen. After a long and sharpe winter, wee begin to feele a pleasant spring. As the sunne rising on his horizon increaseth in heate and brightnesse: so the people are readie to imbrace the *French* liberty: their natural affection to their lawfull Prince reuiues: nowe wee shall see them which made the wound giue the remedie: the *French* striue now to submit themselves vnto their King; and the King to receiue his subiects with an

Preparatiues
of obedience
to the King.

admirable clemencie and fatherly affection.

The Lord of *Vitry* giues the first checke to the *Spaniards*. The sundrie conferences he had had with his Maiesty before *Paris* and else where, do now worke a great effect: for deliuering the towne of *Meaux* to the King as a New-yeares-gift, he gaue a plausible beginning to this yeare, and made the way for the Lord of *la Chastre*, his Vncle, to bring vnto his Maiesty two goodly Duchies at once, of *Orleans* and of *Berry*.

Meaux be-
gins.
Orleans and
Bourges se-
condit.

Some townes practised by the heads of the League demand a continuance of the truce, but it was onely to prolong the miseries of *France*. The King therefore doth publish a declaration, shewing the wicked and damnable practises of the Leaguers, who vnder the continuance of a truce, would confirme their tyranny. He prescribes to all in generall one moneth of respite to acknowledge their lawfull King, and to performe all necessary submissions, to be restored to their charges, benefices, goods and liberties. Hee condemnes the rebels, and reuokes his pardon the time beeing expired.

The brute of this declaration, and the Kings preparatiues to punish the obstinate, terrified the heads and the most part of the townes and Comonalties, yet he was content to hold the staffe, but not to strike: and the prouidence of God conducted the worke of this restauration, by other then violent meanes. The Duke of *Mayenne* sought all meanes to auoide this blowe, but he had no forces able to preuent it.

So this vnion, cemented together with so many shiftes, oathes and coniurations, is diffembred on all sides: the most obstinate apprehend their totall ruine, if they persist in their rebellion.

T t t t 3

The



The Kings Coronation.

THere was one thing very necessarie to seale the generall approbation of the Kings lawfull authoritie. Hee was not yet anointed, nor Crowned, and the want hereof, (as if his Coronation were the essentiall forme of a royaltie) serued yet as a maske to many to withhold their obedience. It is good in some things to please the peoples humor: and doubtlesse the end will shew, that this solemne action did serue as a bright Lanterne, to guide them to the port of obedience, which had resolued to yeeld. And, for that the rebellion of *Reims* had shut the gates against him, *Chartres* was the *Rendezuons* of this solemne ceremonie, and the Abbey of *Marmoussier* furnished the Oyle, which they keepe religiously in the holy vyall, with the like vse and vertue, as in former times *Raoul* was annointed at *Soissons*, *Lewis* the fourth at *Lion*, *Hugues* at *Compiene*, and *Lewis* the young likewise at *Chartres*. Thus was our *Henry* annointed in *Chartres* by the Bishop of the same place, the 27. of Februarie, in the presence of such Princes of the bloud, and officers of the crowne, as the time would suffer to honour the ceremonies. Let vs now see the fruites of this solemnitie. The Townes and commonalties of the League begin to tremble, and the most part determine to send their deputies to his Maiestie, being resolued to receive his commandements.

The fruites of his Coronation.

Attempts of the Marquis of Saint Sorlin against Lion, and of the Spaniards.

Lions reduced.

Misfortune is good for some thing. The Marquis of *S. Sorlin*, brother to the Duke of *Nemours*, being yet a prisoner, assisted the inhabitants of *Lions* with all acts of hostilitie. The King of *Spaine*, on the other side confirmed his intelligences more strictly with them of his faction: and gaue them assurance by the Duke of *Terra-nova*, gouernour of *Milan*, of a leue of twelue hundred *Suisses*, the which with other forces hee would thrust into the towne, vnder pretext to succour it against the violences of the Marquis, but hauing drawne them in among the Inhabitants, he should through the fauour of the partisans of *Spaine*, make himselfe master of the towne.

Lions was now ready to fall vnder the rule and tyrannie of a stranger: but God stirrs vp meanes beyond mans reason. Some good men alwaies well affected to *France* in their hearts, with the consent of foure sheriffes, resolued to seeke the meanes to drawe the towne to his maiesties obedience.

They acquaint Colonel *Alphonso* with their enterprise, who giues them assurance of his fauour and succor in so good an occasion. The 7. of Ianuary he comes to the suburbs of *Guillotiere* with goodly troupes. And the same day betwixt three and foure of clocke in the morning *Jaquet* one of the Sheriffes, assisted by the *Seignieurs* of *Liergues* and *de Seue* (followed by a good number of armed men,) force a gard placed at the foote of the bridge vpon *Saone*, and constraime them to leaue the place. The towne is in armes, they make barricadoes in their streetes. Such as were of this enterprise, repaire to the quarters that were assigned them: euery man desireth the liberty of *France*. They seize vpon the Arcenall, and on the most factious officers and Captaines of the towne. All the people weare white-scarfes and fethers. That happie crie of, *God saue the King*, sounds in the ayre. They make bonfires in all places, they burne the armies and liuery of *Spaine*, *Sauoy* and *Nemours*, and the picture of the League in forme of a witch, and set vp the Kings in all places.

Here vpon *Alphonso* entred the towne, accompanied with *d'Andelat*, *Cheuieries*, *S. Toricul*, *Botheon*, *la Liegue*, *Baume*, *de Mures*, with many other gentlemen of the Countie: and for the finishing of so good a worke, he deposed the suspected Captaines of the towne, receiued the oath of fealty to the king of such as he did substitute in their places: and

And afterwards the Councell of the Towne did resolue and sweare neuer to admit any *Italians* or *Sauoyens* to publike charges: nations which had most nourished the fire of vnciuill rebellion within their Cittie.

The like broyle in a manner recovered the obedience of the Towne, and Parlement of *Aix* in *Prouence* to his Maiestie. The Duke of *Espernon* built a Cittadel there, to keepe them in awe, with whose humors they could not well agree. Moreouer he was not in good tearmes with the King, and seemed to pretend some inuouation to the preiudice of the Kings affaires. They therefore call vnto them *Les Dignieres*, and the King commaunds him to go with speed, and to oppose his forces against the Dukes in *Prouence*. Hee wanted men, money, and necessarie prouisions, to entertaine that which hee had exploited in *Piedmont*. He therefore furniseth the places he held, as the time would suffer him, and goes to crosse *Espernon*, razed the fort hee built against the Towne of *Aix*, and reduced the Inhabitants to their ancient obedience.

The miraculous reduction of Paris to his Maiesties obedience.



Amidst so many happie Catastrophes for the restoring of this monarchie, some notable inhabitants of *Paris*, which loued the *Flower de Lys* in their soules, made the way to free it from the rule of strangers: but many difficulties crossed the meanes they gaue vnto the King, who imployed all his desseignes to recover the ancient throne of his Predecessors. *Paris* was neuer without some Prince of the house of *Lorraine*, and aboue foure thousand *French*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Lansquenets*, and *Wallons*, kept the Cittie in subiection. Seing then that of many enterprises not any one could succeed happily, neither might they attempt it by open force, without a horrible effusion of bloud, and bringing the Cittie in danger of extreame disolation, a surpris was therefore necessarie.

Miserable state of Paris.

It was now almost readie to bee effected, by the meanes especially of the Lord of *Belin* Gouernour of *Paris*, of *Martin Langlois*, *Seigneur* of *Beaurepaire* one of the Sheriffs of *Paris* for that year, and some others, of whome they had assurance for the execution of their proiect, as well of the Cittie, as of the souldiars practised long before. But the Duke of *Mayenne* being aduertised that the said *Belin* had intelligence with the king, puts him from his gouernment, and doth substitute in his place, the Earle of *Brissac*: and to fortifie the garrison with strangers, hee causeth foureteene hundred naturall *Spaniards* to approche.

By this displacing of the Lord of *Belin*, all their first desseins are made frustrate: but the Earles humor was found apt to vnite them. Hee sought the meanes to bring to light the effects, which hee had resolued, to purge the ill opinion of times past. As *Langlois* attended some fauourable opportunitie to discover himselfe to the said Earle, his Maiestie sends him word that he is agreed with him, that he should not feare to open himselfe vnto him, touching the meanes he had plotted with *Belin*. He confers with the Earle, lets him vnderstand such as bee of the intelligence, and they resolue together, That to bring the King in without effusion of bloud, (as hee desired,) the eue before the execution, they should carrie some stiffe to the new gate, that vnder colour to wall it vp, they should draw away the gabions that stopt the gates: that in the night they should cut away the earth which stopt that of *Saint Denis*, and so seize on the one and the other. That the Shrieffe *Nerat* with his children should take *Saint Honorier* gate, whereof hee had the keies, and draw in a good number of men of warre, to fauour the enterprise, and that by *Saint Denis* gate should enter an other troupe, of sufficient armed men, as well to seize on the gate, as of the rampar on either

1594. side, to make a barre betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Wailons*, and keepe them from A ioyning. They keepe two gards nere *Saint Denis* gate, one at *Saint Eustace* Grosse and the other at the Temple. At the same instant the garrisons of *Melun* and *Corbey* should enter by boat at the Bulwarke by the *Celestins*, and should be receiued by *John Grossier*, and by the *Seigneur of Cheualerie*, the first being Captaine of the sayd Bulwarke, and the other Lieutenant Generall of the artillerie remayning in the Arce-nall. And to auoyd a popular tumult, a brute should be spread abroad of a peace betwixt the King, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, whom vnder colour of the peoples ieaousie of the *Spaniards*, which he had caused to approach vnto *Beauuois*, they had found meanes to send him out off *Paris*, with promise to cause them to retire. That ouer night they should giue tickets to the cheefe whome they knewe desirous of a peace, (as for B the multitude of factious, and the partisans of *Spaine*, they durst not speake openly vnto them to bring in the King, & some that were desirous of peace, could not rest assured of his clemencie and bountie) by the which they should bee aduertised of the accord, and intreated to arme with their friends for the bringing in of the Deputies of either part, which should come in the morning to make the publication, and resist the *Spaniards* that would oppose themselves. So it was decreed, and so executed.

This order being resolved on, it was imparted to those with whom the enterprise had beene long before concluded, by the meanes of the Lord of *Vicques* then Gouverneur of *Saint Denis*, to whome the greatest honour is due, both for that all the associates did rely vpon him, and daily were aduertised and encouraged by him, and also for that hee did carrie himselfe so wisely in *Saint Denis*, as he was more Gouverneur of *Paris*, then C of *S. Denis*. The nineteenth of March, the Secretaries of the Lords of *Brissac* and *S. Luc* carrie it to *Senlis* to the king, with a portrait of the Cittie, setting downe the places of the Strangers gards, & of their partisans. They are searched going out of the Towne, but they remember not to looke into their gloues, where their instructions were written by the hand of the sayd *Langlois* the Sherife.

The King giues them aduice for the execution, the night before the 22. day of the moneth, about foure of the clocke he finds all things readie, and the new gate, and *S. Denis* gate at his deuotion. He enters with his troupes, led by the Lords of *Hamieres*, *Felin*, *Vicques*, & *Fuans*, at the same gate by the which the deceased king parted mourn- D fully out of *Paris*. At the same instant the Lord of *Vitri* comes with a troupe of men at armes to *Saint Denis* gate, bears backe the strangers who made resistance vpon the rampar, enters the Towne, sets gards at the gate, and on the rampars, then passing through *Saint Denis* street, he encounters his Maiestie, whose troupes were come to *Saint Michels* bridge, and before the Pallace.

Thus according to the oth which his Maiestie had taken of the Captaines of euery companie, Not to do or suffer any insolencie or outrage to any Cittizen, but to such as should obstinately make resistance, all his troupes enter without disorder, without murder, without spoyle, and by their perfect obedience testifie how great his authoritie is that commands ouer them. The King being seized of the *Louure*, the pallace, E both *Chastellets*, and other cheefe places of the Cittie, and assured of the Duke of *Feria* and his Strangers, hee went armed with his caske on his head, with an incredible concourse and ioy of the people, to our Ladies Church, and there gaue sollemne thanks to the Soueraigne Protector of this monarchie: who hauing as it were, led him by the hand, by such extraordinarie and miraculous meanes, into the Capitall Cittie of the realme, gaue him hope that he should soone chase the stranger out of his inheritance, and peaceably inioy the throne of his predecessors.

In the meane time the Earle of *Brissac*, *John L'huillier* master of the accounts, and Frouost of the Marchants, with the Shrieve *Langlois*, accompanied with the Heraults, went through the Cittie, proclaiming the Kings generall pardon: causing them to take white scarfes, and gaue tickets printed at *Saint Denis*, containing an abolition of all offences past. So as in lesse then two houres, all the Cittie was quiet, euery man went to his ordinarie exercise, the shops were opened, as if there had beene no altera- tion,

A bold and aduenterous execution.

Paris obey the King.

A tion, and the Townesmen grewe familiar with the men of warre. There was nothing 1594 but signes of wonderfull ioy and loue: the bitterness of the proud and insolent command of the *Spaniard*, made the *Parisians* to tast the sweetnes of the fatherly rule of their Kings, and those detest him as an enemy, who lately feared and respected him as a master.

A happie and famous day, wherein the people (lately so contrary and full of cru- eltie,) reduced to that miserie, as they durst not sigh in their miserie, exceeding glad to see a meanes to inioy their ancient libertie, know not with what acclamations to receiue their peacefull and gracious King, who by his wonderfull clemencie, washing away the blemishes wherewith *Paris* had beene vnworthily polluted, made the Inhab- itants, of slaues Cittizens, restores them, their wiues, children, goods, honours, Magi- strates, and liberties, and giues peace to them who lately held it a crime to demand bread onely, and capitall to demand bread and peace together. His Maiestie suffred the Duke of *Feria*, *Don Diego* with other Commaunders and men of warre, to de- part with their baggage, their matches out, and their armes downe. The Bastille made some shew of resistance: but as al was prepared to force it, & that their victuals (which were purposely kept backe) began to faile them, *De Bourg* hauing the command thereof, yeelded it three dayes after: and his Maiestie to recompence such as had ser- ued him in this enterprise, gaue them great gifts with many offices and aduancements.

Hee confirmed all the companies of the Cittie, and disannulled the declarations C which had beene published in the moneth of March. 1589. he restored the Lord *d'O* to his gouernment, from the which the generall reuolt had expelled him: hee appointed him to go to the Towne house, to take an oth of the officers in the presence of *Mon- sieur Francis Miron*, one of the Kings priuie Councell, master of Requests, and President of the great Councell, ouerseer of the gouernment of the Kings armies, and appoin- ted to assist him. And the Earle of *Chiuerny* Chancellor of France, assisted with the *Seigneurs of Ris*, *Pontcarre*, *Miron* and other Councillors of the priuie Councell, and masters of Requests of the Kings house, to the number of twelue, went to the Pallace, and caused the letters of reestablishment of the Court of Parliament to be read, and at the instance of *Loysel*, appointed in the absence of the Kings officers, they tooke the oth D of all the Presidents, Councillors and officers of the said Court, before the returne of the Parliament removed to *Tours*, in the yeare 1589. And so in like sort to other com- panies, the chamber of accounts, Court of Aides & chamber of the money, to whom Councillors were sent to do the like as to the Parliament, and to continue their places and dignities, with the other officers resident at *Tours*, whome this happie reduction brought within few weekes after to their antient seat of iustice. *Paris* being freed from the command of strangers, and reduced vnder the obedience of their natural and law- full King, it was needfull to repaire that, which the libertie of warre had changed, touching the Lawes and grounds of the Estate, and the rights and honours of the Crowne. To this end, the Court of Parliament lately establishes, reuokes, and dis- annuls by a decree of the 30. of March, all other decrees, orders, or othes giuen or made E since he 29. of December. 1588. to the preiudice of the Kings authoritie, and the lawes of the realme, decreeing that as things forced by violence, they should remaine suppressed for euer. And especially they disannulled all that had beene done against the honour of the deceased Kings, as well during his life, as after his decease: forbidding all persons to speake of his memorie but with honour & respect: commanding to informe of the detestable parricide committed on his person, and to proceed extraordinarily against such as should bee found culpable. They reuoked the authoritie giuen to the Duke of *Mayenne* vnder the title of Lieutenant generall of the Estate and Crowne of France, forbidding all men to acknowledge him with that qualitie, to yeeld him any o- bedience, fauour, comfort, ayd, vpon paine of high treason. They likewise inioyned the Duke of *Mayenne*, vpon the like paines, & other Princes of the house of *Lorraine*, to ac- knowledge King *Henry* the 4. of that name, for King of France & *Nauarre*, for their king, to yeeld him the obedience of faithfull seruants and subiects. And to all other Princes,

A decree against the League and the Duke of Mayenne.

Prelates,

1594 Prelates, Noblemen, gentlemen, Townes, Commonalties & priuate men. To *France* that pretended faction of the League, wherof the Duke of *Mayenne* had made himselfe the head, and to yeeld vnto the King obedience, seruice, and fealtie, vpon paine to the said Princes, Prelates, Noblemen, and gentlemen, to bee degraded of their Nobilitie and gentry, and they and their posteritie declared base, with confiscation of bodies and goods: and the razing of their Townes, Castels, and places, that should infringe the Kings ordinances and commaundements. They reuoked and disannulled all that had beene done or decreed by the pretended Deputies of the assembly held at *Paris*, vnder the names of the generall Estates of the Realme, as voyd, done by priuat persons, chosen and suborned for the most part by the factious of this Realme and partisans to the *Spaniard*, having no lawfull power: forbidding the said pretended Deputies to take vpon them this qualitie, and to assemble any more in the sayd Cittie, or else where, vpon paine to be punished as troublers of the publike quiet, and guiltie of high Treason. They inioyned such of the pretended Deputies as were yet resident at *Paris*, to retyre home to their houses, to liue there vnder the Kings obedience, and to take the oth of fealtie before the Iudges of those places. Moreouer they decreed, that all processions and solemnities instituted during the troubles thereof, should cease, and in stead thereof, the two and twentieth day of March should bee for euer celebrated, and the same day a general procession should be made after the accustomed maner, where the said Court should assist in their scarlet roabes, as a remembrance, to gude God thanks for the happie reduction of this said Cittie to the Kings obedience.

The voluntary submission of the vniuersitie. As the vniuersitie by their treacherous decision had before countenanced and supported the *Parisiens* intolencies and mutinies, so now by their humble and due submission, of their owne proper motion, they seeke to repaire the crime they had committed. *James of Amboise* Doctor in Physicke, chief Rector, chosen since the reduction of *Paris*, the Deane and the Doctors of *Sorbonne*, the deanes and doctors of other faculties, all the members and Officers of the vniuersitie, come to the King to yeeld him a testimonie of their loue, and finding him in the chapell of *Bourbon*, prostrate before his Maiestie, they acknowledge him their true and onely naturall Prince, sweare to be obedient and faithfull seruants to him for euer, and beseech him (as to his other people which submit themselves like good and loyall subiects,) to extend his fauour vnto them. The Kings owne disposition did moue him, but the place did inuite him to this pardon. He protests before God, to be as readie to remit the offences of others, as he desired Gods diuine Maiestie to be merciful vnto his. So he receiued them, and sent them home graciously.

Paris gave example to all the rest of the Realme. And the first fruits of this happie reunion began to ripen in the hearts of other Townes and Comonalties. So the monethes of Aprill and May, were spent to receive the submissions of diuers Prouinces, and drawing to the Kings obedience, many Captaines, gentlemen, Noblemen, and other chiefe pillars of the League. So as euery birde hauing his feather, the Crow in the fable remaind in the end naked. The Lord of *Villars* submits himselfe to his foueraine Lord, and yeelding him the townes of *Rouan*, *Newhauen*, *Harsen*, *Montmiller*, *Pontau de mer*, and *Vernueil*: hee obtains in exchange the office of Admirall of *France*, and hereafter resolues a most obstinat warre against the *Spaniard*. But a sad accident shall tooone frustrat the desseins he made with his Maiestie. *Abbeville* hath bin alwaies called the Cittadell of *Picardie*, lying at the mouth of the sea. *Maupin* the Maior, and some inhabitants, had resolved to giue a great check vnto the League: but the feare of the Duke of *Amboise* factions restrained them, and the seditious impressions of Preachers, (who throughout the Realme, haue beene the greatest motives of these last mutinies) made this their good will fruitles. The King being aduertised hereof, did hazard *Franc*, one of the Secretaries of his Chamber, who was borne at *Abbeville*, to found and discover the end of their intentions.

Hee parts in Aprill, and vnder colour to visit his friends, he behaues himselfe so discreetly in his negotiation, that in lesse then eight dayes they resolved in open assembly to

A to send their deputies to yeeld themselves at his Maiesties feete, who in token of so good a seruice, ennobled *France* and his posteritie, and augmented the priuileges of the Towne.

In the same moneth, the inhabitants of *Troyes* expelled the Prince of *Joynville*, and recalled the Lord of *Inteuille*, their ancient gouernour for the King. The Townes and Prouinces contend, who shall haue the honour to returne first to their due obedience, from the which these popular furies had withdrawn them: *Sens*, *Poitiers*, *Agen*, *Ville-neufue*, *Marmande*, and other Townes of *Gascogne*, and in a manner all that had followed the dance of *Orleans* and *Paris*, do now frame themselves to their tune. And all this is done in few weekes. The most factious of the partie, did still feed the fire of rebellion in some Townes of *Picardie*: *Amiens* and *Beauuois* wauered: the *Spaniard* possessed *Laon* and *La Fere*, places of importance in that Prouince: and the Count *Charles* of *Mansfield* had euen now besieged and taken *Capelle*, a small Towne, but strong in the Duchie of *Thierafche*. The King being aduertised thereof, went home to their Trenches, to drawe them forth to fight: but making no show to come forth, to get that by force, which he could not obtaine by reason, hee besiegeth *Laon*, defeats the succors at sundry times that come to the besieged, kills aboute fiftene hundred of their men in sundry encounters, and taking the Towne by composition in the end of August, he ends (by this act) the furies of ciuill warres without hope of reuiuing, and then returns triumphing to *Paris*.

C *Chasteau Thierry*, before the siege, and after the siege of *Laon*, *Amiens*, *Beauuois*, and all the Townes in *Picardie* (except *Soissons* and *La Fere*, which the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spaniard* held) did shake off the Strangers yoke, and tooke the oth of fealtie to the King. *Cambray* did likewise acknowledge him, and gaue his Maiestie such aduantage, as his enemies remained without meanes to maintaine the warre, and without hope to obtaine their peace. The Duke of *Mayenne* in the meane time entertained all his friends and intelligences at *Bruxelles*: but the supplies of men and money which hee drew from thence, were not able to stay the course of the Kings prosperities. Hee therefore retyred himselfe into *Bourgongne*, to assure such places as were yet at his deuotion.

D Contrarywise, his neereft kinsmen retyring themselves, left him almost alone to treat with the *Spaniard*. The Duke of *Nemours* made his accord at the Castle of *Pierre-aurise*, but being escaped the 26. of Iuly, as we haue sayd, death deprived him of the vse of his libertie, as wee shall see hereafter. The Duke of *Guise* did first resist, that hee desired nothing more then the Kings seruice, and drawing in the moneth of Nouember to his Maiesties seruice his bretheren with himselfe, many Noblemen, the Cittie of *Reims*, and many other places, it did greatly shake this monstrous building, which was now ready to fall to ruine.

The sect of *Iesuits* had as chiefe pillars of the League, mightily supported it vnto this day, and by all meanes laboured to aduance the *Spaniard* in *France*: they had spread throughout the whole realme, the furious effects of the fire which they had kindled, and continued in priuate confessions (as lately in their Sermons) to disgrace the memorie of the deceased King, and the Maiestie of the King now reigning: and to encrease it, the principall of their Coledge, and some others, had lately approued, countenanced, and perswaded that execrable attempt of *Peter Barriere*. The Vniuersitie of *Paris* grounding the renewing of their ancient Processe against the *Iesuites*, vpon these considerations and motiues, demand the rooting out of them. Some great men, and of the chiefe men of Iustice, sue for them: the Cardinall of *Bourbon* supports them: The Duke of *Neuers* makes their cause his owne. The respect of their learning, and care and diligence to instruct and teach youth, did moue them: and a very vrgent cause must drawe the Court of Parliament (whose authoritie notwithstanding they did contemne and reiect) to pronounce and declare this great decree, the which an accursed and detestable attempt, by one of their owne disciples, did in the

In Champagne.
In Poitou &
Gascogne.

The Duke of
Guise reconciled to the
King.

Processe against the
Iesuits renewed.

1554. the end extort. They procured that the cause might bee pleaded secretly, for that (said their Aduocate) to defend my Clyents, I shall bee forced to speake some things offensive to many which haue lately turned to the Kings seruice. But their pleadings are to be read in *Arnault* against them, and *Verforis* for them, both graue and learned aduocates.

By the reduction of so many Prouinces, Townes, Comonalties, and priuate Noblemen, the League shall bee now confined into some corners of *Bourgongne*, *Picardie*, and *Brittanie*, where the *Spaniards* (to haue alwaies footing within the Realme) enter-tayned the hopes of the Duke of *Mayenne* and *Mercaur*. The first began to fall from them: but the other grounded vpon some vaine pretensions of the Duchie, where he governed by reason of his wife, hoped to preuaile, if not of all, yet at the least of a good part. The Queene Dowager his Sister, laboured to make his peace: but hee delayed the time, knowing that in his greatest extremity he should finde grace with the King.

The *Spaniard* being brought into *Blancet* by his meanes (a fort which the situation of the country had made almost impregnable, if as they had built a fort neere vnto *Croisse*, to shut vp the entrie of the port at *Brest*, they had also made an other right against it on the other banke) hoped that being chased out of the other Prouinces, he should yet hold this as a pawne for the money he had disbursed. His Maiestie sent the Marshall *D'Aumont*, and Generall *Norric* an *English* man, to encounter him, who fortified with a Fleete, vnder the command of Captaine *Frobisher*, they became maisters of *Quimpercorentin* and *Morlay*, and then they forced the new fort at *Croisse*, and slue (but with the losse of men, and of the sayd *Frobisher*,) foure hundred Souldiars, to whom the gard was committed.

France grew quiet, yet must they imploy the Souldiars, and carry the warre into the *Spaniards* country. It seemed this would free the realme, but sildome doth it bring forth the effects that are expected. Yet for a triall, the King agrees with the Estates of *Holland* and their confederates, to inuade the Duchie of *Luxembourg* with their common forces. The Duke of *Bouillon*, now Marshall of *France*, and the *Cont Nassau*, seeke to enter in October, but they finde the passages stop, and the *Cont Charles Mansfield* before them, who by the defeat of the *Hollanders* troupes, made this attempt fruitlesse. On the other side, the King seekes to keepe the frontiers of *Picardie* safe from the *Spanish* forces, and threatened *Arthois* and *Hennault*: That if they fauoured the forces of *Spaine*, which molested *Cambray* and the Countries there about, he would make violent warre against them. The Estates of those Prouinces make no answer to these threats, framing their excuse that they could draw no direct answer from the Archduke *Ernest*, Lieutenant generall for the King of *Spaine* in the Low Countries, who soone after perswaded the subjects of the sayd Countries to arme, and to inuade *France*.

The better to knowe *Picardie*, and to iudge of what should be necessary against the attemptes of this new enemy, the King makes a voyage to the frontier, and then returns to *Paris*, to celebrate the solemnity of the knights of the order of the holy Ghost, and to receiue the Ambassadors of *Venise*, *Vincent*, *Gradenigo* and *John Delphino* being sent to congratulate the happy successe of his affayres, and *Peter Duodo* to succeed *John Mocenigo*. At his arriual he receiues three good aduertisements: That the Marshall *d'Aumont* had taken from the *Spaniard* one of the places he had fortified in *Brittanie*: That the *Spaniards* thinking to enter into *Montreuil*, hauing giuen fiftie thousand Crownes to the gouernour, had bene repulsed with the losse of fife or sixe hundred men: And that the Marshall of *Bouillon* had ioyned with the army of *Cont Maurice* in despite of *Cont Charles*.

But oh monstrous attempt, the onely remembrance should make our haire to stare, and our hearts to tremble. The 27. of December, the King being booted in one of the Chambers of the *Louure*, hauing aboute him his Cousins the Prince of *Cony*, the *Cont Soissons* and the Earle of *S Paul*, and a great number of the chiefe Noble men of his Court, bending downe to receiue the Lords of *Ragny*, and *Montigny*, who kist his knee, a yongman called *John Chastel*, of the age of eightene or nineteene yeares, the

Warre in
Brittanie.

In Luxem-
bourg.

The King
hurt in the
face.

A sonne of a wollen draper in *Paris*, a Nouice of the Iesuits, encouraged by their instructions, & thrust on by a diuelish furie, creeps into the chamber with the presse, & surprising his Maiestie as he was stooping to take vp these gentlemen, in steed of thrusting him into the bellie with a knife, as he had determined, he strooke him on the vpper lippe, and brake a tooth. This wretch was taken, and confessed it without torture. The King vnderstanding that he was a discipule of that schoole. *Must the Iesuits then* (said hee) be iudged by my mouth?

Thus God (meaning by this cursed and detestable attempt) to countenance the pursute of the vniuersitie of *Paris* against that sect, *John Chastel* hauing declared the circumstances of his wicked intent, was found guiltie of treason, against God and man in the highest degree, and by false and damnable instructions (holding that it was lawfull to murder Kings, and that the King now raigning was not in the Church vntill he were allowed by the Pope) was by a decree of the Court condemned to do penance before the great dore of our Ladies Church, naked in his shirt vpon his knees, holding a burning torch of two pound weight, to haue his armes and legges pinched at the *Greue* with burning pincers, and his right hand holding the knife wherewith hee sought to commit this parricide to bee cut off, his bodie to bee torne in peeces by foure horses, burnt to ashes, and cast into the wind, and all his goods forfeit to the King. The said Court decreed by the same sentence, That the Prests, schollers, and all others terming themselves of that societie, (as corrupters of youth, troublers of publike quiet, and enemies to the Kings state,) should depart within three dayes after the publication of this decree, out of *Paris*, and other places whete they had colledges: and within fiftene, out of the Realme, vpon paine after the said time to bee punished as guiltie of high treason, all their mouable and immouable goods to bee forfeited, to bee employed in godly vses, forbidding all the Kings subiects to send any Schollers to the Colledge of the said societie without the Realme, there to be instructed or taught, vnder like paines as before.

The Decree was executed the nine and twentieth of the said moneth. *Peter Chastel* the father, and *John Gueret* schoolemaster to this murtherer, were banished, the first for a certaine time out off *Paris*, and fined at two thousand Crownes, the last for euer out off the realme, vpon paine of death. The fathers house standing before the pallace, razed, and a pillar erected conteyning (for a perpetuall monument) the causes of that ruine. Amongst the writings of one named *John Guignard* of *Chartres*, were found certaine outrageous and scandalous libells against his Maiestie, made since the generall pardon granted by him at the reduction of *Paris*, for the which hee was executed the seuenth of Ianuary following. Experience hath often taught, that armes produce greater effects abroad in the enemies Countie then at home, and that the goodliest triumphe is sought farthest off. Our vni-ciuill confusions were forged cheefly in *Spaine*: and the Iesuits had bene the cheefest workemen. One *Francis Jacob* a scholler of the Iesuits of *Bourges*, had lately vnto to kill the King, but that hee held him for dead, and that an other had done the deed. And this horrible attempt of late vpon the sacred face of his Maiestie, (wherin hee was miraculously preserued) doth wimes, that they were the cheefe firebrands. So the King grounding the necessitie of his armes vpon these considerations, after hee had rooted out this sect of Schooles, which they held within the Iurisdiction of the Parliament of *Paris*, hee published a declaration for the making of warre against the King of *Spaine*. Without doubt the reasons were verie apparent and manifest, and the beginning more fauourable then the end.

The Marshall of *Bouillon* begins this new warre: he enters the Duchie of *Luxembourg* with an armie of a thousand horse, and foure thousand foote, and at the first puts to rout eleuen Corners of horse of *Cont Charles* neere to *Wyrton*, kills two hundred and fiftie vpon the place, makes the rest to leaue armes, horse and baggage,

V v v v

5594

A decree
gainst the
murtherer.

Warre pro-
claimed a-
gainst the
Spaniards.

1595.

Some Lorraines serve the King.

and to save themselves in the next worst. *Philip* likewise for his part proclaims warre against our *Henry*. The Duke of *Lorraine* on the other side, having taken a truce with his Maiestie, the Baron of *Auffonville*, with the Seigneurs of *Tremblecourt* and *Saint George* (who before made warre vnder him) now take the white leafe, they enter the County of *Bourgogne* with a thousand horse, and five thousand foote, and at the first they seize vpon *Vezou de l'ouille*, and other places.

Behold the fire which threatens two Prouinces: but the *Spaniards* suffers them not to be consumed, as men presumed, that being busie to quench it, he would leave *Picardie* in quiet. Hee commands the Archduke *Erneste*, that with the hazard of the Lowe Countries he should transport all his forces into *Picardie*, and moreover causethe Constable of *Castille* gouernour of *Milan*, to passe the Alpes with a great armie of *Spaniards* and *Neapolitanes*, who recouered the places, and forced the *Lorraines* to disperse themselves.

Spaniards in Picardie.

The Duke of Nemours makes warre against Lions.

The *Artesiens* and *Hannuyers*, foreseeing the desolation which the continuance of this warre would cause, solicited the Archduke to seeke some meanes to quench it: but death cuts off the course of his enterprife. The Earle of *Fuentes* (that is to say *Fontaines*) aduanced them courageously, causing the gouernour of *Arthois* to enter into *Picardie* with a thousand horse, and sixe thousand foote. Bei old rough seas and great stormes, which violently beat vpon our great Pilot: but in despite of their attempts, he shall guide his ship to a safe port, and bring his enterprises to an end. *Vienne, Nuiz, Autun, Beaune* and *Dijon*, did happily assist him: let vs see the successe. The Duke of *Nemours* escaped from prison, assembled a good troupe of Souldiers, horse and foote, and drawing to him three thousand *Suisses* which wintered in *Sauoy* for the defence of the Country, with these forces hee pretended to subdue the Prouinces of *Lionnois*, *Forest* and *Beauueulois*, and to reuenge the disgrace hee had received in *Lions*.

Great seruice done by the Constable.

For a beginning, he had reduced to his deuotion, *This* a strong Castle in *Lionnois*, *Tienne* in *Daulphiné*, *Feur*, *Montbrison*, *Saint Germaine*, and *Saint Bonnet*, Townes in *Forest*: and by this restraining them both aboue and beneath the river, hee made an account eyther to bring *Lions* to some extremity of victuals, or to cause some tumult among the people, who should giue him entrie into the Citie. Being ready to effect his desseignes, the Constable parted from *Languedoc*, to ioyne with the King, hee resolues in this encounter to doe him a notable seruice. Hee comes into *Lionnois*, followed with a thousand horse, and foure thousand choise Harguebuziers, happily for the preservation of the Countrey: for hee presently stayed the course of the Duke of *Nemours* prosperity, who posting to oppose himselfe against the Constable (having made a voyage to the Constable of *Castille*, with hope to haue authoritie ouer the forraigne forces, and to dispose of them for the execution of his desseignes) fortifies *Saint Colombe*, a small village at the foote of the bridge of *Vienne* towards *Lionnois*, lodgeth some troupes there, and the rest hee puts in garrison into the Towne.

This great multitude of men shutte vp in *Vienne*, makes their victuals grow scant: they likewise want other necessities and munition for warre. The Constable cures off all meanes from them. The *Suisses* mutine for want of paye, and being called home by their Colonels, go to ioyne with the forces of *Sauoy*, which the Marquis of *Treafort* commanded, being Lieutenant generall for the Duke of *Sauoy*, on this side the Alpes. To curbe *Lions* more straightly, the Marquis came to winter his men at *Ascunthuel*, a small Towne of *Sauoy*, three Leagues from *Lions*. The Constable preuents him, and surprising the Towne, disapoints the Marquis, lodgeth his men drye, and leaues the *Sauoyssien* subiect to the iniuries of the ayre, and keeps him from attempting anything against *Lions*.

The Constable aduertised of some discontent betwixt the Captaines of the Strangers that were in *Vienne*, and the Seigneur of *Disimieu* a Gentleman of *Daulphiné*, who commanded in the Castle of *Pipet*, the chiefe Forte of the sayde Towne, he

1595.

He practiseth *Disimieu*, lets him vnderstand of his dutie to the Kings seruice, his naturall Prince, his duty to his Country, and the profit hee shall bring by the reduction of this Towne, to so many people threatened with forraigne oppression.

Disimieu giues care, and without any great difficulty, hauing passed his word to the Constable, suffers the Seigneur of *Montoisson* to enter the Castle with a troupe of Harguebuziers. The Constable parts the 24. of Aprill, with eight hundred Harguebuziers, three hundred horse, and many Gentlemen, as well of the Country, as his owne followers: and marcheth towards *Vienne*. The Marshall of *Ornano* doth likewise meete him, with five hundred Harguebuziers, and two hundred maisters. All shew themselves about *Vienne* at noone-day. Then *Disimieu* giues the Seigneur of *Cheylart*, and *Dom Vincentio* Colonnell of the Italian foote (that were there in garrison) to vnderstand, That being well informed of the sinister practise and charge they had to seize vpon his person, hee had resolved to yeeld the Towne and Castle vnto the King: yet would he not put it in execution, before hee had obteyned a safe conduct for them and their troupes.

Montoisson shewes himselfe with his troupe, and makes *Cheylart* and *Vincentio* to accept the condition that was offered them. They go forth, and take the way to *Sauoy*, guarded by a company of light-horse. *Disimieu* brings them vnto *Saint Blandine*, where the Constable attended him, and there takes the oath of obedience and fealtie to the King. Towards night the Constable entred *Vienne*, and receiued the Towne and Castles of *Pipet* and *La Bastie* in his Maiesties name. So *Vienne*, the onely Sanctuarye of the Duke of *Nemours*, the *Rendezuous* of Strangers, and the Porte of *Daulphiné* to neighbour Prouinces, caused the quiet of all the Country, and neighbours about. Since the which the Duke alwayes droopt, being contemned, hated, and frustrated of all his attempts: and finally hee ended all his griefes by a mournfull and pitifull end.

As all things succeeded happily for the King, the Marshall of *Biron* hauing taken *Beaune* in view of this great armie of the Constable of *Castille*, *Autun* & *Nuys* in *Bourgogne*, hee puts himselfe into *Dijon*, being called by the Inhabitants, hee chased away the Vicount of *Tauannes* troupes, (who held the Inhabitants shutte vp in a corner of the Towne,) fortified their Barricadoes against the Castle, and did beleaguare it, attending his Armie, which made haste to returne out of the *Franche Comté*.

His Maiestie foreseeing, that the Constable of *Castille* being free, after the recouerie of *Vezou*, should bee employed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, to succour the Castle of *Dijon*, wherein consisted the chiefe hope of his rising, makes hast to *Troyes*, makes a solemne giuing of thanks for so happy a victory, and takes his way to *Dijon*, arrives there the fourth of Iune, carrying with him the execution of a desseigne, more miraculous then all the rest. Without doubt our posterity may put this History with the fabulous tales of the foure sonnes of *Aymond*, of *Rowland*, *Oliuer*, and others, if wee set not downe the trueth, with the chiefe circumstances: for is it not a dreame, an enchantment, and a fabulous tale, that foure score Cavaliers, but true *French* Gentlemen, generous, and well lead, haue amazed and put to flight, two thousand horse? But what durst not this braue Nobility doe, hauing in the head of them so incomparable and valiant a Captaine, and a King so well beloued and respected of all?

The *Castillian* had already passed his troupes and Artillerie, vpon bridges of boates at *Grey*: when as the King hauing fortified the Inhabitants with a thousand men, commanded by the Earle of *Thorigny*, hee viewed the Castle of *Dijon*, the Fort of *Talen* a Cannon shotte from the Towne: and all the approaches, whereby the enemy might attempt to succour the Castle, made choise of bataille fite to stay him, and where to make Fortes for the restraining of the sayde Castle: hee resolues to free him of halfe his paines, and to meete him in the middle way, with a double intent, the one to fight with him at the passage: the other, to giue the

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1595. Assaultants time to finish their trenches against the Castell. For the execution hereof, he assigns the *Rendezvous* at *Lux* vpon *Tille* and *Fontaine-Françoise* to a thousand horse, and five hundred Carabins, whom hee would vnderstand in this rare stratagem: and the same day parts with the onely Companie of the Baron of *Lux*, and some thirtie horse, and comes to *Lux*, and from thence to *Fontaine-Françoise*, putting a troupe of foote into two Castells which are in the village of *Saint Seine* vpon the riuier of *Vigenne*, to stop the enemies passage. It was the directest and best way to come to the succor of *Dijon*.

Wonderfull effects of the Kings arms.

A League from *Fontaine-Françoise*, the Marquis of *Mirebeau* giues his Maiestie intelligence, that hee hath encountered with two troupes of three or foure hundred horse, which made him retyre in haste: that hee did thinke to haue seene some wings of the armie behind, but hee had no leisure to discouer them plainly. He spake thus, for all the *Castilians* armie was aduanced to seize vpon the passage of *Saint Seine*.

Some weake spirit or lesse generous then our *Henry*, would presently haue resolved to make an honorable retreat: but this did kindle his courage, and increate his desire to see their Countenance. Hee sends the Marshall of *Biron* with the company of the Baron of *Lux*, to discouer if it were the armie, or some other troupe that went to the warre, and himselfe followed the marshall a good pace. A hundred paces beyond *Fontaine-Françoise*, the Marshall discouers about threescore horse vpon a hill, mid way to *Saint Seine*, situate at the foote thereof on the one side, so as the villages cannot see one another. The Marshall resolves to chase them, to see what the enemy did behind. Hee sees the enemies armie comming to the said village, and neere vnto a wood fast by, about three hundred horse, which had beat backe the Baron of *Ausouille*, whom his Maiestie had likewise sent before with a hundred horse, to see if the enemy marched or stayed.

These (supported by their whole armie, which followed them at the heeles) put forth one troupe on the right hand, and another on the left, who make a shew to charge the Marshall, that they might obserue what forces followed him. To frustrate their expectation, hee causeth the Marquis of *Mirebeau* to stretch forth at large on the one hand, and the Baron of *Lux* on the other, and then assured that the enemies armie followed, hee began to make his retreat towards the King. The enemy perceieth him, taking this retreat for a kind of flight: But hee retyred onely, to charge more furiously. The Baron of *Lux* sees a troupe, which aduanced before their armie, and enters so hotly amongst them, as his horse being slaine, hee remaynes engaged in great danger, if the Marshall had not fallen on them with so rough a charge as they were constraind and forced to turne their backs.

Hereupon issue forth from the woods, many troupes of horse, which in all with them that marched before, made about twelue hundred. The Marshall (discouering them) retyres more speedily, as well to aduertise his Maiestie that all their armie followed, as also to tell his Maiestie, that hee had meanes with his horse to fight with theirs before their foote could arriue. Before hee could deliuer this vnto the King, the troupes of the Baron of *Thianges*, *Theniffey*, *Villiers*, *Houdan*, and a companie of *Carabins* ioyned with him, whome he had chased, & force him to turne head, but with twentie horse onely, for the great number of enemies at the first view had amazed most of them which followed the Marshall. He chargeth, and ouerthrowes the first he encounters. But two wounds, one on the head, with a sword, the other with a Lance which razed the skin of his bellie, made the victorie for a while doubtful. Without doubt his braue resolution and wife command encouraged many that were amazed, and confirmed that, which in shewe tended to ruine. The onely feare which they had, least he had more men in the village or thereabouts, then hee had made shew of, kept the enemy backe, and made them to attend the rest of the army which aduanced: in the meane time they put them into

An aduenturous charge.

A five esquadrons. His Maiestie sees himselfe engaged to fight, and hath small meanes to make it good, for the troupes followed easily, and the houre of the *Rendezvous* was not yet come. The King notwithstanding aduanceth a troupe of horse which newly arrived. But discouering this great cloud of enemies ready to charge them, they retyre to his Maiestie.

One torch may kindle many lights. If our *Henry* had wanted resolution: if his valour had not beene able to heat these cold and frozen hearts: if numbers had exceeded his courage, he had beene wonderfully perplexed. It was a shame to retyre, a rashnes to aduance, and dangerous to make a stand. There was perill to fight, or not to fight. Hee choseth rather to exceed the limits of valour, then to bee noted of any cowardise. He aduanceth to them that fled, and causeth some to turne & to ioyne with his troupe. The Lord of *Tauannes* arriues with his companie, increasing his number, which are about two hundred horse, but not yet well ioyned. Hereupon the Duke of *Mayenne* appeares vpon a hill, and sends forth three esquadrons against his Maiestie, which flank-ed him on the right hand, the one of 300 horse, the other of 200, & the third of a hundred and fiftie, and two others against the Marshall of *Biron*.

The King aduanceth, with about foure score horse, & chargeth the first squadron so violently, as he giues them no leisure to thinke to fight, ouerthrowes the second, and dispereth the third, with about fife and twentie horse, which remayned with him (the rest pursued the victorie) strikes terror into all, and leaues the vanquished no other safety, but to die by the hands of so incomparable a Conqueror. The Marshall of *Biron* seconds this admirable victorie with a great resolution, who followed with about fiftie horse, defeated the two esquadrons that came against him, one after another, within threescore paces of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who stood firme on the hill with his troupe of three hundred horse, whether the runaways fled, thinking there to bee in safetie.

The King and the Marshall charge them ioynly, force them, put them in rout, and pursue them vnto the corner of the wood. Here the King finds their battallions of foot, and great store of muskets and other shot planted alongst it, with foure hundred fresh horse, sent to receiue the Duke, a hundred paces from their battallions. So his Maiestie makes a stand, and the enemies freed from him begin their retreat. The Kings horse follow them to the top of the hill, and there put themselves in battell. The Kings hauing taken breath in the place from whence hee parted to go to the charge, diuides his men into two troupes, one for himselfe, the other for the Marshall. Here, about a hundred *French* gentlemen take the place from fiftene hundred horse, and by this meanes the King was master both of the enemies bodies, and of the place of battaile. His Maiestie gathers together such as were disperd, to make the better shew. Hereupon arriues the Earle of *Clarmont*, *Vitry*, the Kings light horse, those of *Cesar Monsieur*, the Duke of *Elbeuf*, the Earle of *Chiuerny*, the Cheualier of *Oise*, the Lord of *Risse* and *Six*, which made about six hundred horse of his ordinary, all greened that they had not followed the fortune & valour of our King, to be partakers of the honor which he had wonn.

A notable victorie.

With this supplie hee turnes to ouertake them that fled, and pursues them two Leagues, neere vnto *Grey*: but not able to follow this shamefull flight hee was content his glorie should surmount their shame, and that his valour had vanquished their force. And vsing this famous victorie with pietie, hee let all the world know in his person, That it is not the sword, nor the arme that strikes, nor the number of men, that preserues Kings in the midst of armes: but that high Providence, which fighting with the one hand for the iust cause of lawfull Princes, against the attempts, and violences of Tyrants and Tyrants: and holding victories in the other, decides the quarrels of States: by the equitie hee finds in Princes aimes vnjustly oppressed, and makes it manifest that the admirable euent of battailes consisteth and relie not onely in number or force, but in the free disposition of his fauours: vnto a people whose miseries he will shorten, which the continuance of war hath bred in a diuided Estate.

A shamefull flight.

The enemy returned to lodge at Saint *Seine*, and dislodging the next day with a feare, they repassed the water vpon their bridges, leauing both the one and the other side of the hill at the Kings deuotion, who without doubt had giuen them a great check vpon this retreat, if his footmen had bene with him, and the horses lately armed could haue endured the toyle in the vehement heat of the sunne.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Castilian* lost in this charge fixe score men slaine vpon the field, three score prisoners, and two hundred hurt. His Maiestie, onely tounge slaine, and one prisoner. But for a notable circumstance, and a signe of the especiall care of God ouer his person, hee performed these exploits without any other armes then his cuirasse alone, and was well assisted (to their great commendation) by the Dukes of *Guise* and *Elbeuf*, the Lord of *Tremouille*, and the Marqueses of *Treynel* and *Pizany*, by the Lords of *Inteuille*, *Roquelauve*, *Chasteauvieux*, *Liencourt*, *Montigni*, *Mirapoux* and others. And in despite of all the furious attempts of the League, the Castell of *Dijon*, and in a manner all *Bourgogne* was sone after reduced to the Kings obedience: and now the third time, hee freed his realme from strangers. The King in the end inuades the County, forceth one of their lodgings in the vew of the Constable of *Castille* neere vnto *Grey*, becomes master of the field, takes *Aspremont* and many other places: he had forced their cheefe forts, if the *Suiffes* had not intreated him to rectyre his army, and to suffer that Prouince to inioy her ancient libertie.

Whilest the King continues his victories, the Marshall of *Bouillon* executes a dangerous enterprize, but of importance vpon the Towne and Castell of *Han*. *Han* opened the way for the *Spaniard* from the frontier vnto *Beauuais* and *Amiens*: but this surprize cunningly performed, did wonderfully annoy them, and not one *Spaniard* of those which had it in gard escaped either death or prison. Six score naturall *Spaniards*, and six or seuen hundred Captaines and souldiars of diuerse nations were slaine, and three or foure hundred prisoners. But all this scumme of men could not recompence the dearch of that braue and generous Nohleman *de Humieres*, one of the cheefe actors in the enterprize, as much lamented first by the King, then by the Nobilitie, and generally of all *France*: as his vertues and merits had made him commendable and necessarie for his Maiesties seruice. *La Croix* master of the campe, *Mazieres* Lieutenant to *Surville*, and *Boycourt* Captaine of *Humieres* gard, were companions of his valour, and graue. The Towne was taken for the King, with the death of sometwentie other gentlemen, and about a hundred souldiars.

But the *Spaniard* soone after reuenged this surprize vpon *Castelet*, but more sharply vpon the Towne of *Dourlans*, for hauing put to rout the succours which the Marshall of *Bouillon* sent, slaine the Admirall of *Villars* and many gentlemen, they took the Towne by assault (not for want of men or munition, but by their bad order, and the intelligence which the Commanders in the Towne had with the enemy) and entred it with such great furie, as they had no respect of sex or age: hauing no reason for their horrible crueltie, but the fresh remembrance of their companions. *It is* (cried they) *to reuenge those of Han*.

The Duke of *Neuers*, the Marshall of *Bouillon*, and the Earle of Saint *Paul*, Commanders of the Kings troups, hauing diuided the charge amongst them, to encounter the *Spanish* forces, the Marshall and the Earle went to provide for the places about *Bollogne*, and the Duke for those vpon the riuer of *Somme*. Passing by *Amiens*, hee finds the people and the cheefest so amazed, that to assure them, he was forced to lay aside the qualities of his person, and to promise to put himselfe into *Corbie*, foure Leagues from *Amiens*, to defend it if the enemy approched. He enters it the third of August, vewes it both within and without, takes a suruay of the quantitie of munition, and of the number of monethes, and prouids, as time and necessitie would permit him for things necessary for the preseruacion of the place. The *Spaniard* had another dessein: for the first day of the moneth hee parts from about *Dourlans*, and taking the way betwixt *Peronne* and *Corbie*, seemes to threaten Saint *Quentin* or *Cambray*.

So

A So the Duke leaues *Corbie*, but doubtfull whither the *Spaniard* went: yet aduertised by the *Viconte d'Auchy* gouernor of Saint *Quentin*, that the enemy approched towards him, he goes to defend Saint *Quentin*. He is no sooner armed, but newes come, that the Earle of *Fuentes* is lodged about *Cambray*, to beseege it with teauenteene thousand men, and threescore and two peeces of artillery. The Lord of *Balagny*, Marshall of *France*, by his articles of capitulation with the King, confirms this aduice by his letters of the eleuenth, tweluth, thirteenth, and foureteenth daies of the moneth, and requires to bee sodenly releued, for the pittifull Estate of *Dourlans* terrified the people: the towne was ill prouided of men, this huge number of Cannons, and this fearefull multitude of men, strooke a generall terror among the Citizens.

B But to reuiue their spirits, who were ready to yeeld obedience to a newe Lord, the Duke of *Neuers* sends them his only sonne the Duke of *Kethelois*, assisted with the valour and wisdom of the Lords of *Vicques*, *Buby*, *Trumelet*, *Vandecourts*, *Sugny*, *Fleury*, *Chaltray*, and others with about three hundred and fittie horse. The *Pelants* by their bells giue the alarum from village to village, and a paltrie bridge of woode at *Anne*, two Leagues from *Cambray*; staying their troupe, gaue the Earle of *Fuentes* meanes to put his horse in battaile almost directly in the way the Duke should take. Hee auoids it, and going aside encounters a gard of fife and twentie Lances, making a stand on this side of a hollow-way: hee chargeth them, cuts them in peeces in the sight of their horse, which could not succour them by reason of the sayd way, and passing on, hee falls into a troupe of two hundred and fiftie horse, marcheth directly to them, scatters them, goes on his way, and comes to the towne ditch. The Inhabitants knowe him and receiue him with much honor, and ioye to see so braue succors.

C But it was too weake against such a number of assaillants: The King was farre off, the Estate of *Bourgundie* kept him occupied: the affaires of the Prouince of *Lionois* required his presence. The Inhabitants of *Cambray* beganneto decline in affection: they were malcontent with the tediousnesse of the sege, and the ruine of their houses by the Cannon, and of the constraint to take certaine money made of Copper, and not suffer them to imploye it, carrying on the one side the Kings armes as Protector, and on the other those of the Lord of *Balagny*, created Prince of *Cambray* by the articles of his reddition. On the other side the enemy made strange attempts, and gaue horrible threats against the beseeged. They shut their eares against all perswasions, and make a disloyall resolution to yeeld, and hoping for better vsage and more liberty, they open the gates to the enemy. The Duke of *Rethelois*, *Balagny* and *Vicques*, and others flie into the Cittadell. The Duke would retire his sonne, and makes the beseeged despaire of any speedie succors. So the ninth of October *Balagny* signed the capitulation, offered by the enemy: but with so much great greefe and sorrowe, as the same night he signed it, his wife being a woman of a great spirit, died, not able to endure that so precious a Jewell as *Cambray* (whereof shee was newly created Princeesse) should fall into the *Spaniards* cruell hands.

Thus this ancient member of this Crowne was lost: Thus the onely triumphe of a sonne and brother of the Kings of *France* was blemished. Doubtlesse had it not bene for the impatiencie and disloyalty within, and the fault of some great men that might haue preuented this mischiese, all their attempts had bene in vaine: for the Earle of *Fuentes* was ready to build forts about the towne, rather to vanquish then by a long sege then by assault. And the King hastned his entry into *Lions*, to come to their speedie succour. The Duke of *Neuers* died soone after, greeued on the one side for so great a breach made to this Estate, and satisfied on the other, that his sonne had shewed himselfe so valiant in the conduct of the succors hee put into the towne.

The King seeing the Constable of *Castille* shut vp into *Dole* and *Grey*, being loath
VVVV 4 to

Hee surprised
or the King.

Humieres
slaine.

Castelet and
Dourlans for
the Spaniards.

2595
Cambray be-
sieged.

Cambray yeeld-
ed to the
Spaniards.

1595

to hazard a battaile, hee went and made his entry into *Lions* the fourth of September. A assured the Prouince, provided for the troubles of *Prouence*, nourished not so much by the League, as by the discontentments and partialities of some which had no integritie with them: he receiued *Bois Dauphin* to his obedience, with the townes of *Châteaugontier* in *Anion*, and *Sable* in *Maine*, and for recompence of his seruice, honoured him with the place of a Marshall of *France*. Then he granted a generall truce throughout the whole realme, to the Duke of *Mayenne*, which after so many stormes, and many tempestes, shall in the end bring vs to a safe port, so necessary to quiet the diuisions of this realme.

God rayseth vp a great meanes from beyond the mountaynes, to make them easie for a generall peace and reunion of people distracted from his maiesties obedience. The Pope moued in the end to see the eldest sonne of the Church, and the chiefe Christian Prince prostrate at his seete, shewes himself a true father of iustice, to vanquish the difficulties and oppositions, whereby the Ambassador of *Spain* had croit his Maiesties constant and iust pursuit, since the time of his conuersion. The 18. of September hee opens the streames of his blessings vpon our Kings head: and all the Colledge of Cardinals, all the people, all the City of *Rome*, crye out with that happy acclamation, *God saue Henry of Bourbon, King of France and of Nauarre, most great, most Victorious, God saue the most Christian and most Catholike, God saue the chiefe sonne of the Church*.

Fewe daies after the newes of this sollemne action, the King went from *Lions* in post by night, to go to the succor of *Cambraye*, but the effects were not answerable to his care and good will. The *Cambresiens* had already conceiued some hope of greater liberty: they hoped to get much by the change, and yeelded their neckes to a new command. There is neyther meanes, counsell, nor reason, that can stay a multitude, when as a disordred appetit of freedome doth transport them.

His Maiestie findes other worke to imploy his forces: he fought to roote this forren power speedely out of *Picardie*, which held his hands bound, and insulted ouer him: *La Fere* is the chiefe and most important fort of the *Prouence*: hee beseegeth it and finds therein an obstinate and inuincible resolution. Perseuerance is necessary in all sorts of warfarre, but especially in the leege of townes: and there is no place which munition and the situation makes impregnable, but time and famine will force, subdue and bring vnder. Whilest the king leaues the beseege nothing free but the aire, and driues them to all extremities, the Duke of *Mayenne* on the other side (seeing his retreats in a manner all lost, and that he is in disgrace with the *Spaniards*;) flies for his Maiesties fauour, and vpon his simple word he promisseth to come vnto him wheretoeuer hee pleased. The Marquis of *Sorlin*, now Duke of *Nemours*, by the death of his elder brother, yeelds with the like facility.

Neuer Prince did more easi yemit the wrongs were done him. The King grewe more cold then was requisite in a sege of such importance, to attend the treaties of the one and the other. He commended the first, for the affection hee had shewed to preserve the realme entire hauing not done, nor suffered it to bee dismembred, but of some places, in the great declining of his Estate, & declares that he had alwaies heard that the second had no part in the troubles and diuisions of the realme, by any deseme preiudiciall to the Estate. This reunion of the Duke of *Mayenne* cauted the yeelding of *Soissons*, *Pierrefont*, *Chaulon* vpon *Saone*, *Seurre* in *Burgongne*, and some other places, to the Kings obedience, who in like sort (to giue order to the disorders of *Brittaine*, a Prouince all couered with *Spaniards* vnder *Don Iohn d'Aghigliar*;) sent the Marshall of *Lauerdin* thither after the death of the Marshall *d'Aumont*.

The hazard and burthens of rebellion, ruined the Duke of *Angoulême* onely: he would be more willfull then all the rest. He therefore grew so incited against him, as the Court of Parliament at *Paris* made his proceffe, declared him guilty of treason in the highest degree, his picture to bee drawne in peeeces with foure hortes, all his goods forfeited to the King, adiudged his goodly house at *Anet* to be razed to the ground, and for

The Pope
blesseth the
King.

La Fere be-
sieged.

The Dukes
of *Mayenne*
and *Nemours*
receiued into
grece.

A for more detestation of his treachery, the Trees about it cut off by the waste. But he fought his safety with *Albert* Cardinall of *Austria* at *Bruxelles*, lately come to succeed the Archduke *Ernest* his brother. 1595.

Albert assures the besieged in *La Fere*, to free them, but he suffered the succours that should releue them to bee defeated. And the Earle of *Fuentes* hauing manned the Townes of his new conquest, went to winter in *Haynault*; and gaue the King meanes to diuise most part of his horse, to be ready in the spring against the Cardinals designs. In the meane time he assembled the Estates of *Picardie*, *Bolognois*, *Fernandois* and *Thierache* in *Amiens*, provided for the estate of the Prouince, and punished some Captaines with death, whole courtouinesse had partly bene the cause of the former losses.

Whilest that our *Henry* assisted now by the Duke of *Mayenne* in person, bring them of *La Fere* to be ready to submit vnto his Maiestie, behold the beginning of this new yeare, sowes the seeds which shall bring forth most profitable fruites, for the perfect restoring of this estate. The Townes and whole prouinces, desire a generall deliuerie, and nothing stayes the effects, but that some *Gouernours* will haue the honour, to see the Canon at their gates, before they treat of their accord: others set their places to sale. A filthy traffick, fitte for the confusion of this age, but vnworthy of all good order, vnworthy the duty of good subiects, vnworthy of the liberie and honour of the *French* Nobilitie. The King reducing them by force, which will not voluntarily returne to their duties, hee wisely giues eare to the mildest and shortest course. Hee should spend more money to get more honour, but hee frames himselfe after the example and modell of *Charles* the tenth, whose two raignes had many conformities. He desires rather to buy a place for money, then to besiege it with much more charge, and great losse of men. The people suffer great losse, and oft times the issue is doubtfull.

The first fruites of this new yeare are most happy in generall, and most honourable for the chiefe authors thereof. The Duke of *Joyeuse* holds the first ranke. It is hee which hath lately taken againe his profession of a *Capuchin*, wherevnto he was vowed after the death of his wife: and by the decease of the last Duke of *Joyeuse* his brother, (drowned neere to *Villemur*;) had left him to succeed in the name, gouernement and estate of the deceased. Without attending of any force, he yeeldes freely to his Maiesties seruice, and the King opening his armes and heart, makes him partaker of his especiall fauours, honouring him with the title of Marshall of *France*, and one of his Lieutenants generall in *Languedock*, in the Townes, places and countries, hee brings to his obedience: giuing him this testimonie, that the onely zeale and profession of his religion, had made him take armes, without any other pretension whatsoever.

By his example, the officers of the Court of Parliament, remaining at *Tholouse* for the exercise of Iustice, the Capitoulx and all the rest of the Cittizens, together with all other people of the Prouince of *Languedoc*, which held the contrary party vnder the authority of the sayd Duke, make knowne vnto the King, the desire they haue to yeeld obedience and duty to his Maiestie, and their resolution to perseuer therein.

The Duke of *Guise* did second this happy beginning of the yeare, and doth sweeten the sharpnesse of those losses which the *Spaniard* had caused vs lately to suffer. Hee was still vigilant to imbrace all occasions that might settle his affaires in his gouernment of *Prouence*, wherewith the King had newly honoured him, hauing already, with the helpe of the Lord of *Les Diguieres*, reduced *Cisteron* and *Riez* to the obedience of this Crowne, and *Martegues* with the Tower of *Bouc*, seated at the mouth of the sea, the Towne and citadell of *Grasse*, with the helpe of the Earle of *Cavares*, and the Lord of *Croze*: hee findes a fitte oportunitie, to make knowne vnto his Maiestie, that hee had quite forsaken the alliance and correspondence which hee had with the *Spaniard*.

The Duke of
Joyeuse.

Tholouse
yeelds.

1556. *Lewis of Aix* and *Charles of Casau* commanded in *Marfeilles* with great authority: violent men and of the *Spanish* faction. They bargained with *Phillip* to sell him this Towne of importance, the port of all the Prouince, and the key of one of the chiefe entries of this realme, where the Emperour *Charles* had often knockt, yet could neuer get it open, and for the execution of their desseine, had already cauted some *Spanish* galleies to approach, vnder the commaund of Prince *Charles Doris* of *Genes*. At last as were fled out of *Marfeilles*, propounded some enterprises vpon the Towne to the Duke of *Guise*, but all were weake and of small possibilitie, yet had he purchased some reproch to faile in his seruice to the King, if he had not attempted some one. *Peter of Liberta* commanded at port *Reale*: a man of courage, valiant, and full of affection to the Kings seruice. He acquainted the Duke of *Guise* with his resolution, either to kill or to shew out these two *Tribuns*, who euery morning at the opening of the gates went with their gards to walke without the Towne: that laying an ambush neere vnto the gate, it would be easie to seize on them, to bee masters of the port, and so consequently of the Towne.

The Duke thinks well of this enterprize: hee takes the name of the gate and of the person, for a signe of good fortune. The gate is called royall, and the libertie which the Predecessors of the vndertaker had in old time purchased to the towne of *Calus* in *Corsequa* from whence they came, had deserued this goodly surname of *Liberta*. But the Dukes neere abroad at *Aix*, held these two pettie Tyrants in perpetuall distrust. To free them of this iealousie he retires from *Marfeilles*, to employ his forces in some place which might breed no distrust in them. He doth therefore beleage and take the townes of *Hieres*, *Saint Tropez* and *Draguignan*: blockes vp the Citadels, vndertakes the siege of *La Garde*, a small Towne, but with a strong Castell, which the Duke of *Effernon* held, being a corruall to the Duke of *Guise*, in the gouernment of *Prouence*: batters the place, makes a breach, and giues two assaults, and euen when as they held him farre engaged at this siege, he riseth, retyers his Canon, comes to *Toulon* the fifteenth of February, giues the *Rendezuous* to all his troupes, at tenne of the clocke at night, at *S. Iulian* two Leagues from *Marfeilles*: hee approacheth, and sends his sentinels of horte before to aduertise him of the signe which *Liberta* should giue him, which was to shut the wicket after the *Tribunes*, or one of them as occasion serued.

It was faire day, when as these Consuls, aduertised that they had discovered fiftene souldiars, two hundred paces from the gate, *Lewis of Aix* goes forth, and to discover them, he causeth twentie muskets of his gard to aduance. *Barthlemew of Liberta* apers to the wicket, and shuts *Lewis* out and *Casau* within. *Manon* Leader of the Dukes sentinels, seeing the signe giuen, sends eight horsemen to charge these musketiers, and aduanceth with the rest towards the gate by another way: the footmen present themselves to the charge, as was resolved, but in stead of good reception, the Cannon and small shot playes on them from the Towne.

Casau meaning to go forth with his gards to follow his companion, *Peter of Liberta* thrusts him sodainly through the bodie: his musketiers charge *Liberta*: his brothers assist him, the Captaines *Heruiem*, *Laurence*, *Imperiall* and some few others, to whom he had imparted the enterprize, disperse these gards, and set vpon the gate, crying liberty by the King: and by the authoritie of this name assured many which were vncertaine what partie to follow: then with *Liberta* they set themselves to gard the port. *Lewis of Aix* seeing himselfe shut out, and these vnkowne men comming to charge him, found meanes to get over the walls, and to enter the Towne by a boat which he found happily, and being accompanied by *Fabio of Casau*, the sonne of *Charles* that was slaine, & five hundred of his friends and *Partisans*, he comes to force the gate on the Towne side: but being repulsed, hee goes to the Corps de gard that was before the Towne house. Here by some rumor that he heares, he takes an impression of the peoples ill affection towards him. To free himselfe, he makes shew to go to the other gards, and so goes to sea with *Fabio*, to get *Saint Victors* fort, and to assure himselfe of the rest. Some of his friends march after him, some disperse themselves in the Towne, and some

A some begin to cry, *God saue the King and Liberty*. It rayned soare, and the Duke of *Guise* amazed at this long protraction in the towne, thinking the intelligence had bene double, thought to retire his men engaged in fight, against the mulketiers of *Lewis* of *Aix*, when as *Imperiall* and *Laurence* come to assure him that *Casau* was slaine. Then began his troupes to march into the towne, and for his better assurance the President *Bernardin* in the open streete assembles what honest men he could, and ioynes with the Dukes men, promisseth them that were armed before the towne-house, life, liberty, & freedome: then going to another gard neere to the hauen, & to *Saint Johns* Church, where at the first broyle about a thousand men were together in armes, by meanes of the like promise, hee easily drew all this multitude to found forth that happy cry. *God saue the King and Liberty*.

These two troupes being assured, they visit three or foure other gards, whose attempts were to be feared: some they change, doubting such as Commanded, leaving such as they knewe desired to bee freed from the commande of strangers. So as in lesse then an houre and a halfe, they were all dispersed that lately fauoured this new tyrannic. Thus the flower de *Luce*, which an vnholme wende from *Spaine* had till now blasted at *Marfeilles*, recovered their ancient beauty, and the white scarfes which feare had kept in their cofers, or made them to reiect, were now put on.

Charles Doris growes amazed. Hee dreames of nothing but of his retreat: but so surprisid as he forgot part of his company. The hauen seemed too little to carry forth their least cock-boate, feare and amazement had so daunted them. The Captaine of *Saint Johns* Tower, and that of the Moores head, might haue stayed them, or at the least hindred their escape: but they were stroken with the like terror, expecting the last act of this Tragedie.

The *Seigneur of Bausset*, Captaine of the Castell d' *If*, sought to annoy the stranger with his Cannon, but being farre off hee did them small hurt. *Lewis of Aix* had thrust himselfe into *Saint Victors* Abbey, and *Fabio of Casau*, into our Ladie of *la Garde*, but so amazed as they could not thinke of their owne safeties. Twelue hundred *Spaniards* being along the hauen, retyred to enter into their Gallies: but this generall terror had so daunted them, as they saue themselves without any remembrance of their men. The Duke of *Guise* chargeth them by the Baron of *Sel*, Lieutenant of his companie of men at armes, and *la Pierre* Captaine of his gards, who slue a great number vpon the place, and got about a thousand muskets, harguebuzes and pikes, and the onely Enseigne which they had, which feare made them forget to their great shame and confusion. The Duke entering into *Marfeilles* without any troupe, made knowne vnto the people the largenes of his affection, and the assurance he had of them: he confirmed all things for the Kings seruice, disappointed the desseins of the factious which remayned in the towne, and by his presence did so amaze all the garrisons thereof, with the Towers and forts, as they submitted themselves to his discretion, and obeyed the King.

Doublelesse this young Duke wonne much honour in this action, namely that the souldiars entered without effusion of blood and without spoile, retrayned by the respect of his presence, they were contented to haue the houses of *Aix* and *Casau* for their booty. On the other side those of *la Fere* (having nothing free but the aire which cannot be kept from prisoners) suffred (with the hope of succors) the extremest discomfort which might afflicte a place strictly besieged. The Cardinall of *Austria* (newly come from *Spaine* into *Flanders*) promised to deliuer them. Men supposed this Prince hauing made no profession of a military life, would finde small credit among martiall men, who rather followe actions then words, and the example then discipline.

But hee will teach vs that the surest stroakes come from the head: and if the olde Duke of *Guise* could by a gallant stratageme recover a towne from the *English* most important for the Estate of this Crowne, he in like sort by the like exploit will make himselfe

1596

Calais and
Ardes taken
by the Spaniards.

La Foreloft.

Warre in Ar-
thois.

selfe the terror of all *Picardie*. Hee departs from *Bruxells*, and giues it out that hee *A* will succor *la Fere*. For his first fruites, he findes meanes to giue them some reliefe of men and munition in March. Then in Aprill he causeth his army (being very strong) to turne head towards *Calais*, beseegeth, batters, and takes both towne and Castell by assault, against all the resistance of the beseeged, and puts many *French* gentlemen to the sword, being sent to supply the Castell.

The Senechal of *Montmart* commanding the *French*, and *Aluarez Osorio* the *Spaniards* in *la Fere*, hauing for the space of five monethes endured all the toyles of warre, and seene the river within the towne to rise two or three foote by the labour of men, had the 22. of the sayd moneth, by a good composition, some-what recompensed this so notable a losse, if the Cardinall had planted here the limits of his victories. But contynuing the prosperitie of his armies, whilest the Kings are weary, and demand rest after so great toyle, hee goes in the beginning of Maye, and camps before *Ardes*, a very strong towne, and notwithstanding their great defence, became Master thereof the 23. of the moneth, and resolves to people these townes of his newe Conquest with strange Colonies, and prepares to adde vnto them, that of *Hulst* in *Flanders*. In the meane time the two armies spend the rest of the Sommer in light roads one in to an others Country.

In the beginning of September the Marshall of *Biron* enters *Arthois*, takes the Castell of *Imbercourt*, encounters with five Companies of horse of the Marquis of *Varambon* followed by five or sixe hundred horse of combat, chargeth them, hee kills all that seeke to withstand the violence of his armes, puts the rest in route, takes the Marquis prisoner & afterwards had fortie thousand Crownes for his ransom: filled the whole Country with feare: then inuading the County of *Saint Paul*, he tooke and spoyed the towne and some other places.

The Cardinall busied at the siege of *Hulst*, hearing that the Marquis was taken, hee sent the Duke of *Arfoit* to commande in his place. As hee enters into *Aras*, the *French* assaile it on the other side, spoile the Country about it, and (laden with bootie) the Marshall retires safely to the frontiers of *Picardie*. Being discharged, hee retournes to *Bapaume*, spoiles *Hebuterne*, *Benuiller*, *Courcelles* and other places, defeats such as would make resistance, and carries away more spoile then at the first. And seeing the Duke of *Arfoit* incamped neere to *Aras*, vnder the fauour of the Cannon, intrenched carefully and loath to hazard any thing, knowing that he was to deale with one of the happiest and most valiant warriors of Europe, they fire all, and reuenge (as oportunitie would suffer them) the *Spaniards* outrage in places lately taken: they make a roade towards *Beihune* and *Therouenne*, bring away many prisoners, furnish thein places with Cattell at the enemies cost, and without any resistance go and campe in the plaine of *Azincourt*.

The Duke supplied with eight hundred foote, ioyned to the regiment of Colonel *Bourlote*, parts from *Aras* the 5. of October, and goes and incamps at *Saint Paul*. The Marshall leaves him there, retournes into *Arthois* runnes vnto *Douay*, spoiles all: then returning into *Picardie*, hee gaue the Duke of *Arfoit* meanes to recouer the Castell of *Himbercourt*: who content with this conquest dismisseth his army, and disposed of his companies into garrisons. Then by the meanes of the Duke of *Bouillon* the alliance was confirmed and sworne betwixt the King, the Queene of *England*, and the v-nited Prouinces of the Lowe Countries.

For matters past there is no remedie: and the Politicians hold, that there is no Lawe more vnprofitable, then that which tends to reforme what is past. The King therefore to settle his affaires, and to prouide for the future, resolute not to suffer the newe Colonies of *Dourlans*, *Capelle*, *Castelet*, *Cambray*, *Calais* and *Ardes*, and with the newe year, to renew a deadly warre against the *Spaniard*, which might not bee attempted without a mighty army, nor the army leuied without treasure, the which he could not recouer without the helpe of his subiects, hee assembled, in manner of a Parliament, the greatest and most discrete of the three orders of his realme, at *ROMAN*, the fourth of

An Assembly
at ROMAN in
forme of a
Parliament.

November

1596

A Nouember, where the Inhabitants, of their owne voluntarie free will, spent foure hundred thousand Crownes to make his Maiestie an honorable reception, where he received the garter (a badge of the order of *England*) by the hands of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*.

His Maiestie desired to deserue these two glorious titles of Deliuerer & Restorer of of his estate. At his coming to the Crowne, hee had found *France* not onely in a manner ruined, but almost all lost for the *French*: but by the grace of the Almighty, by the prayers, by the good counsell of his loyall Subiects, who make no profession of armes, by the sword of his Princes and of his braue and generous Nobilitie, by his paines and labour, he had preferued it from losse. Let vs saue it now from Ruine (said our King, speaking to the assembly) Participate my deere subiects with mee in this second glorie, as you haue done in the first. I haue not called you, as my Predecessors did, to make you approue my will. I haue caused you to assemble to haue your Counsells, to beleeue them, and to follow them: finally to put my selfe into your hands. A desire which seldome commaunds Kings that haue white haire, and are Conquerors. But the vehement loue I beare vnto my Subiects, and the exceding desire I haue to adde these two goodly titles, to that of King, makes mee to find all easy and honorable.

The sharpnes of winter had layd armes aside, and the excessive raine caused many inundations, whereof amongst others followed that of the millers bridge at *Paris*, which sinking on *Saint Thomas* night, was the losse of three hundred persons, slaine in the ruines of the building, and drowned in the riuer. Whilest they examine the resolutions taken in this honorable assembly, and that the King prepares for a mightie armie to chase the *Spaniard* out off *Picardie*, behold the capitall Cittie of this Prouince, strong of seat, and well fortified, where his Maiestie pretended to make his Arcenall and storehouse for the warre against the Stranger in *Arthois*, and other Prouinces of the Low Countries, was surprised in the day time, the people being at sermon, without force, & without defence, by the practise of some factious, and the carelesse basenesse of the Inhabitants, who standing vpon their ancient priuileges, had refused to receiue the *Swisses* into garrison.

Hernand Teillo Gouvernour of *Dourlans* for the *Spaniard*, aduertised that the Cittizens of *Amiens* (a proud people, and little practised in armes) would not receiue the garrison that the King offered them for the preseruatiou of their towne, hastens the effect of those intelligences he had there, and on munday the tenth of March, hee attyres fortie or fiftie souldiars like peasants, laden with many burthens, and armed vnderneath with daggers, and short peeces, and marcheth with about seuen hundred horse, and five thousand foot: hee layes his ambushes neere vnto the Towne, and the next day sends his disguised souldiars to the gate of *Montrescut*, following a cart: which being vnder the port cullis, one of the pretended peasants cuts the horie traice, and by the great disorder of the horse, hinders the libertie of the gate. The others presently discover their armes, seize vpon the Corps de gard, and giue a signe to the ambush.

The Ambush comes, horse and foote into the Towne, and goes directly to the market place: the troups enter, take the forts, and seize vpon the Arcenall and munition which the King had lately sent, and in the end compound with the Townesmen for the redeeming of their goods. But at length they had both cloth and siluer, and those of *Amiens* shall not tast much of the *Spaniards* commaund, but the sharpnes thereof will make them desire the mildnesse of the *French*. The great bell of *Bessroy* did ring at the first tumult, as it was their manner: but fewe were moued thereat. Some heard the sermon, others slept at their ease, and some were contented to shut their shops and to retyre themselves into their houses. The Earle of *Saint Paul* was then in the Towne, but seeing the small care and indeuour of the Inhabitants to resist this strange inuasion, hee gets himselfe out of *Amiens* with all speed, and retyres to *Corbe*.

Amiens sur-
prised by the
Spaniard.

X x x x

This

1597 This affront had in shew made the Realme with out all hope of recouerie, and with out meanes to assayle, for the effects of all the Kings desseins seemed quenched in their beginning. They thought *Amiens* could not bee recovered but by surprise, and that the hope to take it would bee lost with the enterprise, and now the *Spaniards* began to thinke that *Amiens* should be the bounds of the Countie of *Artois*, as in former time vnder *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*. But when as the affaires require a present remedie, our *Henry* wants neither courage nor counsell. They were hopes built in the aire.

Amiens besieged.

His Maiestie doth speedely beleagar it, giues order that no greater forces may come to raise vp these mountaines of pride, which built the honor of their nation vpon the shame of such a losse: hee battens it with fine and fortie Cannons, makes the Marshall of *Biron* Lieutenant in his armie, besiegeth it on the strongest part, restraynes their sallies, keeps them in their trenches, and approcheth in such sort, as by the midst of Iuly, they might hurt one another with stones: then lodging vpon the ditch, and cutting off the besieged daily in their sallies, or by other stratagems, hee made *Hermand* to hasten the Cardinall to his succour.

All *France* did runne to this seege: all *Europe* attended the issue, and did iudge that the end thereof would bee the beginning of our slaerie, or of our libertie. But whilest the plague afflicts the besieged, that many and sundrie exsploirs of warre diminish their numbers, and many remaine vnprofitable, by reason of their wounds, let vs make a walke into some other prouinces both within and without the Realme, whereas their warre hath any thing common with ours.

Effects of the warre in Britania.

The want and dearth of victuals afflicted *Britanie* in the moneth of May, and forced the Marshall of *Brissac* in Iuly to diuide and separate some troupes which hee had assembled and gathered together, to preserue some parishes about *Rennes* which the enemies threatned to spoyle. The Lord of *Saint Laurence*, Lieutenant for the Duke of *Mercoeur* in his armie, desirous to visit the said Duke lately come to *Chasteaubriant*, and to giue him newes of some braue stratageme, takes six companies of men at armes with his owne, the regiment of *Tremereuc*, brother to *Saint Laurence*, fortie harguebuziers out of euery companie of the garrisons of *Dinan*, and some other troupes both of horse and foote, making fixe or seuen hundred men, and comes to lodge at *Maure*, seuen Leagues from *Rennes*. The Lords of *Tremblay*, *la Troche*, *Teny*, *la Courbe*, *Baumont*, and *Pomeray*, being lodged at *Mesjac* vpon *Villaine*, three Leagues from *Maure* with some forces, marche by the Marshalls commaundement, their Colonel, to fight with *Saint Laurence*: they find hee was dislodged, follow and ouertake him within three hundred paces, charge the troupe led by *Tremereuc*, appointed to make retreat, kill about threescore, and force the rest to flie to their maine strength.

They presse them in such sort as they must either suffer themselves to bee murdered without resistance, or else fight: they turne head, take a place of aduantage, in a field well ditched about, and there make some resistance. But seeing *Tremereuc* brother to *Saint Laurence* already taken prisoner, *La Pomeray* Captaine of *Dinan*, and *Vieux Ville* flaine vpon the place, with about a hundred and fiftie souldiers, and some members of companies, all giue way, all flie, all are put to rout, and the most part falling into the peasants hands, find lesse mercie with them, then they had done rigour with the victors. This was the twentieth of Iuly.

On the other side, as the *Spaniard* had set one foote into *Picardie*, so did hee long labour to cast the other into *Champagne*, and had many desseins vpon the Townes lying vpon the riuier of *Meuse*, *Mesieres*, *Sedan*, *Mouzon*, *Villefranche*, *Rocroy*, and *Maubert-Fontaine*: but the care and loyaltie of the gouernors, hauing alwayes made frustrate the hope of his enterprises, hee now conuertts his open force into secret intelligences and dishonest practises.

Villefranche is a very small Towne, or rather a corps de gard made of foure square bastions,

A bastions, built by King *Francis* the first, to serue as a barre against the incursions of the *Bourguignons* (so they call all the King of *Spaine* subjects lying vpon this frontier, and euen those of the Duchie of *Luxembourg*) and falling into strangers hands, it opened the gate to enter in *Champagne*, and gaue them an assured retreat to fauour their inroads. To this intent *Gaucher*, late one of those souldiers which they call of *Fortune*, being come within ten yeares to some credit by armes, practiseth with some souldiers of the garrison, to sell and deliuer him the place. These souldiers giue eare to this trafficke, entertayne *Gaucher*, but with as croisse a hope, as his name was victorious and ominous, for they impart the matter to *Tremelet* Gouernour of *Villefranche*, commanding one company of men at armes, and three of foot. *Tremelet* by this trafficke pretends a great effect for the Kings service, committs the souldiers to deale more plainly with this Captaine, imparts it to the Earle of *Grandpré*, to *Rumefnil*, and to *Esleuainx* Gouernors of *Mouzon*, *Maubert*, and *Sedan*, and drawes from them assistance of men, and meanes to frame a double intelligence. These marchants treat with *Gaucher*, agree vpon the time and houre to deliuer their ware, they receiue some money in hand, and take his word for the rest.

The fourth of August at night was appointed for the execution, and for a signe a Cannon should bee discharged. But *Rumefnil* had the night before brought in a supply of men, needfull for the preseruatiou of the place, and with the rest he lay in ambush halfe a League from the Towne, as *Gaucher* should passe. *Gaucher* approcheth, he causeth all his troupes to light, a quarter of a League from *Villefranche*, puts a part of them very secretly into the ditch, and followes with the rest, to second the first attempt: but at all aduentures hee causeth his horse to bee led after him. The first enter by fauour of the souldiers: the signe is giuen, and being giuen, those which thought to surprise, find themselves surpris'd: all are put to the sword, consumed by wildfire, or drowned in the ditch. *Rumefnil* comes out off his ambush at the same time, chargeth *Gaucher* behind, kills him three hundred men vpon the place, and suffers fewe of the enemies to escape, through fauour of the night: finally, of fixe or sixe hundred men which hee brought, scarce fiftie escaped death or imprisonment, and had it not bin for the horse which *Gaucher* held readie to fauour his flight, he had not escaped the victors hands.

Gaucher destroyed.

Let vs passe into *Sauoie*, and see the progresse of the Kings forces, the taking of places, and victories obtained. This warre shall helpe much for the recouerie of *Amiens*, for they diuert the forces of *Sauoie* from molesting of the King in sundrie places at once: for the managing whereof, the Lord *Les-Diguitiers* parted from Court in the end of March, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant Generall, gathers together about sixe hundred horse, and fixe thousand foote, in the moneth of April, May, and Iune: enters into *Maurienne* a Countie depending on the Duchie of *Sauoie*, the high way to *Piedmont* and *Italie*, surpasseth with much labour and toyle, the difficulties of the wayes, rockes, and steepe hilles: in the end hee reco- enters the toppe of the mountaine, finds there a Corps de gard of fixe hundred men well fortified, and with his tyred armie chargeth them with such furie, as the enemye not able to withstand their force, is contrayned to quit the place. Presently the armie comes to *S. John* of *Maurienne*, the cheefe Towne of the Countie, and seizes on all the valley.

Maurienne taken.

These conquests as so dauidely executed, as wisely attempted, thrust on the Conqueror to go and fight with certaine *Spaniards* which were sent into *Flanders* to oppose against the prosperous successe of *Cont-Maurice*: but the bridges being broken, and the waters verie great, stayed his passage. Here vpon newes come, that *Dominick* Earle of *Salins*, Generall of the Duke of *Sauoies* light horse, is about *Bras* with a part of the Dukes armie. *Les Diguitiers* marcheth thither, chargeth the Earle, makes him to quit the the Castell of *Saint Michell*, and some other villages where hee had fortified himselfe, chaseth him by *Mont-Senys* into *Piedmont*, and

1597 so hotly, as the most part, to make themselves more light, cast away their armes. A Being thus peaceably possessed of all *Maurienne*, hee fortifies *Saint John* and the Castell of *Saint Michel*, and seisseth on all the forts that might serue for the safety of the Countie.

To stay the Conquerors course, the Duke of *Sauoye* passed the mountaines, by the valley of *Aulpi* with three thousand *Italians*, and a good number of horse, and came by *Chambery* into *Tarentaise*, where his armie remayned vnder the command of the Earle of *Martingues*, consisting of eight hundred horse, and fixe thousand foot: hee came and incamped beyond the riuer of *Iser*, (yet vnder the fauour of the Cannon of *Montmelian*) at the Castell of *Saint Helene*. *Les Diguieres* continues his conquests, hee approacheth within musket shot of the Duke, beseegeth and takes B the Tower of *Aiguebelle*, the Castels of *Rochette*, of *Villars-Sallet* a house of the Earles of *Montmaieur*, of *Lhuile* and *Chamoux*, and beseegeth the fort of *Chamouffet*, being defended by *Philippin* bastard brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, places very commodious and profitable for victuals and forrage, and which stoppt the passage from *Sauoy* into *Maurienne*.

Here newes comes to *Les Diguieres* that the Duke raiseth a fort on the other side of *Iser*, to assure the passage for his army, and meanes to lodge at *Chamouffet*, a place of great aduantage for him, which might greatly annoy the kings army, & the passage betwixt *Dauphiné* and it. This fort was of a triangular forme, made defence and raised the height of a pike in one night, it was garded by fixe hundred choise soldiers C out of the whole armie of *Sauoy*, and fortified with many gentlemen of the Dukes Court. *Les Diguieres* views it, and propounds it in Councell, and according to their aduice that were about him, sautes it with some vollees of Cannon shot, opens it at one point, sends two thousand harguebuziers, commaunded by the Lord of *Crequy* his sonne in law, who seconded by a troupe of horse, enter furiously into the fort, and in despite of their obstinate resistance, and the force of foure peeces which played incessantly from the other side of the riuer along the flanks of the said fort, they carried it in sight of the Duke, and kill by the sword and water about foure hundred men, and many of the Dukes gentlemen, who was in person in his armie beyond the riuer of *Iser*, and so razed the fort. The Baron of *Chautriren* borne in D the Countie was slaine there, the Colonnell was taken prisoner, and the Castell of *Chamouffet* yeelded the next day by composition. The Towre of *Charbonniere*, a place strong of situation, which couers *Aiguebelle*, and might bee made fit to annoy *Montmelian*, seeing their Captaine and many others slaine with the Cannon, came likewise into the victors power.

The Castell of *Aignille* remayned yet, a strong place both by nature and art, vpon the side of a mountaine, inaccessibile of one side, hauing on the other side a double ditch, with a thicker rampart betwixt both. Yet was it taken after two hundred Cannon shot. This place assured all *Maurienne*, and that which lies beyond *Iser*, to his Maiesties obedience, from *Mont Senys* vnto *Montmelian*. The supplies the Duke expected, caused the Lances of *Sauoy* to remaine in quiet. Being now fortified with E two thousand fixe hundred *Suisses*, and as many *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans*, hee comes with all this army to lodge about *Montmelian*, and resolues to set vpon the Kings army.

To free him of some part of this trouble, *Lesdiguieres* turnes towards him with his forces, and comes to incampe at *Mollettes* halfe a league from *Montmelian*, the riuer of *Iser* being betwixt them. The Duke passeth the riuer vpon a bridge of boates made nere vnto that of *Montmelian*, and lodgeth at the Castell of *Saint Helene*, right against *Molette*, places some-what high and within Cannon shot one of an other, separated by a great meadow and a fenne: at the first they salute one another by skirmishes: and if the *Sauoisians* had done what they might, they had greatly annoyed F our men, who were not lodged nor scarce arriued. The night approaching ended the combate,

A combat with the losse of a hundred good men, and gaue meanes to the Kings troupes to take breath, and prepare to be reuenged with vsurie. The next day the Duke shewes fifteene thousand foot, and fifteene hundred horse, in battaile in this great meadow, but with such aduantage, as no man might charge them. *Les Diguieres* intrencheth himselfe at the foote of the meadow: euery master of the campe, euery Captaine takes his quarter, and by the care of the Lord of *Crequy* commaunding the foote, the Kings campe was in short time out of present danger, which seemed to threaten their ruine. In the meane time they faile not on either side to trie their swords, and pistols, two to two, three to three, troupe to troupe, and nothing but a simple ditch, yet deepe and full of water, keepest the two armies from a bloodie fight,

B Thus for some dayes these warriours inflamed their resolutions, when as the Duke of *Sauoy* propounded to his Councell a great desseine, for the execution whereof the fourteenth of August by eight of the clocke in the morning, he secretly drawesthree thousand men into a great wood, neere to the trenches of the Kings armie, lodgeth his *Suisses* with a battaillon of foot on an other side, sets his horse in a vallie, and encouraging them by his presence, causeth about two of the clocke, a Canon to be discharged, for a signe of a cruell and bloodie battaile, but fuller of passion then of iudgement. The losse fell vpon himselfe: the Kings troupes, both horse and foot, were with a firme resolution prepared to withstand their force. They come to skirmish: the noyle of the Cannon drownes all other sounds, the fire of the shott inflames the ayre and seemed C for fixe houres together to dazell the light of the Sunne. The meadow is couered with dead carcasses, the enemies blood dyes the brooks, and inflames our men to fight. The *Seigneur* of *Crequy* receiues a musket shot in the right arme: but the Lion is chafed and stormes at the sight of his owne blood. So retyring himselfe apart vnder a tree to be drest, hee returnes speedily to his companions, and burning with a generous heat of reuenge, shewes that he is a right heire, both in blood and vertue to that braue Lord of *Pentdormy*, who hath so often heretofore died his sword and arme in the blood of the stranger being enemy to this Crowne. About twelue hundred men slaine or hurt made the day famous, and made the *Sauoisien* loose all desire to trie any more the firme resolution of our men, grounded vpon the right of a most iust offensive warre.

D If all this great armie, neither by the thunder of their Cannons, nor the furie of their shot, neither by the force of their men at armes, could any thing shake the constancie of our men, doth Colonnell *Ambrose* thinke to preuaile more with fixe hundred natural *Spaniards* assailing a Corps de gard, placed on the side of a fenne? but he doth increase their shame, in stead of reuenging their publike losse. The *Seigneur* of *Bianme* and *Poet* receiue him with such resolution, as they kill a hundred and fiftie vpon the place, and take many prisoners: the rest they force to cast away their armes, to bee the more light to flie. The Duke spent the night to burie his men, and to carrie away the wounded: then hee dislodged the sixteenth, and went to lodge at a village called *Barraux* beyond *Iser*, at the entry of the valley of *Grisuandant* towards *Grenoble*, and there begins a fort, E busying himselfe in the building thereof vnto the end of Nouember.

This change of lodging inuited our men to do the like. *Les Diguieres* comes to lodge at Castel *Bayard*, and his armie at *Pont-Charra*, halfe a League from the enemy, the riuer being betwixt them: hee keepest his men in continuall skirmish, to the enemies losse, and by this placing of his campe, makes the enemy doubt that hee would attempt the passage of *Eschilles*. To crosse him, the Duke sends many troupes to enter by the valley of *Pragelas* into the Countie of *Briançon*, and to shut vp the passage in case he were beseeget. The check he receiued counteruailed the first. The water, the sword, and the steepe mountaines, deuoured a great number of his men, then the skirmishes of *S. Helene* and *Molettes*.

F Behold a third, which shewes that God doth fauour the iust cause of armes, and makes their effects happie against the iniustice of vsurpers. The eight of September, the Lord *Les Diguieres* (who lets not slip any occasion) is aduertised that *Sanches* Earle of *Salines*, (to draw him to succour his owne Prouince, and to leaue *Sauoy*)

1597 goes to spoyle about *Grenoble* with five hundred maisters diuided into two bands of horse.

At La Frette.

At Chaparouillon.

To adde this victory to the former, hee sends two houres before day, the *Regiments* of *Basme*, *Authun* and *Saint Ieuze* with two hundred horse, and a hundred *Carabins* to lie in ambush in an Island in the midst of the river of *Isere*. At the breake of day, the Earle passeth in sight of them: they suffer him to aduance about halfe a League, then they issue forth of their ambush, and wade through the other part of the river to their sadle skirts, they ouertake the Earle at *La Frette*, charge him furiously, kill *Dom Ichn de Sequano* first Captaine of the horse, *Dom Roario*, *Dom Probio*, with many other Commaunders and men at armes, to the number of two hundred: and by the taking of *Dom Euangeliste*, who led the second troupe, of the Earle of *Galinari*, of *Dom John Toc*, brother in law to the Earle, and threescore others, they end the combat, and returne with honour, hauing lost but sixe men in this bold encounter. Some dayes after, the Lord *Les Diguieres* passeth the river with most part of his horse, at *Chaparouillon*, and there charging a troupe of the enemies, which made a good shew by the fauour of some trenches, gaue the *Seigneurs* of *Crequi* and *Buisse* the second honor of this victorie.

The last of October, the Kings armie ill lodged at *Pontcharra*, retyred about *Grenoble*: from thence *Les Diguieres* sent foure regiments towards *Barcelonne*, and surmounting the toyle of the way, being of most hard access for the Cannon, tooke *Allost*: then in the end of Nouember, Saint *Genis*, to disapoint the intelligences which the Duke of *Sauoie* might haue with some ill affected in *Daulphiné*: for a fewe dayes before the Earle of *La Roche* had failed by the meanes of *Albigny* a yonger brother of *Gardes*, to deliuer the Towne of *Romans* to the *Sauoisien*. But Saint *Ferriol*, that commaunded in his absence, had some inckling: who by the aduertisement he gaue to the Officers of the Parliament, whome the plague had transported to *Romans*, saved the Towne from the rule of a Stranger.

At S Andre.

The Duke wonderfully grieved to haue failed of *Romans*, retyres to *Chambery*, and the Lord of *Crequi* with some regiments to *Maurienne*, very happily to make his coming famous: for hauing first by the assistance of the Lord of *Pasquieres*, kept *Dom Amedee* the Dukes bastard brother, from passing with his troupes on the side of the mountaines, he made the way open for a braue and generous stratageme. The Earle of *Carrual* would likewise passe with a regiment of twelue enseignes, & two Cornets of horse. *Crequi* parts before day from *Saint Iohn of Maurienne*, marcheth directly towards him, encounters him at *Saint Andre*, chargeth, defeats, takes him prisoner with all the Commaunders, and for a monument sends their colours and Cornets to the King, which hang yet as a trophie in our Ladies Church at *Paris*, to his Maiesties great content.

Seige of Amiens.

Let vs now see the countenance of them that were beseeged at *Amiens*. If there were valour without to winn the wall, there was resolution within to burie themselves in the ruines thereof, rather then to abandon it. The batterie continued with a strange furie. The extraordinary deepe trenches, the sapp and mine, the arruall of the Dukes of *Mayerne*, *Bouillon* and *Espernon*, and the troupes which increased daily, gaue hope to the Citizens of *Amiens*, soone to see themselves vnder the milde command of their lawfull Prince, and to returne to their ancient fortunes. The sallies, plague, hurts, and other infirmities had diminished the beseeged to the number of two thousand: the diuersitie of nations threatned some new change, the souldiars would no more trust the cunning and vaine promises which *Hernando* gaue them by counterfeit letters from the Cardinall: the old and bad drogues killed in stead of curing: finally the letter, of *Hernand* to the Cardinall being intercepted, giues a verie sufficient testimonie of the vrgent necessitie and occasion which leads him to his ruine. *It is now time* (saied he) *that wee cease to write, for I labour with the souldiars and Bourgeois at the ranelin, where within fewe dayes I attend a continuall battery of thee-*

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A sent on three partes. Mans reason sayles vs: our hope is in God. and in your highnesse 1597. speake coming, to giue bataille, or to receiue it. Wee attend that the second causes should worke.

There is no lesse honour to keepe well, then to make a goodly conquest. To practise this ancient saying, the Cardinall hauing assembled foure thousand horse, and fiftene thousand foote, with eightene Cannons, and five or sixe hundred wagons chained together, to serue as a barricadoe, and to inclose his campe, hee marched to engage or to succor the beseeged, publishing in all places, that he would giue bataille. But before hee approacheth, hee sends to discover the way which he was to take, and where he might lodge nereft to the towne. This charge he gaue to *Contreras*, Cornisary generall, who led the troupe, to *Don Gaston Spinola* and *Tassedo* Marshalls of the Campe, to *Don Ambros Lundriano* Lieutenant generall of the light horse, *Don Iohn de Bracamont*, to *Colonnel Bourlotte*, *Nicholas Basto* and other chiefe Commanders of his army. These, to giue the lesse alarm, take about foure hundred choise horse, and make a shewe as if they would come but to *Dourlans*: but they giue order that the troupes of horse at *Dourlans*, *Hesdin* and *Bapaume* should bee readie when they passed.

The Cardinall of Austris Marshall of his Campe defeated.

Thus increased by the sayd garrisons, and making a troupe of nine hundred or a thousand horse, the nine and twentieth of August they come beneath *Saint Quirieu*, a village vpon the backe of a small riuer, two Leagues from the Kings quarter: and be-
C ginneth to vewe the sayd lodging. A troupe of light horse and *Carabins* coming from an ambush which they had layed, discover them, and aduertise the King at fixe of the Clocke in the morning.

Behold one of the effects of his Maiesties speedy resolution, of his great iudgement in warre, and his exceeding diligence in his executions. Behold moreouer a patterne of that happinesse which attended him at this sege, and the earnest pennie of an absolute victory which God prepared for him against his enemies. Two alarms had kept the King waking the rest of the night, and hee beganne onely to take a little rest. Hee riseth, goes to horse, having none aboute him but the Master of his horse and some Noble men: he passeth by the *Carabins* quarter, commands them
D to horse: backe with some light horse, commands the Constable to stay in the quarter to giue order to all eients, and goes directly where the enemy had bene discovered, more with an intent to provide for the places which they might haue vnder, then to fight: thinking they would not haue bene so slacke in their retreat, being nere vnto an army led by so vigilant a Commander. The Marshall of *Biron* comes posting after him: the Lord of *Montigny* brings a troupe of light horse. Some Noblemen and gentlemen of his Court post thither in hast, to haue their part thereof.

His Maiesty makes a battallion of two hundred horse, and a hundred and fiftie *Carabins*. He pursues them with all speed to *Encre*, seauen Leagues from his quarter, hee puts his *Carabins* before, who seeing themselves seconded by his Maiestie, charge resolutely, and so amaze them, as seeing the King so nere them, and knowing him very well, they breake, and take their flight; diuers waies, leaving them that were appointed for the retreat, or such as were not well mounted. There were about forty slaine at the first charge, and about two hundred of the best being prisoners, gaue the *Carabins* meanes to furnish themselves with horse, armes, and apparell.

To make this victory absolute, his Maiestie sends the Marshall of *Biron* with the Lord of *Montigny* before, and halfe his troupe with them: the other hee keeps with himselfe, pursues them within a League of *Bapaume*, tithes their troupe by the way, and
E doth not abandon them vntill they came within vewe of their retreat: hee takes two Cornets from them, and kills or takes five hundred horsemen.

The generall ioye thereof in the army brought the newes vnto the beseeged,
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I 597. who by a heauy and mournfull silence shewed they had no pleasure therein. But see the 3. of September the death of *Hernand Tiello* slaine with a musket, at the defence of the raelin which his Maiesty caused to be assailed, afflicting them with a publike sorrowe, giues the Cittizens an assurance of a speedy deliury, and the assailants to conceiue a certaine hope of victory. There is no so great prosperity, but is crossed with some aduersity, and trouble. Two daies after, the Lord of Saint *Luc*, gouernor of *Brouage* and great Master of the Artillery of *France*, slaine in the trenches, obtained that graue and worthy testimonie of his valour from his Maiesties mouth, to haue lost that day a most valiant and faithfull seruant, leauing his people much grieved, and the whole campe lamenting this generall losse to *France*, as of one of the braue Captaines of his age.

S. Luc slaine

In the meane time the Cardinall approched, vaunting that he would fight within foure daies. Yet had hee no inclynation to put it in practise. The King to drawe him to battaile, preuents the policy which the enemy would vse to succour the place: he takes his place of battaile on the toppe of *Long-pré* a quarter of a league behind the inclosure of his campe, intrenched as well to saue themelues from the Cannon shot of the towne, as from theirs that came to succor them. And to keepe the enemy from sending in any succors on the other side of the riuier, he leaues the Lords of *Montigny*, *La Noye*, *de Vieques* and *Cluseaux*, there with three thousand foote and foure hundred horse.

The Cardinall approched.

The 15. of the sayd moneth, the towne beeing reduced to that Estate, as without succors it must needes yeeld of it selfe, the Cardinall in the morning castes two artificiall bridges vpon the riuier of *Somme*, where, through the fauour of his forces and Cannon hee passeth two thousand five hundred men, amongst which were eight hundred choise Captaines, to thrust themelues into the Towne, and about two of the clocke hee shewes himselfe in the viewes of *Long-pré*, with an order which in thewe did promise a generous attempt. But the diligence of his Maiesty, his courage without feare, and the wise order hee presently gaue at his arriual, changed their braue countenance into a cowardly and base feare. The King leaues three thousand men to gard the trenches against the sallies of the towne: hee presently marcheth with all his troupes to the place of battaile, and plants his Cannon to his best aduantage.

The artillery of the beseegeed and of them that came to succor them, thunders, but they passe ouer his Maiesties esquadrons. Our men during this seege haue beene well acquainted with the shot of the Cannon, but they stand firme like rockes. They tire the enemy with continuall skirmishes, the Cannon mightely annoy them, the admirable gouernment of the Leader, and the firme resolution of the assailants doth so terrefie them, as at the first attempt, they thinke of a retreat, and presently they retire to the quarter where the Kings light horse did lodge by the riuers side.

The foure aboue named Colonels hauing discovered the Cardinalls Stratageme, charged them that came to succor the towne, kill, take and force the whole bodie to repasse the riuier in disorder, and to abandon their bridges. The King seeing the enemy lodged amongst the riuier, passeth three Cannons ouer the water, shoots at them and doth annoy their lodging, and remayning all night on the place of battaile, abates the ioye which the beseegeed had shoven by the number of fires which they had made. So the Cardinall seeing all his attempts fruitlesse, in steede of turning head to the towne or against the *French* troupes, hee beginnes verie earlie in the morning to retyre and to take an other lodging on the mountaine of *Vignancourt*.

The Cardinall retires.

The King follows him with foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foote, lodgeth vpon the next hill and a great valley betwixt them, continues foure or five houres in battaile before their army, prouokes them by his Cannon and continuall skirmishes, viewes all their forces, number, forme and countenance, and seeing them

them disposed to retire, determines to charge them in their lodging. But it is good some-times to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy. Moreouer it was a great glorie for his Maiesty to haue shamefully chased him away, without rayfing the seege from so great a towne, and to haue pursued him with the Cannon three Leagues.

They take a contrary way, and couer the right wing of their army which lay next to the *French*, with their wagons chained together, they cause their horse to aduance into the head of the army in forme of a halfe moone, and their foote into battailions, diuided into foreward, battaile and rereward: they place their Cannon in the head of these esquadrons, in this sort they place their troupes, and their baggage in safety, making a shewe some-times as if they would charge. But seeing, that to come to the gates of the City beseegeed, they must force through the Kings army, which being in battaile did fight with their countenances and gesture, they haue no will to attempt this passage, and by their speedie retreat giue all *France* an assured hope to be soone freed from this strange nation which sought to ruine it.

The beseegeed are now forced to yeeld to the victors Lawe. This shamefull retreat hath ouerthrowne their first resolution. Their practises, inuentions, engines, their incredible labour to cast vp earth, their many Cannons, their deepe trenches, their continuall watching, nor the strength of the place, could not keepe the assailants from lodging vpon their rampar and raelin, & so nere as they came to handie blowes. So two daies after, the Marquis of *Montenegro*, who commanded in the towne after the death of *Hernand* doth promise to yeeld the place if within six daies he be not succored with two thousand horse that should enter into the towne.

So was it sayd and so done. The time inuited the Cardinall, and gaue him leysure, being with all his forces within seauen Leagues of the towne, but he had neyther will nor power to releue them. And therefore according to the capitulation made the 19. that the soldiars should depart with their armes, their matches light, their colours flying and drums founding, with their horse and baggage, and whatsoeuer they could carry-away of theirs, the five and twentieth of the moneth, his Maiesty hauing put his army in battaile, sent the Constable, the Marshall of *Biron*, the Duke of *Montbazon* and the Lord of *Vieques* to the port of *Beauuois* where the garrison should come forth, who comming to the gate, the bridge is let downe, and the Marquis comes forth on horse-backe alone, but followed by a hundred and thirty horse and as many Harguebuziers on foote for the gard of his person. They receiue him and conduct him to his Maiesty, who attended him halfe a League from the towne. The King was accompanied with his white Corner, wherein were about seauenteene hundred horse, and five hundred *Suisses*, hauing about him the Prince of *Comy*, the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *Neuers* and *Nemours*, the Prince of *Joynville*, twelue Marshalls of *France*, and other Noblemen in great numbers, mounted vpon a goodly courser with a rich cavarafon, and a sadle imbrodered with the ground of carnation, was wonderfull richly apparelled, and holding a royall Scepter in his hande, hee doth imbrace him most graciously, and then dismisseth him. Hee goes to horse, and by the Kings commandement the Constable conductes him two Leagues vnto the confines of the King of *Spaines* territories.

All the *Spanish* Captaines, and others both of horse and foote, passing by his Maie, flie, light from their horses and kisse his boote, with great humility and reuerence: and follow their Leaders being receiued by the king with amiable and curteous words. After the Marquis and his gard, followed about a thousand women of base quality, amongst the which some foure hundred of the towne marched willingly, a hundred and threescore wagons laden with all kind of baggage, and vpon them about three hundred men sicke of the plague and wounded, foureteene hundred shot, and sixe hundred corsiers well appointed, and in the end, ten companies of horse, sixe of men at armes Lanciers, and foure of *Carabins*, which made in all about five hundred horse.

The

1597 The King hauing by the most memorable attempt, and the greatest glory of arms, that might bee, pulled this strong Towne out off the strangers pawes, without the recovery whereof, we were in danger to be lost, and plunged in the gulfe of miserie, entred the same day into *Amiens* towards night, triumphant and victorious, and our owne Towne, recovered from the enemy, accompanied with a thousand Gentlemen on horseback, and receiued with a wonderfull ioy and applause of all the people, who lighted at our Ladies church, & caused solemne thanks to be giuen to God, for that twenty companies of foote, and three of horse in garrison, and gaue the garrison thereof to the Lord of *Picques*.

Doubtlesse oh Lord we haue reason herein to admire the wonders of thy might. The surpris of this place seemed late a *Charybdis*, to swallow vp the greatness of *France*. But it is not now alone, that the iudgements of God doe make vs knowe, that if he pul vs downe with one hand, he rayseth vs vp with the other: and if he be in the brinke of our destruction, he retires vs by the hand to saue vs. So his promise subuerted the desseignes of the *Spaniard*, who by this trophie promised to extend his conquests, and recouer those places and Prouinces which hee had lost. So from the trouble bred by the enemies of this estate, grew the aduancement of our quiet, from their pernicious practises, the assurance of the Countrey, and settling of inconstant mindes, from their vnjust attempts and violences: one of the greatest actions that hath beene of long time for the good of *France*, and preferuation of this Monarchie. The losse of *Amiens* was shamefull, but the recovery glorious: the taking strange, but the reduction admirable, at his enemies nose, and in view of his armie. Finally a reduction, which giues as much consolation as the inuasion brought desolation.

Forced into
Artois.

The Cardinalls retreat puts the King in hope, that God would do him iustice, for the wrongs that hee and his had done vnto his realme: with this desseigne hee marcheth with his troupes, and eightene peeces of Canon, to *Dourlans*, into the which the Cardinall in passing had put some of the best men of his armie, with a great conuoy of victuals and munition of warre. Hee presents himselfe, and seekes by all meanes to draw them out of the precinct of their walles. But being loth to aduenture any thing, his Maiesie passeth into *Artois*, fillsthe Countrey with feare and terror, goes vnto the gates of *Arras*, into the which the Cardinall had shut himselfe, dischargeth fise and twenty or thirty vollees of Canon, makes a stand there: and by all the deuises which a generous and warlike minde may inuent, he seekes to draw him to fall forth, and to see some braue exploit of his men at armes.

The Kings
returne.

In the end, his Maiesie (not able by any stratagem to heare these cold humours which did freeze their hearts through feare,) the rest of his victorious armie, alter to great toyle, endured in so long and painefull a siege, the raine and the sharpeesse of winter which approached, called him back to provide for a people, who by the negligence of their owne health, had lately as it were, enclosed within their walles the destinie of *France*, and so to passe into *Brittaine*, to finish that great worke, for the restoring of this Monarchie, that afterwards he might with all his forces, set vpon the common enemy of his Estate, if the negotiation of peace betwixt these two mighty warriours, practised by the Pope, a common father, did not take effect.

But before we proceed, let vs see the last acts of the Tragedie that was played in *Sauoy*. The discomforts of the lodging of *Pont-Charra*, caused the Kings armie to winter about *Grenoble*, and the extraordinary Snow stoppes the passages from *Daulphiné* into *Sauoy*. The Duke of *Sauoy* embraceth the time and occasion, to recouer the Countrey of *Maurienne*. Hee parts in February with twelue Canons, and by the induction of *Albigny*, camps before *Aignevelle*. At the first brute hereof, *Les-Diguieres* sent the Lord of *Creguy*, vnder the authority of Lieutenant generall for the King in *Sauoy*: hee causeth him to passe the rough and steepe mountaines on foote, where through the rigour of the season, appeared no traces of man on the side of *Maurienne*, to march more safely, accompanied onely with seuen or eight Gentlemen. Hee arriues happily at *S. Iohn* of *Maurienne*, findes that the Seigneur of *Pasquiers* comman-

A commanding in the sayd place, had fortified the approches of the bridges of *Ameflex* and *Hermillon* with good barricadoes, & finisheth them with speed. The sixt of March the Duke puts his Cannon in battery, and the next day *Arce* Capitaine of the sayd place, yeelds it vpon condition not to ioyne with *Creguy* but to returne towards *Grenoble*. They supposed this place would haue held at the least six weekes: and the *Sa-noissen*, to deceiue the Seigneur of *Creguy*, beeing lodged but three leagues from him, continues shooting his Cannon into the aire, to perswade him that the place was not yet yeelded. *Creguy* abused by this stratageme of *Albigny*, marcheth with a good troupe of foote, to take some lodging from the enemy, thinking that *Ayguebelle* did yet hold good. But God will haue man to knowe that he is man, and that his condition makes him subiect to the chances of this world. Hee findes the Duke before him, being lodged, the eight of the moneth, and thinking it some troupe gone forth to the warre, hee aduanceth neere, and with a furious charge seekes to open a way through the enemy. The whole army comes vpon him, and as hee thinks to recouer his barricadoes by the sides of the hills, as they gaue him hope, he findes the snowe had stoppt the passages, and finally compassed in on all sides, he is forced to take a Lawe from the stronger, and by his imprisonment to redeeme the liberty of *Pasquiers*, his Capitaines and souldiars. The Duke proceeds and taking all *Maurienne*, by composition, makes great desseins vpon the towne of *Grenoble*, by meanes of a fort which he had built to couer his Countrey on the side of *Montmelian* and *Chambery*.

Creguy taken
prisoner.

The fort was vpon the frontier of *Daulphiné*, about a quarter of a League within the Kings Countrey towards *Grenoble*, vpon the side of a hill about the village of *Burraux*, kept by *Bellegarde* a gentleman of *Sauoy*, with seauen compaines of foote, and furnished with all munition necessary, but made rather by ostentation (hauing as a great wonder sent the plot thereof almost to all the Potentates of Christendome,) then by any necessity, the place lying neere to *Montmelian* the chiefe fortresse of *Sauoy*, from whence he might commodiously make his desseins vpon *Grenoble*.

Grenoble did wonderfully apprehend this eye-sore, and *Les-Diguieres* hauing dispersed the Kings army for to winter, framed many desseins and enterprises at *Grenoble* vpon this fort (the which for that it was made defensible the cue before *Saint-Barthelemes* day, the Duke called it by that name,) and had attempted it by seage, if hee had not beene pressed with the want of the chiefe sinewes of warre. In the ende vrged by his duty, and mooued by the misery, of his Maiesties subiects, and pressed with the iust intreaties of the chiefe officers, both of iustice, and of policy within the Countrey of *Daulphiné*, hee leagnes of many souldiars that came forth, the estate of the place with the forces that kept it, and sends often to vewe it in the night.

Fort of Saine
Barthelemes.

Hee is informed that it may bee taken by escalade in two places, at a corner on the right hand going from *Grenoble*, and on that side which looks towards *Iser*, the earth being not yet about two sadome and a halfe high. He causeth the troupes neere to *Grenoble* to approach, makes them to passe ouer the bridge into the towne, and E fumes that all the rest shall make the same passage, to go into *Maurienne* where the army of *Sauoy* was. But the 14. of March on Palme-sunday eue, hee secretly puts some petards into a boate, and thirty Ladders, necessary for the execution, and at the same instant hee causeth his troupes to repasse in the night, in boates prepared to that ende, to take from them of the fort all knowledge that they were on their side, whereby they might haue occasion to call for supplies from *Montmelian* or *Chambery*.

Taken by
Les-Diguieres.

Things thus disposed, hee parts from *Grenoble* the 25. of the sayd moneth, in the morning, ioynes at a village called *Lombin* with such as he had appointed for this execution, making about three hundred horse, and a thousand or 12. hundred foote, diuided into foure troupes, commanded by the *Seigneurs* of *Morges*, of *Hercules* Lieutenant to *Les-Diguieres* company of men at armes, of *Auriac*, and of *Marnieu*, enseigne to *S. Julian*: hee calls these commanders a part, acquaints them with this desseine, to set vpon the fort the night following, and arriues there about cleuen of the clocke at night.

The

1598. The Captaines appointed to plant the Petards and the Ladders, performe their charge with an incredible resolution, notwithstanding the alarum which those of the Forte had taken, by reason of the fires indiscreetly kindled by their boyes. The Petards work their effect happily, one at the false gate, which lookes towards *Grenoble*, and the other at the principall port towards *Montmelian*: the alarum growes horre on all side, so as they within the Forte knew not which side to garde. They mount to the scale, doe some ladders are ouerthrowne, and with their shot they seeke to repulse the assailants, who get vp and come to handy blowes: the weakest must yeeld to the stronger. The enemies sought to make a new head: but after some little resistance, they slae a hundred of them, and the rest leaped ouer the rampar where the alarum was least violent. *Bellegarde* and some others remained prisoners: of seuen Enseignes, five were sent vnto the King, the two others were lost in the heat of the assault. They found there six peeces of battery, and three for the field, with great store of powder, leade, match, and corne: which had beene so many scourges against the vniuersal usurpations of the *Sauoisien*, if the reduction of the Duke of *Mercaur*, and that which remained to conquer in *Brittanie*, had not layed their armes aside, and aduanced the treaties which were made for the tranquillity of their estates.

The Kings authority had for nine yeares beene banished out off such places as the Duke of *Mercaur* held in *Brittanie*: This Prouince was a prey for such as enriched themselves with the miserable spoiles thereof: the people hauing nothing left them but their voice, wished to see themselves freed from the tyranny of many vicious men, and without mercy, and to taste with many others, the effects of the Kings clemencie and bounty: and his Maiesty greened infinitely to see them afflicted, and not able to releue them, for the vrgent necessity of his affaires. But after a storme comes a sunne shine. The Duke of *Mercaur* had often giuen hope of his submission and obedience, but the places of his command, and the qualitie of his person, in his opinion deserued a voyage thither. Our *Henry* is not slouthfull in that which concernes the good of his realme, and the great loue he bare to the ease and health of his subiects, who with a generall voyce, giue him that fauourable title of *Father of his people*, & made them willingly to exceed the bounds of modesty.

At the onely brute of his coming, the Lords of *Heurtault*, and *La Houssaye* of *S. Of-fange*, commanding at *Rocheport* vpon *Loire*, knowing that the Duke of *Mercaur* was ready to free himselfe from the *Spaniard*, and to be reconciled to his Maiesty, they cast themselves at the Kings feete, beseeching him to receiue and accept of them as his most humble seruants and subiects, and that it would please him in that qualitie to continue them in the command of the sayd place: to appoint what garrison he pleased for the good of his seruice: to grant them a pardon for their taking of armes, and all other things which had followed, vnder the authoritie of the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Mercaur*, whom they had acknowledged for the heads of the vnion: and with that capitulation they bring to the Kings obedience, the places of *Saint Symphorian* and *Rocheport*.

Plessis of Cosne at the same instant yeelded the Towne and Castle of *Craon* to his Maiesties seruice. But the surprise of *Dinan* by the n of *S. Malo*, one of the strongest places of *Brittanie*, in the which the sayd Duke put his greatest hope, forced him to flee to his Maiesties mercie. There is no cause so bad but may bee shadowed with some apparent reasons. The Duke of *Mercaur* giues his Maiesty to vnderstand, as well for himselfe, as for those that shall submit themselves vnder his Maiesties obedience, that the zeale of the Catholick religion, the respect of the good of the realme, whereof he had alwayes desired the preservation, and feared the dismembred, the danger into the which *Brittanie* was brought, when as the King encountered the *Spanish* violences vpon the frontier of *Picardie*, the intelligences of the greatest of the Prouince with the enemy, the meanes they had to make diuers enterprises, and to draw in forces to the great preiudice of the Crowne and State, had caused him to continue so long in armes after his Maiesties reconciliation with the Pope: and therefore hee beseecheth him

A hum most humbly to take knowledge of his good will, and to countenance and vse him as his most faithfull seruant and subiect.

His Maiesty had alwayes wished, that God would giue him the grace, to end the troubles of his realme: rather by a voluntary obedience of all his subiects, then by force and necessity of armes: that the last come might tast the same frutes, which his bounty shewed to those that had formerly returned to their obedience. So the sayde Duke of *Mercaur*, the Clergie, officers, Gentlemen, and other persons of all qualities and conditions, making their due submission, and taking the oath of fealty, were restored to their goods, offices, benefices, charges, dignities, immunities and priuileges. So our King about all the Princes of the earth, got this commendation, to haue excelled in wisdom, valour and clemency. The whole Prouince, not by a politike necessity, (which disposeth people to the obedience of their Soueraigne Princes) but as it were appoynted by God to commaund ouer them, acknowledged our *Henry* for their Soueraigne King, protested to liue and dye in the obedience which loyall and faithfull subiects owe vnto their supreme Lord. And by this milde reunion of the members with their head, of the parts with the whole, forgetting the bitterness of the forepassed warre, he dispersed the confusions and disorders, which threatened to bury him vnder the common ruines of these vniuersall troubles.

So in the ende, after so many labours, which *Hercules* could hardly haue surmounted, so many toyles, vnder which *Atlas* would haue shrunke, the ciuill war dispatched, the mindes of the *French* vnited, their affections mutually conioyned by a strict bond of loue, vnder the obedience of their King, and all the forces of the cheefe Kingdome of Christendome, were ready to fall vpon the common enemy of his Estate. But you haue fought inough: the blood of your subiects, oh Princes, hath beene too outrageously spilt in your Champion fields: the furies of your armes haue wonderfully amazed your subiects. Shewe your selues hereafter to bee pastors and fathers of nations, which reuerence the beauty of your Diadems. Let the seas, riuers and mountaines, which be as a barre betwixt the territories of your Dominions, limit hereafter the greatnesse of your desires. Heauen the Iudge of controuersies, doth pronounce that sweet and sacred name of *Peace*. A name which cannot displease any, but such as take delight in blood, spoyle, and fire: and (hauing nothing of a man but the name) breathing out nothing but impiety, licentiousnes & iniustice.

So after a long treaty betwixt the Deputes of both Kings, in the ende a peace was concluded at *Vernins*, as you may read in the following discourse.

Y y y y





A
CONTIN VATION OF THE GE-
nerall History of *France*, from the beginning of the
Treaty of Veruins, in the yeare 1598 vnto these times.

With a relation of the most mémorable accidents, that haue happe-

ned in *Europe*: Collected out of Peeter Mathew, and other

Authors that haue written of

this subiect.



He Ciuill Warres of *France* being ended, all the Kings rebellious subiects, and the reuoluted Provinces reduced to his obedience, God disposed the hearts of the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, to a generall peace, for the good of their subiects, who had beene long oppressed with the spoyles and miseries of bloody Warre. God stirred vp Pope Clement the 8. who powred Balme into the woundes of *France*, not like vnto his Predecessors, who reioyced at her afflictions, and sought to make them incurable, applying no other remedies but fire and sword. He like an other *Hercules* (sought to calme

1598.

The wisdom, iustice and piety of Pope Clement the 8. Three Popes in 17 moneths, Sixtus the 28. of August, 1590. Urban the 7. 27. of Septem. Innocent the 9. the 9. of December. Clement the 8. choisen the 30. of Iana, 1592. The Pope exhorts the two Kings to Peace.

the stormes which troubled both Land and Sea: he shewed himselfe a common father of Christians, a Mediator of Peace, and Vnion, at such a time as necessity and the estate of their affayres made them to desire rest. To this end he lets *Henry* the 4. King of *France* & of *Nauarre*, vnderstand by *Alexander* of *Medicis*, Cardinall of *Florence*, their his Legate in *France*, and doth aduertise *Philip* the 2. King of *Spaine*, by his *Nuncio*: that it was now time to lay aside all passions of hatred and reuenge, to resume peacefull spirits and to ioyne together against the common enemy of Christendome, who only made his profit of their ruines. That their subiects had bin sufficiently drunck with the Bloud, Gall, and Vinegar of Discord, and that it was requisite to refreshe them now with the sweete Wine of Peace.

These two Princes were too high minded, to demaund a Peace one of an other. There must be a third person, to vnite these two extreames. But there must be some one to make this entrance, and to be as it were an Interpreter of their intentions. To this end, the Pope makes choise of *F. Bonauentur Calat-girone* Generall of the Order of the *Franciscans* or Grey Fryars, to acquaint these two Kings with his holy & charitable perswasions vnto Peace. Religious men had bin actors in this War, they are now held necessary for the Peace. Spirits separated from the troubles and confusions of the world, are most fit for such negotiations, being lesse transported with violent passions.

Religious men should be Angels of Peace.

The King of *Spaine* did not attend to haue the Pope exhort him vnto peace. He had begun his reigne by War against the *French*, he would now end it by a Peace with the. He was now 70. yeares old, being desirous to discharge himselfe of the heauy burthen of so many Kingdomes, and to leaue them quiet to his sonne. To this ende, he must marry his Daughter *Donna Isabella*, who remayning in *Spaine*, without a husband, might contend for the succession of the Crowne, with *Don Philip* her brother. Hee could not giue her lesse for her dowry, then the Kingdome of *Portugall*, or the Lowe

He proclaimed Warre against *France* in the yeare 1557.

Yyyy 2

Countries,

1598. Countries, with the County of *Burgundy*. By the one, he did weaken & diuide his E-
 states, & by the other, he gaue his daughter meanes to contend for her portio in *Spain*.
 For it was impossible to raigne long in Prouinces diuided by irreconcilable Warre,
 having two *neighbouring* enemies. And therefore to assure *Spain*, he must
 marry the *Infanta*: and to confirme that which hee gaue vnto her in marriage, it
 was necessary to conclude a Peace with the King of *France*, and to banish those
 vayne imaginations of the Conquest of an Estate, the which will alwayes growe
 great, by the encrease of Concord; and fortified with armes and inuincible forces,
 supports it selfe against any violence that shall seeke to supplant it. Being thus resolu-
 ed of a Peace, hee desires to vnderstand the opinion of his Councell. This resolu-
 on to haue a Peace was iust; and all things shewed a necessity inseparable with-
 out it. The King of *Spain* (to whom this was well knowne) had no neede of any
 other Councell, for that his Councellors for the most part did hold, that his E-
 states could not continue in Peace, vnlesse that *France* were at Warre, and that they
 must alwayes mainteyne a diuision in that Estate, whose forces are so mighty and
 warlike. Yet would he haue it resolu'd on in Councell, in the presence of the Prince
 his Sonne, and the *Infanta*. The Prince transported with the courage of his great and
 high resolutions, had no other thoughts but to continue his fathers Conquests.

Reasons that
 moued the
 King of *Spain*
 to a Peace.

The Prince of
Spain recei-
 ued by the
 counsell
 Peace.

Mora disga-
 ced by the
 Prince of
Spain.

The *Infanta*
 desirous of a
 Peace.

After birth
 she brought a
 Peace to
France & *Eng-
 land* An. 1540
 And by her
 marriage they
 reconciled
France and
Spain, Anno
 1559.

The Archduke
 applies all his
 minde to a
 Peace.

This conceit, that the Archduke, desired a Peace, did purchase him the loue of
 those people, ouer whom he should commaund in regard of his marriage; it con-
 firm'd him in the good liking of the King of *Spain*, seeing that he did apply himselfe
 wholly vnto his humour, and did wonderfully content the *Infanta*, who desired to
 be married with a beneficiall Peace. All *Europe* aspired to this generall good. Those
 which were farthest off, held it iust: the neighbours profitable, and such as were
 interested

1598. A interested, necessary: and this interest did not onely concerne the *French* and the *Span-
 ish*, but all neighbour States, whome it did much import to see a Peace con-
 cluded.

The Archduke discouers the Kings disposition, by *Monsieur de Sancerre*, Agent
 at *Brusselles* for *Queene Elizabeth Dowager of France*. Vnto comming to *Monceaux*,
 presented the King with rich armes, which the Archduke had caused to bee made for
 him at *Brusselles*, and withall he gaue him charge to say vnto the King, that he lament-
 ed to see the continuance of a Warre so preiudiciall to two of the greatest Christian
 Princes, and so profitable to the common enemy of Christendome. That if it pleas-
 ed him to hearken vnto a Peace, his will should be soone followed by the effect:
 offering all his vov'es and seruice to the King of *Spain* his Vncle, to make him
 resolute to a perfect and assured Peace, Wherewith *Sancerre* acquainted his Maiessty,
 after the deliuey of his Aimes, saying, That the Archduke was a Prince full of
 holy resolutions for the generall good of Christendome, who lamenting the affaires
 of Christian Princes, which went to ruine by their discord, had commanded him to
 vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, if he would enter into any treaty of Peace, the onely
 and last support of Christendome.

The Arch-
 duke sends
 armes vnto
 the King.

The first
 entrance
 of a Peace.

The King receiued the present graciously, and hauing a while considered of the
 proposition (made vnto him by *Sancerre*) he answered. That he had neuer yet ta-
 sted the sweetnesse of Peace, desiring greatly to know what it was, not so much for
 his owne ease, as for the good of his Subiects: and although he had alwayes loued
 Warre, yet had he neuer refused Peace: That he was not insensible of the miseries
 of this diuision, and had often lamented so much blood vnprofitable spilt, and the
 weakning of the cheefest pillars of Christendome. That he had not entred into this
 Warre but for a iust and necessary defence, all *Europe* hauing scene the King of
Spain to raise the greatest forces of the World, yea & his own Subiects against him,
 and that there was no VVarre more iust, then to recouer that, which was vniu'tly
 viurped. Yet notwithstanding, all these considerations should not hinder his inclina-
 on to a Peace. But he could not easily beleene, that the Archduke had any such de-
 fire, hauing so many *Spaniards* about him, who would neuer counsell him to make a
 Peace but in *France*.

This holy Resolution was imparted vnto the Archduke, and by him to the King
 of *Spain*, who doubted that a Prince borne and bred vp in armes, hardened in the
 exercise of VVarre, and prosperous in his proceedings, would giue any care to a Peace:
 and although the good of his Realme, might drawe him to this resolution, yet such as
 had counsell'd him to proclaime VVarre against him, when as his affaires were most
 desperate: euen when as foure or fiue Dukes his subiects were in armes against him,
 would not aduise him now to make a Peace, when as all *France* was reduced vnder his
 obedience. He therefore commands the Archduke to proceede warily and wisely, and
 not to do anything that might be dishonorable in seeking of a Peace.

The King of
Spain desires
 of a Peace.

A long Peace
 preiudiciall to
 a warlike
 nation.

The Archduke knowing that the Kings inclination to a Peace (proceeding from
 his owne proper motion, and from the best aduice of his seruants who held a long
 Warre to be as ruinous for *France*, as a long Peace is hurtfull to a warlike nation) con-
 tinued his first motion, sending backe *Sancerre* vnto the King who was then at *Rouen*,
 to speake more openlie and playnely vnto him, and to vnderstand his Maiesties plea-
 sure, in what Towne vpon the frontiers the Deputies of cyther side might assemble.
 This negotiation was not managed by letters, but by instructions, and by one man on-
 ly: which was kept so secret, as on the Kings part, no man was acquainted therewith
 but *Villeroy* the Oracle of the secrets of this Estate: neither would the Archduke trust
 any one but himselfe and the Duke of *Sora*, master of his horse, to the ende that *Spain*
 should not know any thing but what pleased him, when neede should require.

If matters had beene managed more openly, they might haue proued lesse succes-
 full. These Princes wanted not spirits of diuision about them which blamed this Peace.
 There were some in *Spain* which maynteyned that the lawes of Religion and

Diuers opin-
 ons of the
 Peace.

1598. Conscience, would not allow them to lay downe armes, vntill that all *France* were reduced vnder one Religion: and that it were dishonourable for so warlike a nation as *Spaine*, to demaund a Peace of them which had proclaimed Warre against them. In *France* some cried out that they should make no Peace with *Spaine*, without satisfaction on for *Milan*, *Naples*, *Flanders*, and *Nauarre*.

Those which did second this good worke with their graue and wise Councell, were men full of affection to the publike good, and capable of the remedies of this diuision. The President *Richardot* was the first to whom the Archduke imparted this secret and the King would haue *Bellieure* his chiefe Councillor of State acquainted therewith, vnto whom *Sancerre* imparted the order and state of the busines. This done, he returned to the Archduke to *Brusselles*, carrying with him a resolution of the Kings pleasure: wherevpon the Archduke commaunded him to conduct the Generall of the Fryars into *France*, being then come out off *Spayne*.

The Generall acquainted the King with the commandement he had receyued from the Pope, to passe into *Spaine* to dispose the Catholike King to a good and holy Peace, whereby the forces and wills of all Christians might be vnited against the common enemy, who made his profit of this miserable diuision: That the King of *Spayne* foreseeing it well, and lamenting this generall desolation, had said vnto him, that hee desired a Peace: which by his will should bee firme and durable, for the recovery of that which discord had caused the Christian Princes to loose, desiring not onely to treat a reconciliation of friendship betwixt the two Crowns, but also to preuent all occasions of future War: And to this ende, he had giuen all his power to the Archduke his Nephew, who was a Prince desirous of Peace.

The King answered: That he was desirous of a Peace, neither would he prescribe him any other conditions, then the honour & iustice of his pretensions, the which he held so assured, as no man might call them in question. The Generall of the *Franciscans* assured him, that the King of *Spaine* would giue him all the contentment hee could expect from a iust Prince. Reason which alwayes findes place in generous mindes, and necessity whose stings (when she is moued) are very violent, made these two Princes laye downe armes, to releue their Subiects, tired with miseries and publike oppressions.

These first hopes of a Peace, did but begin to appeare when as the King was aduertised of the surprize of *Amiens*. This was a frost which nipt all the hope of this first seed, a Winde which blew away all the flowers of this young Plant. The Generall of the Fryars returns into *France*, to assure the King, that if he pleased him, the taking of *Amiens* should not hinder the Peace. The King answered, that he held himselfe wronged in this proposition, that he neither could nor would hearken vnto it: & that he neuer did any thing by constraint: neyther were matters now fit for an accord. I will not (sayth he) that they demaund a Peace of mee in a brauery, I will neuer yeeld vnto it by force. We will talke more, when I haue recovered *Amiens*, *Calais*, and *Ardes*: and so hee sent backe the Generall of the Fryars, to the amazement of the enemy, who did admire the Kings noble resolution, which (like vnto the ancient *Romains*) was more admirable in Aduersity then Prosperity.

Amiens being recovered, and the Pope foreseeing by the continuance of the Kings victories, that it would produce no other effects, but a weakening of the whole body, he coniuers the two Kings anewe, by the apprehension of the publike miseries, and the pittifull estate of Christian affaires, to agree and to resume their chiefe inclinations to Peace: He commands his Legate to dispose them to some conference, whereby hee might discerne who was to be blamed, and who fayled in his affection, for the generall good of a Peace. The Legate goes to *S. Quintin*: the Generall of the Fryars comes thither vnto him, and beseecheth him, to be a meanes vnto the King, to send some man of credit, with whom they might confer of a treaty. The King sent the President *Sillery*, with an expresse commandement, not to consent to any treaty of a Peace, but vpon assurance to haue those Townes yeelded vp, which were held by the King of *Spaine*.

The Kings
generous
resolution.

The Generall
of the Fryars
returns in
dispayre of a
Peace.

The proposi-
tion of Peace
continued.

A The Popes Legate, the President *Sillery*, and the Generall of the Fryars, met at *S. Quintin*: the greatest difficulty at this first entrance, was for the restitution of Places. The Generall of the Fryars sayd, that the King of *Spaine* would not purchase a Peace at so deare a rate. *Sillery* answered, that the King of *Spaine* did giue nothing of his owne, but did onely yeeld vp that which he could not keepe, the King hauing made prooffe by the recovery of *Amiens*, what he might expect of the other places. And if they desired a good and a durable Peace, they must make it iust: for else it could not continue. That there was nothing more iust, then restitution, nor more honourable then to leaue that willingly which they could not hold by force: That the King had expressely forbidden him, not to consent to any Treaty, nor to the choyse of any place for an Assembly, before he had assurance of this restitution: That hee held it a wrong done vnto the dignity of so great a Prince, to the honour of his commaundements, to the equity of his cause, and to his good fortune, once to hearken vnto the difficulties they made to yeelde him vp that which was his owne: That whosoeuer should treat with this preiudice, deserved to be punished as the authors of Treaties, that were dishonourable to their Masters.

The Generall of the Fryars (who could get no other resolutions at his hands) returned twise into *Flanders*, to let them vnderstand, that among all the reasons of the Treaty, that of Restitution was inuincible: and that it was in wayne to demaund a Peace of the *French*, if they did not restore all. That this Restitution was the soule of the Treaty, without the which it was a fantastike body, without any naturall proportion and substance: That in the ende, desiring too much, they should haue nothing: and thinking to hold all, they would loose all. The Archduke doth aduertise the King of *Spaine*, that there was no meanes to enter into the Temple of Peace, but by opening of the gates of *Calais*, *Ardes*, *Dowrlans*, and other places (taken in Warre) vnto the King of *France*. God inspired the heart of the King of *Spaine*, against the opinion of his Councell of State, to yeeld vp all his pretensions for the good of a Peace, rather then to leaue the world in this perpetuall Discord and Confusion. He did consult with his Councell of conscience, vpon the necessity of this Restitution. They answered him, that he could not liue with a quiet soule, nor die in the integrity of his Religion, if he did not restore those places. The King of *Spaine* followed this aduice, aduertising the Archduke, that he would not, for that which he had gotten from an other, loose the meanes to leaue a Peace to his owne Estates. Vpon this resolution, the Generall of the Fryars returns into *France*, and passeth his word vnto the Legate & *Sillery*, for the Restitution: so as after an infinite toyle of two moneths, these three made all things ready for a Treaty.

Sillery returns to the King, leading with him the Generall of the Fryars, as well to let him vnderstand from the Kings owne mouth, what he had sayd vnto him by his commaundement, as also to haue the Generall tell the King, what hee had promised, and propounded on the Archdukes behalfe. The Legate remayned at *S. Quintin*, as Gardien of the words and intentions of two Princes. Being assured of cythers faith, they agree vpon a place for the assembly of the Deputies, and to conclude the Treaty. The Towne of *Veruins*, (being vnder the Kings obedience, and nere vnto the frontiers of *Artheis*) was found the most commodious, and was presently furnished with all things necessary to receiue the Ambassadors. The King Deputed *Pompe de Belieure* Knight, Lord of *Grignon*, the chiefe and most auncient of his Priuy Councell, and *Nicholas Brulart* Knight, Lord of *Sillery*, Councillour of State to his Maiesty, and President in his Court of Parliamt. For the King of *Spaine* and the Archduke, there came *John Richardot* Knight, President of the Kings Priuy Councell; and of his Councell of State, *John Baptista Taxis* Knight, Commander of *los Santos*, of the Military order of *S. James*, and Councillor of State, and of the Councell of War: & *Lewis Verrichen* Knight, Audiercer & chiefe Secretary, & Treasorier of the Charters of the Councell of State. The Cardinal *Medick*, Legate of the

Yyyy 4

holy

1598. The first negotiation of Peace at *S. Quintin*.

A iust Peace is durable.

The King of *Spaine* resolves to yeeld all the places.

Veruins chosen for the conference.

1598. holy Sea, assisted by the Bishop of Mantoua, was as it were an Vmper of all difficulties A in this good and holy reconciliation. The Kings Deputies arrived first, and those of the King of Spaine presently after, where hauing saluted one another with hearts full of ioy and incredible content, they promised to treat Roundly, Sincerely, & Mildely, communicating their Commissions one vnto another, and reforming those errors which they found, that they might begin to treat more safely and freely. After much question and many protestations made by the Deputies of the King of Spaine for the Precedence, in the ende, they yeelded vnto the French Kings, to take what place they pleased, after the Legate, and the Popes Nuncio.

The Precedence yeelded to the French.

The Legate exhorts the Deputies,

At their first sitting, the Legate exhorts them to shewe the fidelity and integritie in this action which their Maisters desired, whereof he assured himselfe by their experiences, as of those which had happily managed the greatestt affayres of Europe, more then any other men: wishing them to consider, that hauing the honour to Councell two of the greatest Princes of the world, (who submitted their wills vnto their Councells, as the most diuine thing among men, when it is purged from ambitious passions, violent thoughts and preiudicate opinions) they should omit nothing that might regard the contentment of their good intentions, and not to doubt, but that God who hath an especial care of Kings and Kingdomes, would infuse the light of his spirit into their most seccet thoughts, and threaten them with the sincerity of his Iustice, if they did not apply all their indeauours to his glory and the good of the Christian common weale.

Then they entred into Treaty with a mildnesse fit for men of that quality and the merit of the matter. It was managed with such secrecie, as nothing was knowne before that all was concluded. The chiefe poynt of difficulty was, for the restitution of Places. Many reasons were propounded on eyther side: but the Kings Deputies had great aduantages: the force of reason, the prosperity of affayres in the recovery of Amiens, and aboue all the fauour of the time and occasion. The King of Spaine would not dye but in Peace: he desired his Sonne might raigne in Peace, and that his deerey beloued Daughter might be married in Peace. The Archduke languished with a desire to be married: and fearing least the promise which he had (not taking effect during the life of the King of Spaine) the conditions would be made worse, he pressed Riches and Taxes, not to proceed in this negotiation after the Spanissh manner, but to remember that they must not prolong their consultations, nor protract an action, the praise whereof depended vpon the conclusion. So after they had balanced all matters in the treaty, to reduce them to a iust proportion of reason, all controuersies betwixt the two Kings were reconciled and ended.

An Agent sent from the Emperour to the States of the vniued Prouinces.

During the Treaty of Veruins, the Emperour Rodolphus the 2. as well for himselfe, as for some Princes of the Empire, at the instant request of the King of Spaine, sent Charles Nutzel of Honderpuizel, his Councillor in the Realme of Hongary, to the Estates of the vniued Prouinces, who had audiēce at the Haghe. His Ambassage was, to perswade the States to admit and heare certaine Ambassadors sent from the Emperour, and some Princes of the Empire, to finde a meanes for the propounding of a Peace, betwixt them and the King of Spaine: To whom the States made answer, that according to their first resolution, they desired not to enter into any conference of reconciliation with the Spaniard. That they had neuer refused any Ambassadors from his Imperiall Maiesty, beseeching him not to take the refusall which they now made in ill part, the which was not done through contempt, but rather to auoyde his indignation, which they might incur, if such and so statly Ambassadors returned not to his Imperiall Maiesty with a pleasing answer. Albert the Cardinall (to whome the Infanta of Spaine had beene long before promised in marriage, with a Donation of the Low Countries) by the commaundement and aduice of the King of Spaine, sent Don Francisco de Mendoza Marquis of Guadaleste, Admirall of Arragon, in Ambassage to the Emperour, to demande of him 6. poynts of great importance, for the surety and augmentation of the limits of his future Estate, and of the said Infanta.

The Admirall of Arragon sent Ambassador to the Emperour,

1. That

1598. A 1. That the Emperour should aduance the King of Spaine to the Lieutenantship or Viconty of Bezançon. 2. That he should declare himselfe openly against all such, as should hinder a Peace betwixt the state of the Lowe Countries. 3. That he should appoint a Governour and Councell in the Duchies of Cleues & Iuilliers. 4. That the sentence giuen against them of the Cittie of Aix, should presently bee put in execution, without any delay. 5. That he should provide some speedy remedy for the Hans townes, to restrain the insolency of the Englishmen. 6. That he will giue permission to leuie troupes of soldiers, in the territories of the Empire.

To the first Demaund, touching Bezançon, the Emperour (who desired to see the same as well of the Peace, which was treated at Veruins, as of his Brothers marriage, Albertus the Cardinall) answered, That he was not ignorant how much it did import the Townes vnder the King of Spaines obedience, lying neere vnto Bezançon, to haue the said Towne mainteyned in Peace, vnder the protection of the Empire. That for diuers and notable considerations he must confer with the Princes of the Empire, touching the said Vicarship. And to the ende it might be done with greater assurance and authority, he would perswade them to confirme it. In the meane time, he desired the King of Spaine, to take this delay in good part. This Viconty of Bezançon (which is an Imperial towne in Bourgundy) did belong vnto William of Nassau, the Prince of Orange deceased, whose goods the King of Spaine had confiscated as wel in the Franche Comte, as throughout all the Countries of his obedience. He therefore desired that the Emperour (making vse of this confiscate, against the said Prince and his heires) would transfer the Viconty of Bezançon on him. The Spaniard made this demand, that in proesse of time, he might by his Officers attaine to the knowledge of all the exchanges & other busines that passe at Bezançon for France, Germany, the Low countries & Italy, the which import much to be knowne, but aboue all to haue some footing in the Duchie of Bourgundy.

To the second Demaund, That his Imperiall Maiesty should declare himselfe openly against such as hindered the progresse of the Peace betwixt the States of the Lowe Countries. The Emperour did well vnderstand, that the King of Spaine did couertly accuse some Princes of the Empire, as if they had fauoured the warres of the Lowe Countries, especially by some words which the Admirall vsed vnto him: That it would please his Maiesty to make a difference betwixt the King and his Rebels, giuing the world to vnderstand by whom the Peace is hindered, punishing the Offenders according to the constitutions of the Empire. But the Admirall could not moue his Imperiall maiesty to stir vp new broyles among the Princes of the Empire vpon this cause, who answered, That till then he had giuen sufficient testimony of the loue he bare to the Peace of the Lowe countries: & when he hath heard the report of the Deputies, he will aduance it as far as his authority will permit him. Which Deputies were sent from the Emperour, and certaine Princes, as I haue formerly sayd.

To the third Demaund, That he would appoint a Governour and a Councell for the Duchies of Cleues and Iuilliers, His Imperiall Maiesty did answer: That he had resolved to send one or two thether, good Catholikes, to auoide a greater inconuenience. In the meane time the King of Spaine should be carefull to keepe good gard on his part, and assure himselfe of all necessary succours, the which notwithstanding must be done with discretion: to the end, that such as pretend any interest, haue no occasion of Icalousie: the which the Emperour himselfe is forced to intertaine by reason of the concurrence of the time. Whereunto the Admirall replied, That it was necessary also that his Imperiall Maiesty should commaund those Princes which pretended any right vnto the said Countries, that hereafter they attempt not any innouations, tending to the diminution of the Imperiall authority, or to the preiudice of his Catholike Maiesty: and that his Imperiall Maiesty should call home those Deputies which are at Dnyfeldorp, as Authors of badde practises, to the ende his Catholike Maiesty may not bee forced to vse other meanes. And although it were very conuenient to respect the Princes, yet must they not bee so carelesse as in curing the outward griefe, not to provide for all inward dangers. To whome the Emperour answered:

That

1598. That as for *Cleues* and *Iuilliers*, he would lend to the Princes pretending any right, A that they should not stirre, seeing it did belong onely to his Imperiall Maiesty to determine among them, hoping they would obey him. The cause of this demand was for that *Iohn Duke of Cleues*, of *Iuilliers* and of *Bergh* (who is yet in good health) was a widower and somewhat distempered in his braine, without children, & without hope to haue any, which bred a strange confusion in those Countries, which are ioyning to the Lowe Countries & *Germany*: The neighbour Princes were much troubled, and his Country was made very desolate vpon this pretext, during the yeares, 1598. and 1599. There were three sorts of Pretendants: and before he was dead, they seemed to play the Fable of the Beare. First the Duke of *Prusse*, and the two Brethren Dukes of *Dex-Ponts*, pretended by reason of their wiues, sisters to the said Duke *Iohn of Cleues* the 2. B The Emperour, who maintayned, that for want of lawfull heires Males the said Duchy, by right of the fee, should returne vnto the Emperour their soueraigne, being as fees masculine of the Empire. And *Albert* the Cardinall brother to the Emperour, who besides the donation which he expected from the Emperour his brother of his right, desired that during the life of Duke *Iohn*, a Catholike Gouvernour should be named, and at his appointment, that after his death he might vnto these Duchies lying neere vnto the Lowe Countries, the which he hoped should be given him in marriage and become Maister thereof. But all the enterprises which hee made, and all the ruines and spoyles which his army committed vnder his Lieutenant the Admirall, preuayled nothing, but his army was forced to retire, and to deliuer vp those places which C they had taken, vnto Duke *Iohn*, who at this present is married with the daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine*, as shall be said hereafter.

The fourth Demaund: That the sentence given against them of the Towne of *Aix* should be presently put in execution. It did much import the King of *Spaine*, and *Albert* the Cardinall, that the towne of *Aix* (lying in the Country of *Iuilliers*, nere vnto *Lembourg*) should bee at the Protestants deuotion. He therefore required the execution of the sentence given against them, in the Imperiall chamber: for the reestablishment of a Catholike Magistrate. According to this demaund, the Bishop of *Lege* was appointed by the Emperour, to execute the sayed sentence.

To the fift Demaund, That he provide a speedy remedy for the *Hans Townes*, to restrain D the insolency of *English Pirats*. The *Spaniard* made this demaund for the townes of the East Country, as *Lubeck*, *Rostoch*, *Hambourg*, *Breme*, *Stede* and others, which did trafficke with his subiects, and from whome he receiued great store of munition for the Warre. Vpon this pretext, the *English* ships did take and spoyle the *Esterlinge*. Wherevpon the Emperour, by an Imperiall decree, did forbid the *English* to trafficke in the *Hans Townes*. And the Queene of *England* did answer by proclamation, that it should be lawfull for her subiects to take all ships that should carry any munition of War vnto the *Spaniard*. By this answer we may see, that the Queene did not greatly feare the Emperours prohibitions: who answered vnto the said demaund of the Admirall: That hauing more ample complaints, he would provide, as his duty and the equity of the E cause doth require.

To the sixt Demaund, That he would suffer him to leuy men, in the territories of the Empire, his Imperiall Maiesty made answer, That the Catholike King should in no sort doubt of his good affection, for that during so many yeares space, he had suffered him to make the like leuies of men: The which was neuer graunted vnto his aduersaries, who notwithstanding haue leued some, but without his Maiesties priuilege. But for his Imperiall Maiesty to graunt such a thing vnto the King of *Spaine*, either by Letters patents, or by commission, it was not conuenient, for that they haue employment for many souldiars against the *Turke*, so as it was to be feared, the whole Empire would murmur eyer vnder hand his Imperiall Maiesty was cōtent to assist him all he could. And if the affaires of *Hongary* would permit, to satisfie him fully & openly. But the Admirall did presse him much to haue Letters patents with commission to leuiemen, notwithstanding the former reasons, or any other respect, seeing that the Emperour may leuy men in the Lowe Countries, to serue against the *Turke*, Wherevnto the Emperour answered,

Answered: That he could not graunt the King of *Spaine* any Patent generall, or leaue 1598. to leaue as many regiments of Souldiars as he pleased: seeing it had not bene vsed in former times. But seeing that his Imperiall Maiesty was not of sufficient power, to beare the burthen of this Warre, without the assistance of the Princes of the Empire, there was no doubt, but at the first Campe, and at the first occasion, hee should bee charged and reproached therewith: so as the contributions, and support of those Princes, would sayle him. To conclude, the Emperour intreated the King of *Spaine*, as well in this regard, as in all other things, to rest assured of his loue and affection, and how welcome his Ambassador was vnto him. These were the demaunds the King of *Spaine* made vnto the Emperour. To what ende B they tended, will appeare by the actions of the sayde Admirall of *Arragon*, hauing entred the countries of *Iuilliers* and *Cleues*, with the King of *Spaines* army, as we shall shew in the ende of this yeare. 1598.

Whilest these things passed in *Germany*, the most Christian King was at *Nantes*: he pacified *Brittaine*, discharged the new Garrisons, and some Imposts: and placed for Gouvernour there, *Cesar Monsieur* his base sonne, now Duke of *Vandosme*, who was betrothed to the onely Daughter of the Duke of *Mercantur*. He then graunted the Edict of pacification to them of the reformed Religion within his realme, as wee shall shew hereafter.

A Peace being concluded at *Vervins*, betwixt the two Kings, there was nothing yet agreed vpon for the Duke of *Sauoy*. It seemed the King of *Spaine* had forgotten him, and that hee did not acknowledge him for his sonne-in-lawe. The French King helde him for neither kinsman nor friend, so long as hee should detain the Marquisate of *Salusses*. The Marquis of *Lullins* (who was there Agent for the Duke) assured the Deputies, that the Duke had no other intention, but to giue the King more contentment hereafter, then forepassed occasions would giue him meanes. Vpon this assurance, he entred into the Treaty, the which by his occasion was in a manner broken off, three dayes before the conclusion. For the King was resolu'd, not to thinke of any accord with the Duke, but by present effects: without deferring the satisfaction of that which was due vnto him. D It was not likely the King would conclude a peace with the Duke of *Sauoy*, with lesse honourable conditions, then hee had done with the King of *Spaine*, from whom he had recovered all his places. But the Pope (feearing that this Marquisate of *Salusses*, would proue an *Atrina* to fire all *Italy*) preuailed so with the King, as he preferred the publike good before his owne priuate interest, being content (for the finishing of this building of Peace) that the Dukes Interest, and his Right, should be put to compromise.

It was agreed, that the Pope should bee the onely Iudge of this discord, touching the restitution of the Marquisate of *Salusses*, and that within a yeare. So a Peace was concluded, & signed by the Deputies: but it was not published till a moneth after: E only a general suspension of armes was proclaimed. The King being at *Rennes* in *Brittaine*, came post to *Tours*, and so to *Amiens*, for the better execution of the Peace, which was comprehended in 37. Articles, the which *Peter Mathew* sets downe at large.

All which Articles conteyned in the Treaty: and all that had bene concluded, agreed, and passed by the said Deputies in their Maisters names, they promise shall be inuolably obserued and kept, and to cause them to ratifie them, and to deliuer one vnto an other authentike letters, signed and sealed, containing the whole Treaty, and that within one moneth after the date of those presents, in regard of the most Christian King, the Cardinall, Archduke, and Duke of *Sauoy*: & that the Cardinall should promise, to procure within three moneths after, the like letters of ratification from the F Catholike King, Archduke, and Duke of *Sauoy*: They should solemnly sweare vpon the Crosse, the holy Euangelist, the Cannon of the Masse, and by their Honours, in the presence of such as they should depute, to obserue and fulfill Religiously and Faithfully, all that was contrayned in the sayd Articles: and the like oath should

The Duke of *Sauoy* desires to be comprehended in the Treaty.

The King prefers the publike good before his priuate interest.

A Peace concluded the 2. of May. 1598. containing 37. Articles, proclaimed the 2. of Iune

1598. should be taken by the Catholike King of *Spaine*, within three moneths after, or when A it should be required. In witnesse whereof, the deputies subscribed the treaty, at *Vernins*, the second of May. 1598.

Ambassadors
to swear the
peace, & ho-
stages for the
restitution of
the places.
They arrive
the 18. of June

The King
answer.

The King of *Spaine*, who desired a peace at what rate soeuer, found no condition in this treaty of *Vernins*, that might dissuade him from ratifying it: although his Council held the restitution of Towns, so happily taken, and so hard to recover, dishonourable and preiudiciall. He prest to haue it sworn and executed, witnessing the contentment he receiued in his soule, for the good which Christiantome should receiue by the concord of these two Crownes. The Archduke, who did second his desire, sent Deputies to assist at the French Kings oath, the Duke of *Ascot*, the *Cont Armburg*, the Admirall of *Arragon*, and *Lewis de Velasco*, being followed by 400. Gentlemen, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Bourguignons* and *Flemings*. The *Cont S. Paul*, receiued them vpon the frontiers. The Constable feasted them at *Amiens*, and pacified some quarrells growne among them for place. The Marshall of *Biron*, with a great and goodly troupe of Noblemen and Gentlemen, appointed by the King, receiued them a quarter of a league without *S. Denis* gate, conducting them vnto their lodgings, which were prepared in *S. Anthonys* quarter. The next day they went vnto the *Louure*, with all their traine, in rich and stately equippage, to kisse the Kings hands: who receiued them graciously, giuing an attentiu care vnto the discourse which *Richardot* made vpon the merit of this action, the common profit and necessity of a peace, the which hee said was to be preferred before a iust warre, and all hope of prosperitie. The King answered, C That he had desired peace, not for that he was tired with the discomforts of war, but to giue all Christendome meane to breath: That his armes fell out of his hands, when as they represented vnto him the teares which fell from the Popes eyes, for their reconciliation which might greatly aduance the quiet of the Church of God: That he would neuer be blamed to be ill affected to the preservation of the Peace: as hee neuer wanted zeale, nor iustice to seeke it, hauing alwayes preferred it before the vndoubted assurance of all the good successe, which the happinesse of his armes, and the reason of his defence promised him: beleeuing the aduice of them which holde, that wee must neuer, for the hope of any fauourable successe, refuse a good peace, and ground the expectation of the euent, vpon the appeare of present D things.

The King of
Spaine did
signe and
swear the
peace the 12.
of Iuly 1598.
His sonne did
not signe it,
till the treaty
of *Sauoy* 1601.
The forme of
the oath.

The most sollemne forme of a treaty is, the oath which binds them that treat. It was not sufficient, that the Princes had signed it, and engaged their faithfull promises to maintaine it: they would make the God of heauen the Iudge and witness of their intentions, engaging their faith in the handes of his iustice, for an assurance of their promises. And therefore the King did swear the obseruation of the Peace, in our Ladies Church at *Paris*, in the presence of the King of *Spaines* Ambassadors. The Archduke did swear it in the name of the King of *Spaine*, in the great Church at *Brusselles*, in the presence of the Marshall of *Biron*, *Belieure* and *Brulart*, Counsellers to the King and his Ambassadors. The Duke of *Sauoy* did also swear it at *Chambery*, in the presence of *Gnadagnes*, Lord of *Boutheon*, Knight of both Orders. The oath was ministred in this manner: Wee promise vpon our faith and honour, and in the word of a King, and swear vpon the Crosse, the holy Euangill, and the Canon of the Masse, for that which concernes vs: That wee will obserue and accomplish fully, really, and faithfully, and all euery point and article contayned in the treaty of Peace, reconciliation and amitie made, concluded and determined at *Vernins*, the second day of May last past, &c. and will cause all to be obserued, maintayned and kept inuolably on our part, without any breach, or suffering it to be broken, in any sort or manner whatsoeuer. In witnesse whereof wee haue signed these presents with our owne hands. &c.

The King would haue the sincerity of his intention knowne to all the world, and *Paris* a witness of the oath he should take, to obserue the peace as religiously, as hee had made warre iustly. The Ceremony was performed in our Ladies Church at *Paris*, with

A with great pompe, *Monseigneur de Villeroy* did read the articles of the Peace. The King did swear the obseruation thereof, signed the Act, and embraced the Ambassadors of the King of *Spaine*, wishing the King his Brother a long life, that he might long enjoy the fruites of this Peace. This Ceremonie was ended with great ioy & acclamations of the people. From thence the King went to dine at the Bishops Pallace, where he feasted the Ambassadors, the Duke *Montpensier* supplying the place of Lord Steward. The feast was royall and magnificent, and all things were answerable to so great a Ceremonie. That ancient custome of drinking to the health of Princes, which came from that of the *Greekes*, who offered to every one of their Gods a Glasie of Wine, & since hath bene vsed, to shew our deuoted affection to great personages, was not forgotten. B The King dranke wine to the health of the King of *Spaine*. This ioy was continued at night at the *Louure*, in dancing, and the daies following in feasting at diuers great mens houses, by the Kings command.

All this did not hinder the execution of the Treatie, neither did the Deputies forget the interest of private persons. The *Spaniards* intreated the King for the returne of some that were absent, especially for the Duke of *Aumale*. The King answered them, that if they restored vnto *Antonio Perez* his children and goods, hee would giue the Duke of *Aumale* contentment, whereby he should enjoy the fruites of the Peace. The *Spaniards* replied, that *Perez*, who was then out of *Spaine*, for matters concerning the Inquisition, might not bee equalled with the Duke of *Aumale*, who was absent but by reason of the troubles. Euery one was content, eyther with that which was done, or with that which reason did not allowe to be done.

After that the Ambassadors of *Spaine* had obtayned what they desired for the execution of the Peace, and admired the Kings houses, and the wonders of *Paris*, they returned with a remembrance of his Maiesties bountie, who gave them Jewels and Cupbords of Plate. There remained foure principall men as hostages, for assurance of the restitution of the Townes, as it was concluded by the Treatie. All should bee performed by the second of August: they began by the Townes of *Picardie* so faithfully, as the King (withour expecting the full satisfaction of the Treatie) sent D backe the hostages, relying onely vpon the word.

It was also concluded by the Treatie, that the Archduke (who had approued the Peace in the name of the King of *Spaine*,) should also swear the obseruation thereof in the same name, and in the presence of such as it should please the King to send. His Maiestie would not employ any other, then such as had serued him so worthily in the conclusion thereof, as *Belieure* and *Brulart*, two of the chiefe of his Council, and him whose valour in the recovery of *Amiens* had much aduanced the end of this warre. His honour was accompanied with an other, that was greater and more desirable vpon the chiefe of this Ambassage. The King doth neuer forget to recompence great and generous actions: hee would haue the Marshall *Biron* as well a present of his fauours, as of the loyalty of his seruice. And therefore he erected his Barony of *Biron* into a Duchie, and made him Peere of France. He was receiued in the Parliament, with a generall applause and testimonie of all the assistants, that these honours, although they were great, did not equal the greatnesse of his merits. He made a sollemne feast for this new dignity. The King went from Saint *Germaine* to honour him with his presence: witnessing that this was not the end nor period of the honours, wherewith he would reward the perseuerance of his seruices, and the constancie of his affection. At that time there was nothing in him that was lesse to be admired then imitation. Slander could not cause any corruption in a body inspired with the life of honour and valour (as flies breed not wormes but in dead bodies) and hee that had spoken ill of him, should haue gotten no credit. Hee had not yet receiued E that pestilent infection, which corrupted his blood, and deprived him of all iudgement. Reprehension had no power ouer him; but when as hee spake vnreuerently of the King. One of his friends was then the Oracle of his fortune, who told him plainly, that if hee did not forbear his licentious speech, he would repent it. What can they do, answered he? the other replied: that which you feare not. And pressing him

Deputies sent
from the King
to the Duke of
Biron, to take
his oath.

Chambery
created
Duchie
of Biron
Peere of
France.

A feast made
at Paris by
the Duke of
Biron, 22.
June.

1598. him to speake more plainly, his friend (knowing that Princes are very apprehensie & A sensible. and that the offences which they dissemble most, they pardon least) said vnto him halfe in choller, and halfe in iest, that the King would cut off his head. This threate was so vnlikely, as he made a iest of it. The bad intentions which began to seize vpon his soule in this Ambassage of *Flanders*, haue verified the prediction. Nothing could make him vnhappy, but the excesse of his happines, which deprived him of al gouernment & modesty. If he had bin lesse fortunate, he had bin more wise. It was no strange thing, to make the sonne of the Marshall *Biron*, Marshall *Biron*. An ancient house might well be honored with the title of a Duchie. A great Captaine, who had so great a share in the restaura on of *France*, deserved the honor & title of a Peere: but this was to recourence him in the midst of his court, for all that he might expect at the end of his carrier.

The first seruice the Duke of *Biron* did after this new dignity, was the voiage of *Flanders*. He made his assembly at *Peronne*, from whence he went to lie at *Cambray*. In the mid way, the Earle of *Sore*, Lieutenant generall of that Country, met him, who after that he had saluted him with a long and respectiue discourse, told him, that he had commandement from his maister to do him seruice in that voiage, and to accompany him vnto *Bruxelles*. They of *Cambray* feasted him in their Towne house. He had the like entertainment at *Valenciennes* and at *Mons*: Being arrived at our Lady of *Halle*, three leagues from *Bruxelles*, he found a Steward of the Archdukes, and fifty of his gard to attend him. The next day (which was the fift after his departure) he was met vpon the way to *Bruxelles*, by the Earle of *Mansfield*, the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Prince of *Orange*, with about two hundred horse, in the Archdukes name, & so conducted through the City vnto his lodging. He rested the Friday, and the next day he went to haue audience of the Archduke. He was accompanied with Count *Mansfield*, *Belieure* with the Duke *D'aumale*, and *Brulart* with the Prince of *Orange*. Thus they entred into the Archdukes chamber, whom they found alone, without any one but the Bishop of *Antwerp*, and the President *Richardot*. The Duke of *Biron* began the discourse, and *Belieure* continued it. On the Sunday following, the Duke of *Biron* went to the Cathedrall Church, the Archduke hauing sent him 20. Carosses for himselfe and his traine: There did the Archduke solemnly sweare the obseruation of the Peace in the name of the King of *Spaine*: from thence the Duke of *Biron* went on horseback to the Archdukes Pallace, where he dined. At the Archdukes table sat the Duke of *Biron*, *Belieure*, *Brulart*, the Count *Mansfield*, the Duke of *Aumale*, the Prince of *Orange*, & the Bishop of *Antwerp*. At another Table were some 20. French Gentlemen, chosen by the Duke of *Biron*, and 8. or 10. Spaniards & *Wallons*. So after some daies spent in feasting, the Archduke hauing presented the Duke of *Biron* with 2. faire Horfes, gold plate, a rich Jewell, and a Rapier, with Girdle and Hangers set with pretious Stones, all which were esteemed at ten thousand Crownes, hauing also giuen to *Belieure* and *Brulart* rich futes of Tapistry, and Chaines of gold, and to every one of the French Gentlemen, a Rapier blade, and a paire of Spanish Gloves, they returned home very well satisfied. But the Duke of *Biron* did not to much respect what was giuen him, as the esteeme they made of his valour, if he would imploy it for the King of *Spaines* seruice. *Prote* did first infect him with this poison, which caused a Feuer, & proued incurable, (but by that shamfull letting of blood) wherof the King was presently aduertised by a true hearted Frenchman, who remained at that time in the Archdukes Court. The Duke of *Sauoy*, who enioyed the same benefit of the Peace, was bound to the obseruation thereof by the like forme.

Mr. de *Ruffieu* a French Gentleman, who used the King of the Duke of *Biron* to the Duke of *Biron*.

The Duke of *Sauoy* swears the peace.

The King sent to M^r *de la Guiche* Gouvernour of *Lion*, that hee would willingly haue giuen him that charge, but that he feared his absence might somewhat prejudice the good of his affaires, and his indisposition not suffer him to performe the voyage. Hee therefore commanded *Guadagnes* Seneſhall of *Lion*, and Knight of both orders, to vndertake this charge. The oth was taken in the Friars Church of *Chambery*, on Sunday the second of August, where the Duke was assisted with all his Knights of the *Armande*, and to witnesse the content which hee had of this peace and reconciliation with his Maieſty, he sayd vnto *Guadagnes*, that hee held this day the happiest of all the daies of his life, and that all which remayned should bee to maintayne and honour the memory

A memory thereof. That it were not onely an indiscretion, but a blindness and a madness for him to change the felicities of Peace, for the miseries of Warre. The Duke gaue vnto *Guadagnes*, & to the chiefe gentlemen of his trayne, Jewells. Horſes Chaines of gold, and to all so many good words as there was not any one but did wishe him more profit by this Peace then he reaped. He refused not any thing that was demanded of him in the execution of the treaty, for the deliuey and ransom of prisoners, but onely the liberty of the Admirall *Chastillons* wife. Hee made answer to the Instance which *Guadagnes* made in the Kings name. That the respect hee bare vnto his Maieſties commandement, was so great, as to please him hee would restore her goods, and giue her some more liberty, whilst that hee might giue his Maieſty to vnderstand B the iust causes of her restraint.

In the Countie of *Autrem* wife to the Admirall, was Prisoner at *Torres* and there died.

That whatsoever had beene decreed at *Rome*, for her absolution, was rather in fauour of his Maieſty, then for any reason, for that hee was seized vpon bookes and writings that were execrable and damnable. The afflictions of this Lady did moue the hearts of the chiefe Officers of this Crown, & of many great Noblemen of the realme, her kinsmen and allies. The King had commiseration of her: for her misfortunes, her imprisonment, losses and disgraces deserved pitty. She was so transported with the good successe of the Kings affaires, that although shee were among her enemies, yet the fire of her desires could neyther be smothered vnder the ashes of affliction, nor vnder the fume of dissimulation. If she could haue done that wherof they accused her,

The Constable, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and M^r *Daniel* lot intreated the Legate to do her iustice.

C she would haue made as soden alterations on the earth, as *Henry* King of *Sueden* did in the aire, and as admirable: as her will was absolute to desire that the King might overcome his enemies, and haue satisfaction for *Nice* and *Salusies*. Vpon the hope that this Peace should giue her some content, and that the Kings commendation by his Ambassador should giue sometrue to her miseries, shee writ a letter of the pittifull course of her misfortunes, wherby appeared the excellency of her spirit, in these words. Although (saith shee) the comparison bee as different as an Elephant and a Gnat, yet are they both vegetatiue and sensitiue creatures. My fortune, and that of my house, hath alwaies followed that of *France* and the Kings: for as since his marriage, I haue alwaies seene my Estate declyning, euen vnto the period of a totall ruine, by the ill

The Countesse of *Autrem* wrote a letter to *Peter* *Martinez*.

D successe of his affaires: so now when as God hath powred his blessings vpon him, that hee hath reuenged him of his enemies, euen by his enemies, & that against the conspiracies of the wicked, & the iudgement of the good, hee doth enioy his Inheritance, I will hope there shalbe some change in my condition. I desire it may be good: but if it proue otherwise, I will not alter my resolution, to receiue both good and euill as from the hand of God. I haue this aduantage ouer fortune, that hereafter her iniuries how violent and soden soeuer, shall not be strange vnto me. I am inured to my afflictions, as a Galley slave to his oare. Necessity teacheth me to suffer constantly, and custom makes my suffrance easie. The King also gaue *Guadagnes* charge, to let the Duke vnderstand, that hee had receiued three severall complaints from the City of *Genoua*,

Custom makes afflictions easie.

E how that his troupes which he entertained thereabouts, vsed insupportable hostilities, tooke prisoners, chopt and changed them, & that his Maieſty desired the Towne might reape the fruit and safety which the common good of the peace did promise them, and that the Dukes troupes might be retired, to the end all Icalousie and distrust might cease. The Duke would not answer herevnto by writing, least (saith he) he should preiudice the pretensions which he had to that Towne, for about foure hundred yeares: saying only that hee did not thinke it had beene comprised in the treaty of peace, for that all other Townes and Prouinces had beene particularly named, and not that of *Genoua*. That hee could not free his neighbors from feare and distrust, but in retraying his troupes that were about the towne, to refresh them in *Lombardie*, hee should take away the cause, hauing no intention to prefer War before the happines of Peace. He therefore commanded *Don Juan de Mendoza* a Spaniard, to draw his Regiment, which consisted of twelue hundred men, out of the territories of *Genoua*, & to passe to *Milan*.

Complaints from the Towne of *Genoua*.

The Dukes pretensions.

The King of *Spaine* finding himselfe decrease daily, both in strength and health, desiring to finish that which he had resolved for the marriage of his eldest Daughter,

1598. Madam *Isabelle*, with *Albert* the Archduke his Nephew, although he were aduanced to a great Ecclesiasticall dignities, especially to the rich Archbishoprick of *Toledo*: he called before him in the City of *Madrid* the 6. of May, Prince *Philip* his onely sonne, being about 20. yeares old (whom he had also promised in marriage to Madam *Mary*, daughter to the *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, but she died soone after) accompanied with *Don Gomes d' Auila*, Marquis de *Vellada*, Gouverneur and Lord Steward of Prince *Philip* house: *Dō Christophor de Mora*, Earle of *Castel Roderigo*, great Comander of the *Alcantara*, *Don Iuan d' Idiague*, great Comander of *Leon*, all 3. being Councillors of State, & *M. Nicholas Damant* Knight, Coucellor, President, & Chancellor of *Brabant*, with *Lalo* Secretary for the affaires of the Low Countries, & no more: whereas the King made a Grant of the Low Countries to his Daughter, the which was read, signed, sealed, and written in the *French* tongue. By this match, he did institute these two future spouses, & their heires, males or females, Soueraigne Lords of all the Prouinces of the Low Countries, of the *France-Conte de Bourgundie*, & of the County of *Charolois*, vpon condition that the said Countries should returne vnto the King of *Spaine*, if they had no children of the said marriage. 2. That the Princeesse of the Low Countries which should be, were it either maide, or widow, should be bound to marry with the King of *Spaine*, or the Prince his Sonne, hauing obtained a lawfull dispensation from his Holinesse. Or if that might not be, (the Princeesse wanting will or power to accomplish this marriage) then should it not be lawfull for her to take any other husband, but with the content of the Kings of *Spaine*. 3. That it should not be lawfull for the *Infanta*, nor any other, called to the said succession, to ingage nor alienate any part of the said Countreies, without the consent of the heires & successors of the King of *Spaine*. 4. That they, their successors, nor subiects, might not in any sort traffick to the East & West Indies, vpon paine of confiscation. 5. That the Archduke should enioy the said Countries during his life, if he suruiued the *Infanta*: and if he had children, they should haue portions assigned, to maintaine them honorably: and to the eldest, were it sonne or daughter, should be giuen the Duchie of *Luxembourg*, in the County of *Chemy*, with the dependances, who after the Archdukes decease should enter into the possession of the said Countries. The chiefe condition was, for the maintenance of the Catholike, Apostolick and *Romish* Religion in the said Countries. And in case of contrauention (especially for the Navigation and Religion) the future Spouses, and their descendants should forfait all their interest to the said Countries. The last of the conditions was, that the Donataries should bee bound to pay all the debts and obligations contracted by the Emperour *Charles* the 5. & the King of *Spaine*, vpon the Parimony & reuenues of the Low Countries. The Patent of this donation was sealed at *Madrid* the 6. of May, 1598.

The Prince ratifies the donation.

The Infantaes acceptation.

Procuration from the Infanta to the Archduke, to take possession of the Low Countries, the last of June 1598.

The Prince of *Spaine*, to ratifie the said donation, declared his consent by other letters Patents, seeing it was the good will and pleasure of the King his Father, hoping it should redound to the good of all Christendome, and to the content of his good sister *Isabella Clara Eugenia*. And it is said, that for a greater approbation, he did swear vpon the holy Euangelist, neuer to oppose himselfe against it: setting his hand and seale to the said declaration, in the presence of the aboue named witnesses. The *Infanta Isabelle* did in like sort by her letters patents accept of the said Donation and Grant of the said Low Countries, & withall she shews how much she doth esteeme the gift, & that her intention was to keepe all the conditions annexed to the said donation, taking the like oath vpon the holy Euangelist, signing and sealing it as the Prince had done.

This being performed, and that the Archdukes Mother, who was also Aunt vnto the *Infanta*, had kissed her as her Daughter in law, they resolved to aduertise the Archduke, & that to that end she should write vnto him as a wife vnto her husband. And in this quality she declares her selfe Lady of the Low Countries in generall, Duchesse of *Bourgundie*, *Lotiers*, *Brabant*, *Lembourg*, *Luxembourg* & *Guelldres*, Countesse of *Flanders*, *Artois* & *Bourgundie*, Palatine of *Hainault*, *Holland* & *Zeland*, of *Namur* and of *Zutphen*, Marquis of the holy Empire, Lady of *Frize*, of *Salins* & *Malines*, of the Towne of *Vtrecht*, of *Transillanie* and *Groninghe*, & for that (desiring to obey the King her father) she had accepted of the said Seigneuries, she sent a full and ample procuration vnto *Albert* the Arch-

A Archduke her future Spouse, to take possession of all the sayd Seigneuries in the name of the sayd *Infanta*, giuing him full authoritie in the name of a Prince, and vpon her reputation, to make a generall assemblie of the Estates of the sayd Prouinces, for the effecting of her intention, promising not to contradict it, neither directly nor indirectly in any sort whatsoeuer.

The Estates of the Low Countries were assembled at *Bruxelles* the 15. of August, for the publication of the sayd Donation, where were many disputes about the receiving of the said *Infanta* by a deputie, and to sweare vnto her, considering the Priuileges of the Country especially of the Duchie of *Brabant*, which doth not receiue any Prince, but in their owne persons. But in the end, the said Cardmall Archduke was received in the name of the said Lady, by vertue of his procuration. Hee swearing to oblerue all the Rights, Priuileges, Liberties, Immunities and Customes of those Countries: and the Estates did sweare all fidelitie and obedience vnto her.

This done, the sayd Cardmall Archduke, being sufficiently knowne and accepted for their future Prince, according to the promises of marriage betwixt him and the *Infanta*: to enter into the consumation thereof, and according to the Popes grant, he went to *Halle*, a little Towne in *Brabant*, three leagues from *Bruxelles*, commonly called, *Our Lady of Halle*, a place of pilgrimage very famous: where he left his Cardinals Hat & habit vpon the high Altar. Then he began to giue order for his voiage, and the government of the Low Countries: where during his absence, hee named his Cousin *Andrew* Cardinall of *Austria*, sonne to *Ferdinand* the Archduke, who was brother to *Maximilian* the Emperour, and with him the Councell of State, appointing *Francisco de Mendoza*, Admirall of *Aragon*, Capitaine generall of his Armie, and *Herman* Earle of *Berghe*, Marshall of the Campe, with other Commanders and Officers, to put in execution that which had beene resolved vpon at *Bruxelles*, touching the frontiers of *Germanie*.

There were deputed to accompanie the Archduke, *Philip* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, &c. the Earles of *Barlamont* and of *Sores*, Noblemen of the Country, with many Ladies and Gentlewomen, among the rest, the Countesse of *Mansfield*, Widow to the Earle, and Dowager to the Earles of *Hemin* and *Hoochstrate*, with many other young Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Low Countries, being desirous to see *Spaine*, and the triumphes and magnificence of the Prince of *Spaine*, and of the sayd Archduke and *Infanta*. All things being thus prepared, the Archduke parted from *Bruxelles* about the midst of September, taking his way (as he said) towards *Prague*, to see the Emperour his Brother, to confere with him touching the affaires of the Low Countries, and so to passe to *Grets* or *Grazzen*, to fetch the Lady *Marguerite*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* the Archduke of *Austria*, who was brother to the Emperour *Maximilian* the 2. being fianced or made sure vnto Prince *Philip* of *Spaine*. The Archduke should conduct her into *Spaine*, to consumate her marriage with the sayd Prince, and he his with the *Infanta*, both at once: the which he did, as we shall see hereafter.

E The Archduke before his departure, had written letters of the 18. of August, vnto the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, giuing them to vnderstand, that he went to marry with the *Infanta*, with whom he should haue the Low Countries in dowrie, being already received by most part of the Prouinces for their Lord & Prince. That he desired nothing more, then to plant a good peace in the Low Countries. And being now apparent, that the King was resolved to diuide the said Countries from *Spaine*, & thereby to take away all causes of ielousie and distrust: he desired the States to call to minde, that warre must once haue an end: and therefore they should conforme themselves with the *Est* of *Brabant* & *Flanders*, and giue care vnto a generall peace, & to receiue and acknowledge him for their Prince & Lord: for the effecting whereof he had giuen authority to the generall Estates of his Prouinces, whereof he expected their answers.

F There were Letters also from the Prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Arshot*, the Marquis of *Hauvre*, to Count *Maurice*, of the like tenor: perswading him to be the iustrument of a good peace, and to set before his eyes the honour of his house, wherevnto he could neuer

An assembly at Bruxelles, vpon the donation made vnto the Infanta.

The Archduke leaves his Cardinall habit at Halle in Brabant.

His order in the Low Countries during his voyage into Spaine.

The Archduke writes to the vnited Prouinces.

Letters from the Prince of Orange to Count Maurice.

1598. neuer do better seruice, seeing that all the other Prouinces had already acknowledged A
and receiued the sayd Arch duke for their Lord &c. To all which letters nothing was
answered, neyther by the States, nor by Count Maurice.

A Diet at
Ratisbon.

The Emperour seeing the Estate of the Empire in danger, appointed a Diet at Ra-
tisbon, sending his brother the Arch- duke Mathias thither, accompanied with a num-
ber of graue and wise men. Hee propounded the iust complaint of the Emperour
Majesty, for the great expences he was to make against the enemies of Christendome:
That their attempts were not lesse, and their threats increased dayly, continuing their
barbarous cruelty, so as he had no more means to make head against him, much lesse
to giue him battaile. That the Estates of the Empire should remember the miseries of
Hungary during the raigne of Mathias, vnder whom it was lost, and that they should
prouide, least the like calamities should chance for want of succors: by means whereof,
in steed of the holy Christian faith, the Turke would settle his cruell and barbarous
superstitions. And that in these following yeares, the Estates should furnish him with
twelue thousand foote and 4000. Horse: that if the worst should chance, the Empire
might haue means to mainteine it selfe, if they lost a victory, or to march on with
their forces, if they did winne it. Martin Bishop of Segobia, did likewise make
great complaints for the Countreies of Stiria, Carinthia and Carniola, for the which hee
demanded present succors.

Execution of
the Emperours
sentence a-
gainst the
Toune of
Aix.

The Estates of the Empire hauing consulted some daies, decreed, to giue succors
vnto the Stirians and to the other people that bordered vpon the Turke, onely for the C
space of two monethes. And for the rest they resolved to giue the Emperour the sup-
ply of money which he required. Those of Aix la Chapelle had bene in mutiny some
yeares before, and had expelled the Catholike Magistrate, and changed the whole E-
state of the Common-weale: by reason whereof, at the instance of the King of Spaine,
by his Ambassador the Admiral of Arragon to the Emperour, importuning him much
to haue it reduced to the former Estate, lying so neere vnto his Countreies, the Em-
perour had made a proclamation against them, with an interdiction of all succors:
commanding the Arch-bishop of Treues and the Duke of Juliers to force those re-
bells by armes, and to reduce them to their obedience. The Inhabitants being amaz-
ed, seeing also Albert the Arch- duke to enter into their Countrie with his troups, D
and garrison of Lembourg: they resolved to submit themselves, by the means of some
Senators, intreating the Arch-bishop of Cologne by their deputies to mediate their
Peace, the which was granted them, expelling the Ministers of the Confession of Aus-
bourg, and others of the reformed religion. The which was executed, & the Catholike
Magistrate restored as before. About this time the most Christian King sent backe
the Lord of Buzenall into Holland to the States, to continue his charge of Ambassa-
dor. He assured them, that as farre as his Master might (preseruing the Peace) hee
would haue them, promising to repay them the money wherewith they had assisted
his Majesty during the warres. Some yeares before the Christians had receiued a sore
blow by the losse of Iuanin, which the Turke had taken, euen by the disloyaltie of
some Christians which had betrayed it. This yeare that wound was eased and almost
cured, by the recovery of the sayd Iuanin, the which was surprisid in the night by a va-
liant Captaine called Adolph Schwartzbourg, accompanied with the Barons of Palsi
and Nadsitz & two Frenchmen, one being the Seigneur of Vauvancour, & the other called
Cassine, who had the charge of the Petards, with the which they forced a Port. They slue
the Sargis of Iuanin, & a great number of Turkes. Many of them, especially women,
cast themselves into the Riuier, & so perished. There were 300. Janissaries which sh
it themselves into a Tower, in the which was Powder, which they set on fire, and so died.
There happened a strange accident in the Realme of Naples: a certaine woman trans-
ported with lust, poisoned her husband, called Appian de Boisy, Chancellor of the realme, F
a graue, learned & reuerend old man, abandoning her selfe to one called Taleisy, an idle
person & of no quality & for that she might continue it with more impunity, she poison-
ed her father Alexander Doringel, a worthy knight in his Countrey, for that he would not
consent

The loofes
of a Lady of
Naples.

A consent she should marrie with her adulterer. She did also poyson her sister with her 1598.
two Sons. And in the end being miserably married to this man, she grew zealous, and
growing bitter one against another in words, they accused one another for their mur-
ders, so as they were iustly condemned and executed.

The King of Spaines sickness beginning in Madril (before the resignation which hee The King and
made of the Low Countreies, to his daughter Isabella) increased daily, so as about the Kingdome
feast of Saint Iohn Baptist, finding his strength to decay, and sometimes afflicted with
a feuer, by the torment of a gout in his hands: as he had alwaies had a great deuotion to
his Church of Saint Laurence, and a great delight in his Count of Escorial, which hee
had built (the which is one of the richest, and most sumptuous buildings in Christen-
B dome) he would needs bee carried thither, although the Physicians did dissuade him,
being so full of paine: yet hee was remooued thither in fixe dayes, being about seuen
Leagues from Madril. Being there, his gout increased his paine with a feuer, so as
being out of hope to recouer, hee began to prepare himselfe for death, and recei-
ued the holy Sacrament. Then he desired to haue D. Garcia of Loiola solemnly con-
fessed the Archbishop of Toledo by the Popes Legat, by the resignation which Albert
the Archduke of Austria had made vnto him. Afterwards hee had an Apostleme in his
leg, and foure more vpon his brest, whereat his ordinary Physicians were much a-
mazed, calling Olias a Physician from Madril. All these together with the iudice of Ver-
gas an other practitioner, applied plasters to ripen these Apostles: being ripe, and
C broken, they cast forth much filth, and a great number of Lice, so as they could hardly
dresse him, being also so weake, as foure men were faine to remoue him in a sheet,
to make his bed, and to keepe him cleane.

These lice, as the Physicians sayd, did ingender of this putrified stinking matter. In
the beginning of September, as his feuer began to increase, hee called for the Prince
his Sonne, and the Princeesse his daughter, the Archbishop of Toledo and others assist-
ing, and shewing his bodie to his sonne, he sayd, Behold Prince, what the greatnes of this
world is. See this miserable bodie, whereas all humane helpe is vaine. He caused his collin,
being of brasie, to bee brought, and a deaths head to bee set vpon a cubbord, with a
Crowne of gold by it. Then hee Commanded Don Lewis de Felisco, one of his
D Chamberlaines, to fetch a little Casket, in the which hee had put a precious Jewell,
the which hee gaue vnto his daughter in the presence of the Prince, saying. This Jew-
ell was your mothers, keepe it in remembrance of her. Hee also drew forth a written
paper, which hee gaue vnto the Prince, saying, That it was an instruction how hee should
gouerne his Kingdome and Countrie. Then hee tooke forth a whip, at the end whereof
appeared some markes of blood, saying, lifting it vp, That it was blood of his blood
although it were not his owne blood, but the Emperour his fathers, who was ac-
customed to chastise his bodie with this whippe, and therefore hee had kept it, and
shewed it vnto them. This done, hee disposed particularly of the order and pompe
of his funerals. Then in the presence of the Popes Nuncio, he recommended the holy
E Sea, the Pope, and the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish religion, vnto his chil-
dren, desiring the Nuncio to giue him absolution of his finnes, and to blesse his
children, recomending the Infanta his daughter, vnto the Prince his sonne, and
to mainteine her Countreies in peace, appointing good Gouvernours, rewarding the
good, and punishing the bad. Then he commanded, they should let the Marquis
of Montclair at libertie, vpon condition hee should come no more to Court: and that
the wife of Antonio (Perez sometimes his Secretarie) should bee freed from prison,
vpon condition that she should retire herselfe into some Monasterie. Then he com-
manded them to leaue his Sonne alone with him, to whome hee said these words:
My Son, I desire you should be present at this last act, to the end you should not liue in igno-
rance, as I haue done, how they giue this Sacrament of the last unction, and that you may see
F the end of Kings, and of their Crownes and Scepters. Death is readie to take my Crowne
from my head to set it vpon yours. Herein I recommend two things vnto you, the one is, that
you continue obedient to the Church, the other is, that you administer Iustice to your subjects.

The King's
last speech
his sonne.

1598. *The time will come when this Crowne shall fall from your head, as it doth now from mine: you are yong, I haue bene so. My dayes were numbred and are ended. God keeps an account of yours, and they shall likewise end.* They say, that he did with passion inioyne him to make ware against Heretikes, and to retaine peace with France.

The Prince (thinking there was no more hope of life in him, and desiring to aduance the Marquis of *Denia* his fauorite) demanded the golden key of the Cabirer from *D. Christopher de Mora*; the which he refused, desiring his Highnes to pardon him, for that he might not deliuer it without the Kings expresse commaundement: where- with the Prince went away discontented. *D. Christopher* complained hereof to the King, who neither liked of the Princes demaund, being made too haſtillie, nor allowed of his refusall, commaunding him to carrie the key vnto the Prince, and to craue pardon. The Prince returning to visit his father, *D. Christopher de Mora* kneeling downe, kissed the key, and deliuered it vnto him: the which the Prince tooke, and gaue to the Marquis of *Denia*. And as the Prince, and the *Infanta* his sister, stood before the Kings bed, he sayd vnto them, I recommend vnto you *Don Christopher de Mora*, the best seru-
uant I euer had, with all my other seruants. And to giuing them his last farwell, and imbracing them, his speech failed him, continuing in that estate two dayes vntill his death.

The King of
Spaines birth
and stature.

His courage
and spirit.

D. Carlo con-
spires againt
his father.
Enuers report,
that he was
vnittily put to
death by the
malice of the
inquisition.
Comitted to
prison.

He was borne in the yeare 1526. on Saint *Markes* day in Aprill, and died the yeare 1598. the 13. of September. He was but little of stature, but otherwise, of a pleasing aspect: yet he had no beautifull countenance, by reason of his great nether lippe, the which is hereditarie to the house of *Austria*: else hee was faire of complexion, rather resembling a *Fleming* then a *Spaniard*. of such a constitution of bodie, as hee was neuer sicke in all his life, but of the disease whereof he died, and was sometimes troubled with faintings. He did neuer eate any fish. He was of a constant resolution, and of a high spirit, apprehending presently the ends of things, and foreseeing them with an admirable wisdom and iudgement. Hee was neuer amazed for any accident. At his first comming into *Flanders*, by the grant of the Emperour *Charles* the 5. his father hee wooon two great battailes against the *French*, that of Saint *Laurence* at Saint *Quintin*, and afterwards that of *Grauelines*: and both by his Lieutenants, being himselfe of no warlike disposition. He was very deuout in his religion, and had opposed himselfe againt all called heretikes of his time, taking this occasion (as many haue written) to aduance his affaires in Christendome. Hee was unfortunate in his first marriage with *Mary* Princeſſe of *Portugal*, by whome he had one sonne called *Charles*, whose life was short & miserable, hauing a violent end vpon certaine imputations, which were layd vnto him, to haue had intelligence with *Chastillon* Admirall of France, and with *William of Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, touching the Low Countries.

This (as some say) was discovered by *Don Iohn* his vnclie, bastard brother vnto the King, who being inexorable against them that had offended, came vnto the Princes chamber in the night, whereas hee found two pistols behind his beds head, and some papers which did auerre the intelligences he had with his enemies. The King first gaue him a gard, afterwards he put him in prison, and in the end to death. But first he propounded to his Councell of conscience, what punishment a Kings sonne deserued, that had entred into League against his Estates, and had conspired against his fathers life, and whether hee might call him in question. His Councell layed before him two remedies, both iust & possible, the one of Grace and Pardon, the other of Iustice and punishment, and the difference betwixt the mercie of a father, and the seueritie of a King, saying, that if by his clemencie he did pardon them which loued him not, hee could not but pardon that creature which he should most affect. They desired him to imitate the Emperour *Charlemagne*, who imputed the first conspiracy of his sonne *Pe-
pin* against him, to lightnes of youth, and for the second, hee confined him into a Monasterie, protesting that hee was a father, not a King nor a Iudge against his Sonne. The King answered, that by the law of Nature hee loued his sonne more then him selfe, but by the law of God, the good and safetie of his subiects went before it. Moreover, he

1598. A hee demaunded of them, if knowing the miseries which the impunitie or dissimulation of his sonnes offences would breed, he might with safetie of conscience pardon him, and not bee guiltie of those miseries. Hereat his Diuines shronke in their shouldrers, and with teares in their eyes sayd, that the health of his people ought to bee dearer vnto him then that of his Sonne, and that hee ought to pardon offences, but such crimes, (as abhominable monsters, must be suppressed. Hereupon the King committed his Son) to the Censure of the Inquisitors, commaunding them not to respect his authoritie, no more then the meanest within his Kingdome, and to regard the qualitie of his Son as if he were a King borne, making no distinction therof from the partie accused, vntill they found that the excesse of his offence would no more admit of this consideration, remembering that they carried in their soules a liuely Image of the King which had iudged Angels, and should without distinction iudge Kings, and the Sonnes of Kings, like vnto other men, referring all vnto their consciences, and discharging his owne.

1598.

The Inquisitors, for the practises which hee had with the enemies of his religion, declared him an Heretike, and for that he had conspired against his fathers life, condemned him to die. The King was his accuser, and the Inquisitors his Iudges, but the Iudgement was signed by the King, which done, they presented many kinds of death, in picture vnto the Prince, to make choise of the easiest. In the end hee demaunded, if there were no pittie in his father to pardon him, no fauour in his Councell for a Prince of *Spanie*, nor no wisdom to excuse the follies of his youth: when as they told him, that his death was determined, and might not be reuoked, and that all the fauour was in the choise of the mildest death. He sayd, that they might put him to what death they pleased: that there was no choise of any death, seeing they could not giue him that which *Cesar* held to be the best. These last words, deliuered with passion, were followed with a thousand curses against his Fortune, against the inhumanitie of his Father, and the crueltie of the Inquisition, repeating verie often these wordes. *O miserable sonne of a more miserable father.* Hee had some dayes of respite giuen him, to prepare himselfe for death. One morning foure slaues entred into his chamber, who awaking him, put him in mind of his last houre, and gaue him small time to prepare vnto God. Hee start vp sodainly and fled to the bed post, but two of them held his armes, and one his feet, and the fourth strangled him with a cord of silke. Many hold, that hee died of letting bloud, his feete being in warme water. The death of the Queene of *Spainie* foure moneths after, made the world to suspect other causes of his death.

The Iudgement
of the
Inquisitors.

A vnlooked for
death best.

The death of
the Prince of
Spainie.
Death of the
Queene of
Spainie.

The King was also vnfortunate in his enterprises, against *Flanders* and *England*, hauing prepared a great fleet, which perished in the narrow Seas, almost without any fight. Hee is blamed for his crueltie against the *Indians*, whome hee abandoned to the slaughter like vnto brute beasts. Hee had foure wiues after that of *Portugal*. He married with *Marie* Queene of *England*, by whome hee had no children. His third was *Elizabeth* of France (surnamed by the *Spaniards* the Queene of Peace) by whome hee had two daughters, the *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia* now Archduchesse, and the *Infanta Catharina Michelle* who was Duchesse of *Sauoy*. The fourth was *Anna* of *Austria*, daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and his owne proper Neece, by whome hee had three Sonnes, and one daughter, of the which there now remains the Prince *Charles Laurence*, surnamed at his comming to the Crowne, *Philip* the third. Hee affected the Empire as much as might be, and not able to attaine vnto it, hee sought the title of Emperour of *Spainie*: *Spainie* ambitious yea hee was resolved to go to the *Indies*, to take vpon him the title of Emperour of *America*.

The King of
Spainie: ambitious.

After all his ambitious proiects vpon *Affricke*, his attempts against *Ireland*, and his intelligences with the *Turkes*, *Barbarians* and *Persians*, whome he hath sought to diuide and to make vse of, euen against Christian Princes, but chiefly and especially

1598. cially against *France*, yet in the end hee was forced to confesse, *That all the power and pompe of this world was mere vanitie*. He reigned about fortie yeares, and was buried with his Ancestors, as he had ordayned. We haue said that hee drew a writing out of a little Cabinet, and deliuered it vnto his sonne. Some writers say, that it was a translation into *Spanish*, of the Instruction which the King *S. Lewis* gaue vnto his Sonne *Philip* the hardie. Others say it was the Instruction which followes.

Instruction
of the King
of *Spain* to
the Prince
his Sonne.

My sonne, I haue bene alwaies sollicitous and carefull to leaue you your Estates peacefull, and quiet: but neither the many yeares which I haue liued, nor the assistance of Princes my Allies could euer purchase it. I confesse I haue spent in lesse then 33. yeares, five hundred nintie and foure millions of ducats, all which haue bred me nothing but cares and troubles. It is true, I haue conquered *Portugal*: but as *France* did hardly escape me, so may this bee withdrawne from me. I would to God I had followed the aduice of my deceased father of famous memorie, or at the least, that you would beleeue and follow mine, I should then beare my crosses more lightly, & should die with more content, leauing you in this vallie of miseries. Behold then what I leaue you for an euerlasting testament, about so many Kingdomes and Seigneuries, to represent vnto you as in a glasse, after what manner you shall gouerne your selfe after my death.

Be alwaies very watchfull of the change of Kingdomes, to make your profit thereby according to occurrents. Haue an eye ouer those that are most familiar with you in Councell. You haue two meanes to maintaine your Realmes of *Spain*: the one is the present government, the other the nauigation of the Indies. As for the government, you must either relie vpon the Nobilitie, or vpon the Clergie. If you leane vnto Churchmen, keepe the other in awe, as I haue done. but if you fortifie your selfe with the Nobilitie, shorten the reuenues of the Clergie as much as you may. If you seeke to entertaine their friendships equally, they will wast you, disquiet your realmes, whereof you shall neuer see a finall end. If you will make vse of the Nobilitie, my aduice is, that you keepe good correspondencie with the Low Countries, for that they be friends to the *French*, *English*, and some Princes of *Germanie*. *Italie*, *Poland*, *Sueden*, *Denmarke*: and *Scotland* can little helpe you therein. The King of *Scotland* is poore: *Denmarke* drawes his reuenues from forraignations: *Sueden* is alwaies in faction, and besides ill situated. The *Polonians* are alwaies masters of their Kings. Although *Italie* bee rich, yet is it farre off, and the Princes are of diuers humors. Contrariwise, the Low Countries are rich in men, and shipping, constant in trauell, diligent in seeking out, hardie to begin and attempt, and willing to suffer. It is true, I haue giuen them to your Sister, but what is that? There are a thousand euasions, whereof you may make vse in time. The cheefe are, that you alwaies mainteine your selfe Tutor vnto her children, and that they alter nothing in matters of Religion, for these two points taken away, you are wholly wiped of those Countries. Hold good correspondencie with the Popes, giue them bountifullly, bee courteous vnto them, entertaine their most familiar Cardinals, and labour to haue credit in their Conclauie. Keepe the friendship of the Bishops of *Germanie*, but let not their pensions be any more distributed by the Emperour. Make them to know you, they will serue you the more willingly, & will receiue your presents with more content. Draw not any neere vnto you that are of base condition, respecting the Nobilitie and the Commons equally: for to speake the truth, their pride is great, they are mightie in riches, and whatsoever they desire must bee done: they will bee a burthen vnto you, and in the end they will become your masters.

Aduice touching the
Page.

Serue your selfe then of the Nobles of the cheefest families, and aduance them to Preferments of great Reuenues. The common sort are not so needfull, for that they may procure you a thousand discontents, which will consume you. Beleeue not any of them if they bee not of qualitie: free your selfe from *English* spies, and discharge you of *French* pensions. Serue your selfe boldly with some of the Noblemen of the Low Countries, whome you shall haue alwaies bound vnto you by fealties.

A fealty. As for the nauigation of the East and West Indies, therein consistes the power of *Spain*, and the bridle of the *Italians*, from the which you cannot exclude *France* nor *England*, for that their Power is great, their Marriners, and Saylers many, the Sea large, their Marchants too rich, their Subiects too greedie of money, and their Seruants too faithfull.

I haue excluded the lowe Countries: but I feare that in time mens humors may change: and therefore you must do two things, change your officers at the West Indies often: those which you call home, make them of your counsell for the Indies. so in my opinion you shall neuer bee deceiued, but both the one and the other will make knowne vnto you the profit, and seeke for more honour. Do you not see how the *English* seeke to deprive you of that commodity, as hee is mighty at Sea, in men and shippes, (as for the *French* I do not feare them) So fortifie your selfe with them of the Lowe Countrie, (although they be partly Heretikes and would continue so,) vpon condition that they may freely sell their Marchandise in *Spain* and *Italie*, paying the King his customes and other rights: and obtrayning passport to sayle to the East and West Indies, putting in Caution heere, and taking an oath that at their returne they should come and discharge in *Spain*, vpon paine of punishment, if they did otherwise. I thinke they will not refuse nor deny to obserue it.

And by this meanes the riches of the *Indies* and *Spain* shalbe common, and shall haue free commerce with the Low Countries, whereby both *France* and *England* shall bee disapointed. My Sonne, I could set before your eyes greater desires for the conquering of Kingdomes, but you shall finde in my Cabynet the aduertisements and discourses which haue bene giuen mee. Commaund *Christopher de Mora* to deliuer you the Key presently, least those secrets fall into some others mans hands. I haue caused some breeces of these memorialls to bee burnt the seauenth of September. I doubt all are not suppressed: bee carefull to enquire for them. I haue this day added: If you can reconcile *Antonio de Perez*, drawe him, if you may, into *Italie*, or at the least that hee promise to serue you in some other of your Kingdomes: but suffer him not to returne into *Spain*, nor to go into the Lowe Countries. Touching your marriage, the instructions are in the custodie of Secretary *Loo*. Readethis often it is all of my owne hand writing. Bee watchfull alwaies ouer your most secret Councillors: accustome your selfe to ciphers: discontent not your Secretaries, let them alwaies bee employed, bee it about matters of importance or otherwise: trie them rather by your enemies, then by your friends. If you discouery your secrets to any familiar friend, keepe alwaies the most important within your owne bosome.

A peace being proclaimed in *France*, the King applies his thoughts to reforme all disorders, and to administer Iustice to all his Subiects: And for the better assurance of the publicke tranquillity, hee did as his Predecessors had done in the like occasions: prohibiting, by the aduice of his Princes, Officers of his Crowne and Lords of his Councell, the carriage and vse of Harguebuses, Petronells, Pistolls, Pistollets, and other Weapons, vpon confiscation of Armes and Horse, and two hundred Crownes fine for the first offence, and to bee kept in prison vntill the money were paid: and for the second, losse of goods and life, without hope of remission. Allowing all men to stay and arrest all such as should carry such prohibited armes eight daies after the publication of the Edict. None were excepted, but the foure hundred Archers and the foure companies of Horse-backe of the gards of his person, when as they waited in quarter, the Archers of the Prouost of his house-hold, of the Constable and Marshallis of *France*, and they of the companie of light Horse belonging to the Duke of *Vandosme*, who by the Edict might carrie Pistolls when as they were in seruice. And to free his Subiects from the oppression of Soldiers, & to accustome them to obedience, to who it is troublesome in the securest Peace, he cut off the companies, as well of Horse, as of regiments of Foote: but this restraint

1598.

Councell
touching
the Indies.

After the
Peace in the
yeare 1599
and in the
yeare 1609.
The carrying
of armes
forbidden the
4. of August
1600 published
in the
Councill of
Parliament.

1598. traint was only of that which they might well forbear. It is dangerous to leave an Estate long without Armes. A disarmed Peace is weake. The King therefore referred the places vpon the frontiers, which remained still fortified with ordinary gards, the gards appointed for Gouernors & Lieutenants General of Prouinces were suspended, and the Companies of men at Armes were reduced to a lesser number. Such whole spirits could not live in the cessation of Armes, and which were good Captaines, in the time of Warre (like vnto *Marius*) but ill Citizens in peace, had leaue to go seek the exercise thereof in *Flanders* and *Hungary*.

The King
hunting in
the Forest of
Fontainebleau.

At Fontainebleau.

Proposition
of the King.

Proposition
of the King.
The King
hunting in
the Forest of
Fontainebleau.
At Fontainebleau.
Proposition
of the King.
The King
hunting in
the Forest of
Fontainebleau.
At Fontainebleau.
Proposition
of the King.

Taxes remitted.

Peace doth change the exercise of Warre into hunting: the King made it his daily exercise. Being one day hunting in the great forest of *Fontainebleau*, there was heard about halfe a League off, a great cry of hownds, and the winding of hornes, and suddenly all this noyse which seemed to bee farre off, came (to his iudgement) within twenty paces of his eare. Hee commanded the *Count Soissons* to let out, and to see what it was, thinking that no man durst presume so boldly to interrupt his sports: the Earle aduancing heard the noyse, yet could not discern whence it came. A big blacke man presented himselfe in the thickest of the bushes, crying out, *Do you vnderstand me*, and then he suddenly vanished away. At those words, they which were discrete thought it great indiscretion to stay longer there a hunting. The Heardsimen thereabouts say it is a spirit, which they call the great Hunter, who hunts in this forest: others hold, that it is *Saint Huberts* chase, the which is also heard in other places.

Many Noblemen, and Gentlemen retired themselves now vnto their governments and priuate honours: the King hauing sayd long before, that he would force euery man to liue of his owne, and not to importune him any more. Neuer any Edict was better obserued then this speech, for euen then he resolved to imploy the remainder of his reuenues in publicke necessities, and not in the prodigalities of *Vitelius*, nor for the enriching of priuate men; saying that hee would ease the poore, and giue example vnto the rich to content themselves with little, and to liue accordingly. The Constable went to his government of *Languedoc*, hauing obteyned of the King a reuerfion of his government for *Henry of Montmorency* his Sonne. The King in his wisedome, thought he could not sufficiently grace a house which hath brought forth so many Gouernors, Admiralls, Marshalls and Constables, and which vnder the name of *Montmorency* comprehends that of *Horne* and *Lual*, which hath giuen wiues to Kings of *France* and Dukes of *Britaine*. The letters-patents were read and registred in the Court of Aides at *Montpellier*, the Duke of *Montadour* being President, and the Bishop of *Agde* and *Arles* assisting.

The order which the King did settle for the affaires of his house, was a President to all *France*, shewing the religious desire which hee had to see his subjects enioye the fruits thereof. His Iustice would not suffer them to be charged and overcharged with impossible duties, seeing that the violence of the Warre had left them nothing but their tongues to complaine, being like vnto a kinne laied vpon a dead mans bones. Yet notwithstanding they were forced to pay the publicke charges for the fruites which they had not gathered. And therefore the King did vnto his subjects, as *Constantin* and *Theodosius* did vnto them of the Empire, by a generall discharge of the remainder of their tax and tributes. Hee also sent, according to the resolution of the Estates held at *Rouen*, many great personages, as well of his Councell as of other companies, to examine the necessities of his people, to order the taxes and tributes, & to protect the weak from the oppression & violence of such as during the civil Warres had seen no light of Iustice, but through the flame of *Harguebuzes*: hauing so abused the time as to enioye the privilege of Nobles, they would be so esteemed rather by their shewe, then by the vse and seruice of the sword: and when as of Nobility, (which doth chiefly bind Noblemen by reason of their Tenures and titles of Nobility, to the duties of armes) hath conured them to succor the necessities of their Prince and Countries, they haue thrust themselves among the people, lying idely in Townes, or in the delights of their houses, so long as fire and danger were in field.

A field. Men vnworthy of the name of men, of Gentlemen, and of *Frenchmen*. The Commissioners forced these kinde of gallants to pay, who by pretended letters of their Inuolung, and abuse of the Priuileges, had laied their Taxes vpon the people.

While the King labours to reforme all abuses, and to roote out disorders: the deputies of the Clergy of *France* (being assembled together at *Paris*, with the Kings permission) beseech his Maiesty to reforme the disorders of the Church. Which speech was deliuered with great reuerence before his M. by the reuerent *Francis de la Guesle* Arch-bishop of *Tours*, accompanied with many of the faied deputies of the Clergie. The Summe whereof was.

That it would please his Maiesty, that the holy Council of *Trent* might be received and published in *France*, with such necessary qualifications as concerne the French liberties, the Immunities of Churches, and the priuileges of Parliaments.

That his Maiesty would not charge his conscience with the nomination vnto Bishops, Abbeyes, and other benefices hauing charge of soules.

That lay pensions giuen in recompence to Noblemen and Gentlemen vpon the sayd nominations, may be reuoked.

That Clergy-men may be suffered to enioy their liuings quietly without charge, but only to do their duties in the seruice of God and the Church.

That Churches may not be prophaned, nor the Incumbents houses suffered to go to ruine, but to be well and duely mainteyned, to the ende they may not pretend any iust cause of non residence: and to separate them from the common & licentious conuerfing with the people, for the auoiding of scandales which do often followe.

That all reuerfions of Benefices may be taken away, as well for that it is against the Cannon Lawe and the holy Constitutions of Councils, as also for that it is a cause to shorten the liues of the Incumbents.

That the Contracts before time passed betwixt their Maiesties and the Clergy, may be confirmed without breach, or supposition, for the Subsidy granted vnto his Maiesty by the Clergie.

That it would also please his Maiesty to provide them conuenient remedies vpon the complaints which they had presented vnto him.

Wherevnto the King made a very short, but a pithy answer: the effect was this. I confesse that what you haue saied is true, but I am not the author of these Innouations: these mitchieues were brought in before my coming. During the Warres I haue runne to the greatest fire, to quench it: I will nowe do what is needfull in time of Peace. I know that Religion and Iustice be the foundations and pillars of this Estate, the which is maintained by Pietie and Iustice. But if they were not, I would plant them by little and little, as I do all things, with the helpe of God. I will settle the Church in as good Estate as it was a hundred yeares since, as well for the discharge of my conscience, as for your content. but *Paris* was not al built in one daie. Let the people be as much perswaded by your good examples to do well, as they haue beene heretofore dissuaded. You haue exhorted me of my duty. I do admonish you of yours: let vs all do good. Go you one way, and I will go another: if wee meete, we shall soone haue done. My Predecessors haue giuen you Words, but I with my graie Licket will giue you Deeds. I am all gray without, but I am all of Gold within. I will write vnto my Councell to see your complaints, and will provide for you as fauorably as I may.

During these admonitions of the Clergy, the Cardinall of *Florence* moued the King for the restitution of the *Iesuites*. The 7. Article of the treaty of Peace at *Verdun* did suffer the Subjects and seruants of either side, as well Clergy men as Laye, to retorne & enioy their Offices, Benefices & Reuenues, obtrayning permission & letters patents vnder the broad seale from the Prince. Many thought that the *Iesuits* should be comprehended in this Article, and that if by this Peace the *Spaniards* were held Alhes, and as it were Cousin germaines to the *French*, those whom the Kings Aduocate had the yeare before in open Parliament termed *Emissaires* to the King of *Spain*, should

1598 returne to their Colleges, from whence they had bin expelled by a sentence given in December, in the year 1594. But the light of Peace shines not vpon them. The new world which it doth produce, hauing cast the cinders of Warre, Rancor and Reuenge into the Aire, allows them no retreat within the Iurisdiction of *Paris*. The decrees which had banished them, are grauen in Marble, the Water of Prayers, Fauours and Teares, although it perceeth Stoanes, preuailes nothing.

The Kings
only Sister
married to the
Prince of
Lorraine.

At the same time was concluded the marriage of *Madame Catherine* Princess of *France* and of *Nauarre*, the Kings only Sister, with the Marquis of *Pont*, Duke of *Bar* and Prince of *Lorraine*, after many Iournyes made by the sayd Prince vnto the most Christian King: in which accord there were great difficulties, as well by reason of the diuersity of Religion (the sayd Princess refusing to leaue the reformed, where she had bene bred) as also for that she could not be perswaded to go out of *France*. She had bene formerly fought by many great Princes, to whom shee would not consent, for the one or the other of these two causes, and sometimes for both together. *Francis Monsieur* Duke of *Alençon* desired her in the year 1582. but the difficulty was then greater for matters of Religion. And before that, King *Henry* the 3. comming out of *Poland* did affect her: and it is thought, that if he had seene her at *Lion* at his returne, he would haue married her: but *Katherine de Medicis* the Queene Mother described her to be a Dwarf and crooked (the which was most false) for she was of a meane stature, and of a good countenance. It is true, she had one legge somewhat shorter than another (which is a make of the house of *Albret*: for so had *Alain* Lord of *Albret*, father to King *John*, great Grand-father to the sayd Princess *Katherine*) The Queene Mother did this good turne for her God-daughter, seeking to disgrace the King of *Nauarre*, whom she hated from his youth, vpon an imagination, being told by an *Italian* Sooth-sayer, that he should succeed her Children. Then the Duke of *Lorraine* (who since was her Father in Law) sought her. The Prince of *Condy* loved her. The King of *Spain* sent to see her, in the year 1580. promising great aduancement to the King of *Nauarre*.

This sayling, the Duke of *Sauoy* sent wife in the year 83. promising no waite to impeach her Religion. His Agent being refused, he went into *Spain* about his marriage with the *Infanta Catherine Michelle*. In the year 86. the King of *Scotland* sent Master *D Melain* a *Scottishman*, and others. The Prince of *Anhalt* being come to the succour of the King her Brother, at his first comming to the Crowne of *France*, demanded her himselfe in person: but through the necessity of the Warres which were disputed throughout all *France*, he returned as hee came, with some discontent. During these Warres two Princes of the blood affected her, the Earle of *Soissons*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*: but the neerenesse of blood, the diuersity of Religion, and the indisposition of affaires hindered the effect of their desires. So as in the end he enioyed her to whom God had appointed her. The ceremonies obserued at this marriage, wee will shew in the following year.

Troubles for
the Duchy of
Ferra.

In *Italy* there grew newe stirres by reason of the death of *Alphonso d'Esté* Duke of *Ferrara*, who was the last of that Noble house of *Esté*. The Duchie of *Ferrara* is a masculine fee (for so the Lawes call it) belonging to the Holy Sea. This fee had in former times bene granted to the family of *Esté*, by the Holy Sea, in regard of seruises done by them vnto the Church, vpon condition that the Males onely should hold the sayd Duchie, and for want thereof it should returne againe vnto the Church, to dispose thereof as it pleased.

Alphonso then being deceased without lawfull heires Males, the Church demands her right, and for this effect there were great stirres on either side. Duke *Alphonso* had in his life time labored all hee could to settle *Cesar de Esté*, his last Brothers Sonne, in the right of this dignity and the succession thereof: for the obtayning whereof he had vsed the intercession of the most Christian King of *France*, of the Duke and Seigneury of *Venise*, of the Duke of *Florence*, and other great Princes as well *Italians* as *Germanes*, and euen of the Emperour himselfe: but he could neuer obtaine this fauour, although

1598.

A although hee offered great summes of money, equalling in a manner the value of the said Duchie: wherewith he grew so discontented, as dying, he aduised his nephew the Bastard, to seeke by al meanes to maintaine himselfe in the said Duchie by armes, procuring him the fauour of Princes his Allyes, Confederats, Neighbours, and Friends. There was much expected from the Dukes of *Guise* and *Mayenne*, of the house of *Lorraine*, by reason of the famous Princess their mother, who was daughter to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and to Madam *Renée* daughter to *Lewis* the 12. King of *France*: but the pietie of the most Christian King, and the modestie of those Princes would not suffer them to attempt any thing against the Church. Yet *Cesar* (although hee were base) takes vpon him the title of Duke: hee fortifies himselfe, leuies men, and prepares for a braue defence. Hereupon Pope *Clement* the eight, holds a Conclauce, and resolues with his Cardinals, that the said *Cesar* should bee called to *Rome*, to yeeld his obedience, and in the meane time nothing should bee attempted, but all should remaine in peace.

Cesar prepared
to arrive.

Cesar refuseth to obey, and seekes the fauour of his vnckles friends: So as many inclined in the beginning to giue him succours, and there were great controuersies among the Doctors, vpon this point of Law. *Qui filij sint legitimi*. Some affirming, that bastards may succeed, being once aduowed to be of the blood. Others sayd, that they could in no sort inherit, although they were aduowed. In the end all inclined to the Holy Sea, considering the cōditions of the institution made to the first of the familie by the Church. Yet *Cesar* fainted not, but scornes all that was attempted against him. The Pope excommunicates him, and all his adherents. Neither doth that dismay him, but he giues them battaile nere to *Boulognia*, where many wereaine, but more of the Popes side then of his. He seekes by offer of money to pacifie the Pope and Cardinals, but he preuailes nothing. His friends by little and little grew cold, and dealt no more but by secret Intelligences: He sees the danger wherinto hee was readie to fall, not onely to loose what hee demaunded but also his fathers inheritance, which was not called into question. So as in the end, hee resolues to submit himselfe, and to obtaine as profitable a Peace as he could. After much consultation, in the end a conclusion was made at *Faenza* containing sundrie articles.

D Thus ended the warre of *Ferrara*, whereupon his Holines resolued to go thither. After hee had visited the holy places of *Rome*, hee departs, accompanied with seuen and twentie Cardinals, foure and thirtie Bishoppes, and fise hundred Knights and gentlemen: hee fell sicke at *Camerate*, whereupon processions were made in *Rome*, and the prisons set open. Hee past by *Laurotto*, and visited our Ladies Chappell. The Duke of *Vrbino* receiued, and conducted him through his Countie, where the Dukes *Cesar* and *Alexander d'Esté*, with the Earle of *Mirandol* came to kisse his feete. After that the Cardinall *Aldobrandin* his nephew had receiued the homage of the Cittie and Duchie of *Ferrara*, his Holines made his entrie with great solemnitie, whereas he continued all that Summer.

The Popes
Entry into
Ferrara.

E The King of *Spain*, before his death, had concluded a marriage betwixt his Sonne, and *Margaret* daughter to the Archduke of *Austria* of *Gratze*, yongest sister to *Marie* (who being promised him to wife, died before the espousals. *Albert* the Archduke had commaundement to go and receiue the said *Margaret* at *Gratze*, to conduct her into *Spain*: but being readie to depart, and hauing sent the Admirall of *Arragon*, Captaine Generall of his armie, into the Countie of the Duke of *Isilliers* and *Cleues*, hee receiued newes of the death of the King of *Spain*. Notwithstanding hee went on his journey, and met with the Princess *Margaret* of *Austria*, not farre from the same place, whereas the Emperour *Charles* the fit, and *Ferdinand* his brother would haue a memoriall left of their happie enteruiewe comming from diuers parts, the which is represented in a table. This Princess was accompanied by her mother, being of the house of *Bauiere*, and fise hundred gentlemen of high *Hungarie*, where the Archduke her father hath most commonly his cheefe aboad.

The Arch-
duke Albert
meets with
Margaret of
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At the same time was concluded the marriage of *Madame Catherine* Princeesse of *France* and of *Nauarre*, the Kings onely Sister, with the Marquis of *Pont*, Duke of *Barr* and Prince of *Lorraine*, after many Iourneyes made by the sayd Prince vnto the most Christian King, in which accord there were great difficulties, as well by reason of the diuersity of Religion (the sayd Princeesse refusing to leaue the reformed, where she had beene formerly sought by many great Princes, to whom shee would not consent, for the one or the other of these two causes, and sometimes for both together. *Francis Monsieur* Duke of *Alençon* desired her in the yeare 1582. but the difficulty was then greater for matters of Religion. And before that, King *Henry* the 3. comming out of *Poland* did affect her, and it is thought, that if he had seene her at *Lion* at his returne, he would haue married her: but *Katherine de Medici* the Queene Mother described her to be a Dwarf and crooked (the which was most false) for she was of a meane stature, and of a good countenance. It is true, she had one legge somewhat shorter then another (which is a marke of the house of *Albret*: for so had *Alain* Lord of *Albret*, Father to King *Iohn*, great Grand-father to the sayd Princeesse *Katherine*). The Queene Mother did this good turne for her God-daughter, seeking to disgrace the King of *Nauarre*, whom she hated from his youth, vpon an imagination, being told by an *Italian* Sooth-saier, that he should succeed her Children. Then the Duke of *Lorraine* (who since was her Father in Law) sought her. The Prince of *Condé* loued her. The King of *Spaine* sent to see her, in the yeare 1580. promising great aduancement to the King of *Nauarre*.

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Troubles for
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D Thus ended the warre of *Ferrara*, where vpon his Holines resolved to go thither. After hee had visited the holy places of *Rome*, hee departs, accompanied with seuen and twentie Cardinals, foure and thirtie Bishoppes, and fise hundred Knights and gentlemen: hee fell sicke at *Camerate*, where vpon processions were made in *Rome*, and the prisons set open. Hee past by *Laureto*, and visited our Ladies Chappell. The Duke of *Vrbino* receiued, and conducted him through his Countrie, where the Dukes *Cesar* and *Alexander d'Esté*, with the Earle of *Mirandol* came to kisse his feete. After that the Cardinall *Aldobrandin* his nephew had received the homage of the Cittie and Duchie of *Ferrara*, his Holines made his entrie with great solemnitie, whereas he continued all that Summer.

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The Arch-
duke *Albert*
meets with
Margaret of
Austria.

1598.

They passe
through the
Venetian
Country.The Duke of
Mantua.The Pope
and the Leg-
ats.The Duke of
Sessa Amba-
sador
Spain.The Queenes
entrie into
Lombay.The King of
Spaines mar-
riage.

The nine and twentieth of October they came to *Trent*, and so entering the territories of the *Venetians*, two Senators were sent by the Seignurie to receive the sayd future Queene with great honour, in a Village named *Delee*, (situated vpon the bankes of the riuer of *Athesio*, called by the *Italians*, *L' Adice*) whereas they passed by an artificial bridge newly made by commaundement of the Seignurie. There were in the future Queenes, and the Archdukes traynes, about 2000. horse, and three thousand five hundred men: all which were defrayed ten dayes together by the State of *Venice*.

Being past *Ferona*, they entred into the Duke of *Mantua*s Countrie. There is a small Towne called *Ossia*, vpon the bankes of *Po*: thither *Vincenzo Gonzague* Duke of *Mantua* came in post with ten Noblemen, to salute the Queene. There were boates prepared to passe the riuer, being all very richly appointed: among the rest, there was one Nuptiall barke, into the which, the future Queene with her mother, the Archduke, the Noblemen, and Ladies entred: it was diuided into Parlours, Chambers, and Cabinets, hanged with cloth of siluer. Being entred, the Queene found the table layd and furnished with all exquisite seruices of meate: from thence they were carried downe the riuer to *Ferrara*, where the Pope had remayned since the composition made at *Faence* with *Cesar* Duke of *Este*.

The Pope being assured of the sayd Queenes arrivall, he presently sent the Cardinals *Aldobrandin*, and *Saint Clement*, his Legats, with a great number of Prelats, and gentlemen to meet her. They met the Queene three miles off, euen as shee landed, and received her very honorably, in the name of the Holy Apostolike See, and of the Holy father, presenting her a very rich Carrosse, the iowke being all gilt, & drawne by 4. white horses, in the which she entred *Ferrara*, with her Mother & the Archduke.

Without the Cittie gate, the Duke of *Sessa*, Ambassador for the Catholike King, attended her, and presented vnto her in the name of the sayd King, a litter covered with cloth of siluer & guilt, with two white Moyles, with rich harnesses, and the Maitriers in the same lincerie, and withall a Carrosse with sixe pied horses, and two Coachmen in cloth of gold. At the Cittie gate, called *Angels* gate, she was received by two other Cardinals, *Sforce* and *Montalto*, and led into a house artificially made, where she was seated in a royall throne, attending the rest of the Cardinals that went to receive her. After this the sayd Queene, mounted vpon a white Steed, & the Princess her mother D vpon the like, which were sent them by his Holines, & so entred into the Cittie, being late. The Queene went betwixt the two Cardinals, with her *Duch* gard about her, and her mother following after with *Albertus* the Archduke. The Constable of *Lombardie*, (as they call him after the *Spanish* manner) the Duke of *Aumale*, the Earle of *Gand*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Earle *Nietriessin*, and many other Noblemen of great name and authoritie, followed them, with a great number of Carosses, and Coaches, in the which the Ladies and gentlewomen were: and in this order shee arrived at the Emperours Ambassadors lodging, passing vnder many triumphant arches.

The future Queene being come vnto the Pallace, shee mounted vp, and retired E her selfe into a chamber, neere vnto the Holy Consistorie, where the Pope was set in his Pontificall throne, with the Colledge of Cardinals, staying there vntill the Oration was made by *Bernardin Lesiot* of *Milan*, in prayse of the house of *Austria*, and of the happie arrivall of the sayd future Queene. Which done, shee, her mother, and the Archduke were brought in, and admitted to kisse his Holines feet, who received them graciously, and gave them his *Benediction*.

The next day, hauing bin present at the Masse, which the Pope did say, the Queene, her mother, and the Archduke, were seasted at the Popes table. But the Sunday following, which was the fifteenth of Nouember, and appointed for the marriage, all hauing left their mourning weedes for the death of the King of *Spain*, they put on their Nuptial robes. His Holynes was gone before to the Cathedrall Church, with his Pontificall Roabes and Diademe, sitting in his throne to celebrate the Masse.

The said Queene attyred in white, glistering with Pearle, and precious Stones of inestimable

1598

Amable price, beeing followed by her Mother, the Arch-duke and all the troupe of Princes, Noblemen and Ladies, was soled by the Cardinalls of *Santiquatro* and *Farnesse*, as a bride vnto the same Church, the which glistered all with hangings of cloth of siluer. Being placed in her Throne all of Gold, vnder a cloth of Estate of the same, and her Mother with her, and the Arch-duke beeing set in another of the same, the Pope began the Masse: then the Queene was conducted towards the Pope by the Cardinalls, with her Mother and a great traine of Ladies, and the Arch-duke approached in like sort, being followed by the Princes and Noblemen.

The King of *Spaines* procurator to the Arch-duke beeing read, the Pope did celebrate the marriage, betwixt *Philip* the 3. King of *Spain*, in the person of *Albert* his Uncle, substituted by him, to that end, and appeering in his name on the one part, and Queene *Marguerite* being present on the other part: She returning vnto her Throne, all the Princes saluted her, congratulating her marriage, with wishes of all happinesse. The Arch-duke continued still before the Pope, vntill the Duke of *Sessa* came with the like procurator from the *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*, which being read, the sayd *Infanta* was married by her deputy to the Arch-duke *Albert*, by the Popes hand. The Masse being ended, the Pope caused the married Queene to approach neere the Altar, giuing vnto her a Rose all of gold consecrated, the which his Holinesse doth vsually giue vnto Queenes and Princesses, as hee is accustomed to send a Sword and a Hat to the chiefe Princes of Christendome.

C From *Ferrara* the Queene went to *Mantua*, where the Duke received her very honorably, and entertained her with her whole traine, being esteemed to be 5000. men, and 4000. horse, nine whole daies: from thence they passe by *Cremona* to *Milan*, which belongs vnto the King of *Spain*, where they resolved to attend the Kings farther pleasure. Let vs now see what passed in the Lowe Countries since the Arch-dukes departure from *Bruxelles*. We haue noted in the 3. demaund which the Admirall of *Arragon* made vnto the Emperour, that the Duke of *Tuilliers* was a widower, without heires, and weake of spirit, which caused trouble in his Country, whereof they had concluded the usurpation at *Bruxelles*, but it must haue some pretext. A Peace being concluded in *France*, the Arch-duke prepares to make Warre against the States, hee lends D a great Army, whereof he made the Admirall his Generall, commanding him to passe the *Meuze* with all speede, to enter into the Duke of *Tuilliers* Countrie, and to seize vpon as many places as hee could vpon the *Rhine*, and to fortifie them, that hee might be the stronger vpon all occasions, and haue thereby a more easie entry to make Warre in *Friseland*, *Zuiphen*, and other Prouinces beyond the *Rhine*.

The Admirall, according to his commandement, passed the *Meuze* with his whole Army, nere vnto *Ruremonde*, in the beginning of September, consisting of 178. Ensignes of foote, of all nations, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Bourguignons*, *Germaines*, *Wallons*, *Irisb* and others, making about 25000. foote, and 25. companies of Horses, besides 12. which hee had left in *Brabant*, so as his whole armie was neere 30000. men. Ha- E uing past the *Meuze*, hee dispersed his troupes in the Countrie of *Tuilliers*, the Diocese of *Cologne* and there abouts, so as approaching the *Rhine*, he sent the Colonel *Barlotte* to passe it first, and to maintaine the passage for the rest: the which he did at *Kerckraet*, betwixt *Cologne* and *Bonne*, whether hee drewe downe all the boates hee could recouer, hauing past onely with 800. men of his regiment and some field peeces, with the which going downe the *Rhine* beneath *Cologne*, hee chased away all the States shippes that were vpon the Riuer: where hauing gathered together all the barkes and boates hee could find, hee passed the rest of his regiment with some more artillery. The Admirall, the Earle of *Berghes* and other Noblemen marched thither, and approaching neere the *Rhine*, they came first with their troupes before *Oryoy*, a place easie to fortifie, F lying vpon the *Rhine*, belonging to the Duke of *Cleues*. The Admirall summoned it, & desired to haue entrance to passe the *Rhine*. The Lord of *Horsb*, Marshal of *Cleue-land*, and the Secretarie, would haue made refusall, pretending their neutralitie: but the Inhabitants beeing terrified, and vpon promise that they would but passe the *Rhine*, they

Four persons, of the same family, of the same name, and of the same armes married together.

The Pope nuptiall giue to the Queens of Spain.

The Admirall of Arragon exploits in the Duchie of Tuilliers.

1598. they suffered them to enter. Having the Towne at his deuotion, hee came before the Castle. Where there was a garrison of some souldiars of the Duke of Cleues, whom hee did so terrefie, threatening to hang them, as they yeelded it presently: whereas hee lodged, and fortified *Orfey* speedily, passing three regiments of *Spaniards* there, with that of *Count Bouquoy*, with twelue companies of Horse, the which camped right against the Towne, whilest that the Admirall caused a strong fort to be built at *Walsom*, vpon the other banke of the *Rhine*, to haue the passage free. In the meane time the *Spaniards* spoile many other Townes in the Duke of Cleues Country and in *Westphalia*.

Prince Maurice his exploits.

This soden comming of the Admirall into the territories of the Empire, awakened Prince *Maurice*, who parting speedily from the *Haghe*, appointed the rendezvous for his troupes about *Arnhem* in *Guelderland*, where he arrived the 13. of September, resolving to make head against the *Spaniard*. The 25. of September the Estates of the Duke of *Swilliers* assembled, where it was concluded, That the Duke should write as well to the Emperour, as to the Princes Electors, to demande succors against the Admiralls attempts, That commandement should be given to the Earle of *Lippe*, Capitaine generall of the nether Circle of *Westphalia*, to assemble the five lower Circles in the Towne of *Dormont*, that they might seeke to prevent the miseries that were falling on them, and also to stay the leuies, as well of men as of money appointed for the Turkish Warre. That Ambassadors should be sent to *Albertus* the Arch-duke (who was yet at *Niuelle*) to complaine of the taking of *Orfey* and other the Admiralls attempts.

The Arch-dukes answer to the Ambassadors.

Touching the Ambassadors that were sent vnto the Arch-duke, hee made this answer: That hee neuer had any intent to preiudice the Landes belonging vnto the Empire, nor to giue any cause of complaint: but seeing hee was forced to make Warre against his Maiesties rebels, he did aduertise the, that what was done, was by a resolution of the whole Councell. That he intreated his Cousin the Duke of *Swilliers* not to take it otherwise then in good part. And if hee do not presently leaue *Orfey* and ruine the fort of *Walsom*, he will do it vpon the first occasion. That for the present hee doth only hold them to haue a passage vpon the *Rhine*, for the effecting of desleins against the Rebels. That the Kings men of Warre, both in their passage and lodging should keepe such good order, as none should haue cause to complaine.

The Earle of Brunk besieged and taken in his Castell by the Spaniards, then slain by them and burnt.

But contrary to these promises, the *Spaniards* tooke *Burich*, *Diuslack* in *Holt*, and *Rees* in the same Country of *Cleues*, and all other places and forts there aboutes, chasing and killing the garrisons that were in them. The Earle of *Brunk* writ also the 20. of the same moneth vnto the Admirall, intreating him to send him a safegard for his Castell of *Brunk*, his family and Subiects: wherevnto the Admirall answered, that if the said Earle carryed himselfe according to his dutie, he should be receiued into his protection with all loue, and honored according to his merits, the which should be a more assured safe-gard vnto him then paper. Yet the Earle hauing certaine intelligence that the *Spaniards* intended to force his Castell of *Brunk*, the 6. of October late at night he sent away his Wife, Daughters, and Gentlewomen: resolving the next day to carry away his richest stuffe. The which he could not do: for the next daie his Castell was beset on all sides by the breake of day, some Cannons planted, and it battered the same day.

Crackly of the Spaniards.

The 8. of that moneth the Earle parled with the *Spaniards*, and concluded, that the souldiars that were within the Castell should depart with him, and be conducted to a place of safety. Herevpon the Castell was yeelded, and hee went forth with his men, which were all choise Souldiars. But he was presently set vpon by the *Spaniards* and taken prisoner: the Souldiars to the number of forty, were led into a nere Champaign field, and there disarmed, and all slaine. There remained yet six of the Duke of *Swilliers* people, who beeing loth to trust vnto the *Spaniards* cutesie, had retired themselves out of the way, vntill the greatest furie were past.

In the meane time they stript the Earle, whom they had also slaine, if a Capitaine had

A had not withdrawne him into a Chamber. And by this meanes, the six Souldiars had also their liues saued: yet they stript two of them naked, whom in derision they placed on either side the Earle: but at his instant request they suffered them all sixe to depart. In the meane time, the Earle had a garde of Halbards in his Chamber, so as none of his people might come neere him, but the Lord of *Hardenberg* his Cousin, and one Page.

The 10. of the moneth, the Capitaine appointed for the garde of the Castell, came and told the Earle, that he might go walke, if he pleased: wherevnto he answered, That he would willingly, if it might be without danger. After dinner hee had a desire to walke with the Capitaine, in whose company he feared nothing. As he walked, he saw much blood shed along the way, and said to his Page, behold the blood of our seruants. If they haue an intent to do as much to me, I had rather it were to day then to morrow. Going on towards the Riuer of *Roer*, hee was beaten downe with the Staffe of a Pertuisan or Halberd, and slaine vpon the ground: saying onely, with his hands lift vp to heauen, *My God*. and had presently two or three thrusts through the body. They left him a while dead vpon the place, and afterwards burnt him.

The Spaniards treason against the Earle.

Those of *Wezel*, the chiefe towne of *Cleues*, thinking to free themselves by presents, sent vnto the Admirall, hee returned them an answer, that they should haue peace with him, so as they would restore the Catholike religion, and expell the Protestant Ministers. The which they did, but it would not worke their peace: for he forced them to giue a hundred thousand Kings Dallers, & a thousand quarters of Corne to pay and feed his Armie. Afterwards the Admirall tooke *Berke* vpon the *Rhine*, which was held by the States, *Emeric*, *Isseberg*, *Deutecom* (held also by the States) and *Schwylembourg*: but want of victuals, (his armie being driuen to great extremities) was the cause why he entred no farther into the States Country: desiring nothing more (by reason of the Winter) then a good lodging, to winter his Armie in: so as the 16. of Nouember, he marched vp the Riuer, and lodged them all winter in the Countries of *Cleues*, *Munster*, *Berghes* and *Mark*.

The Deputies of the neather Circles of *Westphalia*, whereof the Earle of *Lippe* was Capitaine generall, being assembled at *Dormont*, hearing the complaints that were made from diuers parts, of the Admiralls inuasion vpon the territories of the Empire, and the *Spaniards* outrages, they resolved to write vnto the Emperour, and to the foure Princes Electors vpon the *Rhine*, that it would please his Imperiall Maiestie, and their Excellencies, to write as well to the Admirall, as to *Andrew* the Cardinall of *Austria*, being at *Bruxelles*, Gouverneur in the absence of his cousin *Albertus* the Arch-duke, and to the Generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, that either side should leaue the Townes which they held with any garrisons, vpon the Territories of the Empire, restoring euery one to his Prince or proper Lord. The Princes Electors of the Empire being aduertised hereof, did write presently vnto the Emperour, to whom they sent an ample information of the hostilities committed by the Admirall vpon the lands of the Empire.

The Electors write vnto the Emperour.

Vpon these Letters and aduise of the said Electors, the Emperour did write as well to *Albert* the Archduke, being at *Milan*, as to *Andrew* the Cardinall at *Bruxelles*: by the which hee commanded them to make reparation for the wrongs their Armie had done, and admonisheth them to carry themselves modestly. He did write also of the same date to the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, and to the Admirall, and therevnto did adde an Imperiall command, whereby he charged them to depart out of the territories of the Empire, restoring the Townes and Castels which they held, vnto their true Lords, and repairing the wrongs which they had done, vpon paine of Proscription. But the Admirall, nor his *Spaniards*, were not greatly moued at this charge: they must haue other meanes then Edicts, to chase as well the Admirall, as the Prince *Maurice* out of the limits of the Empire.

All this yeare hath bene very tumultuous, almost throughout all Christendom: *Hungarie* vexed by the *Turke*. The troubles of *Ferrara* had disquieted all *Italy*:

1598. *Italy*, if the pietie and wisedome of Pope *Clement* the 8. had not preuented it. *France* A was not fully in quiet, but had a suspension and cessation of Armes, by the boornie that Noble King, whom God had happily sent them. *England* was troubled about the *Irishmen*, who were ayded and succoured by the *Spaniard*. *Spain* being exhausted of money, by reason of the many expeditions which they were forced to make, should feare to see *Portugall* wrested from them, by the means of *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*, whom the *Portugais* hold to bee yet liuing, and that they did see him die in 1598. Onely *Poland* had some rest: but sodenly warre disquiets them. *Sigismund* King of *Poland* by election, and by succession of *Sueden*, *Gothe* and *Vandale*, was come to make his residencie in *Poland*, and had left *Charles* Duke of *Suiderman*, his Vncle by the Fathers side, for his Viceroy in his Countries of *Sueden*. By this election which the *Polanders* had made of *Sigismund* for their King, who pretended the Duchie of *Lithuania* by the right of his Mother, it seemed that these two Realmes vnder one King, should haue enioyed a good and a long Peace. But it fell out otherwise, for the Duke of *Suiderman* did many things in *Sueden* which *Sigismund* did not allow off: And therefore he had often intreated the *Palatins* and chiefe of the States of *Poland*, to suffer him to go into *Sueden*: the which with much importunitie they granted. About the middest of Summer he imbarke at *Dantzick* with an armie, promising to retorne presently.

Warre in
Sueden.

He arrives at *Colmar*, a Sea Towne in *Sueden*. The chiefe cause which hee pretended of his voyage, was to reforme the State of *Sueden*, and to restore the Catholike Religion. But his Vncle *Charles* (who was a *Lutheran*, according to the confession of *Ausbourg*) much respected both of great and small, knowing the Kings arriuall, and his intention, and seeing that some of the best (although few in number) had gone and yielded vnto the King, he puts himselfe into armes, leuies men in all parts, and opposeth himselfe against the King his Nephew, going to encounter him at *Stekenbourg*, with whom he had many skirmishes, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse. In this doubtfulnesse of the euent which might ensue, hee sends Deputies to his Nephew, to end their quarrels by a Peace: the which the King refused, saying, that hee would not receiue a law from his Vncle: and so the Deputies returned. The King finding himselfe wronged with this taking of armes, and with these skirmishes and encounters, (wherein hee had lost much,) resolves to Warre, and marcheth towards the Towne of *Lincoln*. Duke *Charles* hearing that hee was dislodged, followes him sodenly, and sends him another Mediator for Peace, by an Herauld, after the manner of those Countries: the King gues him no audience, but according to their custome, appoints the place of Battaille. The Kings Armie is ready at the day appointed: but *Charles* and his people appeare not. The *Polonians* held themselves for victors, and went to lodge (as they commonly say) after the manner of the *French*. *Charles* discouering their estate by his spies, chargeth them being a sleepe, and so were the *Polonians* surprised and defeated.

A stratagem
of warre.

The King of
Sueden de-
feated.

Pacification
of Sueden.

The King thinking to do well, caused the Bridges to be broken, which was the cause of a greater losse of his men, who had no other meanes for their safety but to cast themselves into the water, so as in a manner all perished that fled from the Battaille. The King saved himselfe as well as hee could: and sending Deputies to his Vncle for a Peace, in the end it was concluded: First, that all offences past should be forgotten, and neuer more to be remembered, That all Officers of the realme of *Sueden*, which were at that time with the King, should bee giuen in Hostage to Duke *Charles*. And that the Estates of *Sueden* should bee called in the Kings name, within foure moneths, to determine of all controuersies, to whom they referred themselves, promising to allow of whatsoever they should determine. Things thus concluded, the King was expected by his Vncle at *Stockholm*: but in stead of going thither, he imbarke with his Sister at *Stekenbourg*, and arriued at *Colmar*, from whence hee set saile to retorne into *Poland*. Most of his ships were spoiled, and some perished in the tempest, so as he landed at *Dantzick*, more like vnto one that had escaped shipwrack, then returned

A returned from a iust nauigation: and it seemed that all aduersities did bandie against his fortune. Such was the successe of King *Sigismunds* enterprise. 1598.

About the end of September, *Omar Bascha Vizir* (that is to say, Lieutenant generall to the Turke,) with an armie of three score thousand men, besieged *Varadin*, a Towne of *Transilvania*, in the which one *Melchior Reder* a *Silesian* Gentleman was Gouvernour, a man of great reputation, as well for his knowledge, as for his practise in Warre: finding the Towne not defensible, he burnt it, and withdrew all he could into the Castell: whereas the Gouvernour *Melchior Reder*ooke an oath of the Souldiers, that none should presume to parlee with the enemy, or once to speake of yeelding, vpon paine of death, as well for the Author of this Councell, as for his Adherent, it hee did not speedily aduertise the Gouvernour. All did sweare willingly, and the *Hungarians* with them. The Gouvernour did also promise neuer to abandon them, but to carry with them vnto the last gaspe. The Turke continued the siege vntill the 3. of November, and attempted it by Assault, Sappe, and Mine, with all the violence that might be: but he was still repulded with great losse and dishonour, so as in the end they were forced to raise the Siege and go to *Zolnot*, and so to *Buda*, leauing a great victorie to the Christians, to their great grieve and shame.

On the other side, the Christians receiued the like repulse before *Buda*. They went to besiege it the 5. of October, vnder the command of *Schwartzbourg* and *Pulfi*, and hauing taken the Suburbs, *Mathias* the Archduke came: the Forte of *Potentiane* vpon the Riuer of *Danow* was taken, and the Turkes so distressed, as the 29. day there remained nothing, but to yeeld (for the Castell of *Potentiane* being taken, a reasonable breach was made to giue an assault vnto the Towne,) and all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, cast themselves at the *Baschaes* feet, seeing the imminent danger, wherevnto he was ready to yeeld: but he durst not, by reason of three other *Baschaes* that were within the Towne, that of *Caramania*, that of *Natolia*, and that of *Besie*. But there fell such abundance of raine, as all their powder was wet, and wrought no effect, neither by Mine as they tried, nor otherwise: so as they were forced to giue over. The Christians retired themselves into *Varadin*, and the Turkes into *Buda*, being well assailed and well defended on eyther side. There died 13000. Turkes before *Varadin*, and within the Towne a thousand three hundred Christians, and within *Buda* 1500. Turkes and fewe Christians. But the first of November about 7000. Peasants, with their Wiues and Children, came and yeelded themselves vnto the Christians Armie, they being Christians, and fearing the Turkes reuenge vpon their families.

In December, the Riuer of *Tiber* at *Rome* was so strangely swelled, as in lesse then three dayes there was nothing but the euén hills, and some eminent places free from that fearfull inondation. At the first furie, and in lesse then foure houres, it carried away *S. Maries* Bridge, many houses, and the shops of the Stationers and Droguists, and Storehouses for Wine & Oyle that were about the Castell *S. Angelo*. Forte prisoners were slaine vnder the ruines of the Tower *De Noue*, not being able to resist the violence of the water, nor they to be succoured, for that this accident happened by night, which prevented all foresight. On Christmas day, the Churches within *Rome* were without Priests, without Masse, and without people. The Pope praied vpon the Mountaine, and powred out teares for them that trembled and were drenched below in the Deluge. He gaue so good order, as such as were besieged without by the Water, and within by Famine, were alwaies releued against the violences of the one and the other. *Rome* was neuer seene in such desolation: the inondation during the siege of Pope *Clement* the 7. was not so violent.

This yeare the Pope created 16. Cardinals, that is to say, *Baronius* of the Oratorie of *Rome*. (It is a Congregation of Priests, which make profession to liue in common, and do exercise themselves in Meditations and Declamations, euery one according to his profession,) He hath shewed by his Annales, the greatnesse of his spirit, which exceeds the Ordinarie of Doctors: *Giury* Bishop of *Lisieux* a French man, *Bellarmin*.

The Pope
creates 16.
Cardinals.

1598. *Bellarmino* a Ieiuite, a famous Doctor, *Doffat* then Bishop of *Rennes*, and afterwards A of *Bayeux*, a man of iudgement, who managed discretely the affaires of the King and State at *Rome*, against the enuious and calumnious practises of the *Spaniard*: his aduice touching the Kings conuersion to the Church, was found good and holisome, and hee poliukely drew many other Cardinals to his opinion, euen the Cardina. *Tolet*, although he were a *Spaniard*, *Lucius Saxus* a *Romaine*, *Petrus Aldobrandinus*, Nephew to his Holinesse, *De Sonadis* Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, *Bartholomeus Celus* a *Romaine*, *Franciscus Casa* Legate of *Marchia*, *Pompeius Balbianus*, *Franciscus Manicus*, *Siluius Antonianus*, *Laurentius Blanchettus*, *Franciscus d' Auila* a *Spaniard*, *Oftannus Bandinus*, and *Camillus Burchesius*.

Treatie at
Boulogne.

Supremacy
salus populi.

The King at the conclusion of the treatie of *Vernus*, was desirous that his good Sister the Queene of *England* should be comprehended therein. But it was an accord which the King of *Spaine* would make a part: for the effecting whereof, the King did offer the Towne of *Boulogne* for an interview of the Deputies, where they mette of both sides: but the Ceremonie for Precedence made it fruitlesse. For whereas the deputies of *England* would not giue place to them of *Spaine*, they returned without doing any thing: neither was there any of them that thought it reasonable, to purchase a peace with such a preiudice to his Princes seruice. They say that the peoples health is the Soueraigne lawe: but that which concerns the respect of the Prince, and the ranke which he is to hold before others, is alwayes immutable. There are some Lawes mortall, and others which neuer dye. Those haue their continuance according to the time: Necessitie makes the other alwayes durable, for the perpetuall good they find in the obseruation, as *Lucius Valerius* said, pleading against the *Oppian* law. Of the condition of these mortall lawes is the right of Precedence. He that shall suffer the diminution, is not worthy of the increase.

The King
slees at Mon-
ceaux.

During this dispute for the Precedence, the King was at *Monceaux* to take the dyet. The Physitians had giuen him so great liberty to eate Melons of *Chenoucean* & *Lion*, as he felt it, and paied deere for the taste of his delights: for the third day of his diet, walking in his doublet in his gallery at *Monceaux*, a feuer tooke him, which turned his dyet into speedier remedies, and brought him to that estate, as many built their hopes vpon the despaire of his health, and there were posts attended, ready to carry these D dead newes. But the desseignes of Troubles and Factions dyed, when as they saw him recover his former health. The Duchesse of *Beaufort* serued him in this sicknesse, with an affection and care equall to the loue which makes the louer feele the same griefe that the beloued doth. It was at the same time when as she hoped to be a swel Queene of *France*, as she reigned in the Kings heart. They said that our *Daulphins* should be *Cesars* or *Alexanders*, and that that which had been but a sport or pleasure, should now be made a Contract of necessity. Being recovered, he came to *S. Germaine* in *Lyce*, there to end the yeare, and to resolve vpon his expences. Hee would haue the aduice of the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, to acquaint them with the estate of his affaires, to the end that if euery man did not obtaine what he demanded, he should impute the cause vnto necessity. The great tables charged with vnkowne superfluities (more esteemed for the price and rarenesse, then for the tast or necessity,) were then cut off by the Kings example, which hath alwayes more force, then either Law or Correction. Excesse was conuerted into frugality, so necessary in an estate, as the *Romaines* were no lesse bound to the Figges and Carrots of the *Fabricij* & *Curiij*, then to their swords.

A generall
estate of the
Kings expen-
ces.

Frugality
maintains
the which
vs our hath
gotten.

Then was there scene a new order in the disposition of the Kings treasure, by the care and indutrie of the Marquis *Rhofny*, vnto whom his Maiesty gaue the charge of *Superintendent*. From the first day he let them know how hard it was to draw monie out of the Kings Coffers: & for so many dealers in it as were wont to be, there should now be but one. His humor seemed strange: hee cared not for all the petty Gods, so as he pleased *Iupiter*, as *Apuleius* saith. He refused many things, to the end that the grant might be referred for the King, & all fauours receiued from his Maiesties only hand, not from any other, the which hath purchased him many enemies, who enuying his prosper-

A prosperitie and condition, desire the ouerthrow of his happines, and yet are contray- 1598. ned to admire the force and soundnes of his vnderstanding. Those which are rayed to the Solstice of their greatnes, must consider that Princes fauours are alwayes perillous. It is a difficult thing to stand long firme vpon this ice: and the fall, how gentle soeuer, will neuer suffer him to rise againe. The which is proued in *Tiberius* to *Seianus*, *Charles* the 6. to *Iohn Montague* and many others.

I haue learned of a great personage. Ambassador to a Prince of *Germanie*, 3. words which he carried grauen in a Clocke. He said them once a day, and did thinke of them continually, *Fauour may turne in o di fauour, and grace into disgrace*. But hee that serues his Master according to his owne heart, that doth nothing against his conscience, and that governs his intentions according to Law, Iustice, and Equitie, & neuer abandons the Helm, although the wind beat his barks, he needs not to feare any thing. Fortune Chab Bart. will not Zorn. Morden. Chab et ket nicht.

The Emperour hauing the last yeere (as wee haue formerly sayd) sent an Imperiall commandement, as wel to the Admirall, as to the Prince *Maurice*, to depart out of the territories of the Empire, and to restore the places they held, vnto their right Lords, whereof they made no great account, finding many delays and shifts to continue there still, to the end they might haue elbowe roome, to rob, and steale, and to winter there: The Princes and Electors of the *Rhine*, & of the nether Circle of *Westphalia*, sent their

Deputies to *Collen*, where they did assemble in the beginning of Ianuary, to redresse C those disorders which the Admirall and Prince *Maurice* had committed, seeing the Emperours letters were so little respected of them. To the same end they did write vnto the Princes and States of the Circles of *Franconia*, and base *Saxony*, to moue them ioynly to prepare to armes, to expell as well the *Spaniard*, as Prince *Maurice* out of the limits of the Empire, & that to that end the sayd Princes with the five Circles would send their Deputies to *Constans* the eleuenth of March following. The Deputies of the Princes and States of the Empire at- temble at collen.

The said Deputies being at *Collen*, madenew complaints by their letters, of the one & twentieth of Ianuary, vnto the Emperour, as well of the Admirall and *Spaniards*, as of the Prince *Maurice*, and the States army, beseeching him to grant an Imperiall armie, (which should be commonly of 40000. men) to force both the one and the other to depart out of the lymits of the Empire, and to repayre the losses sustayned by them. D The Emperour writes againe, the eleuenth of February from *Prague*, to *Andrew* Cardinall of *Austria*, Gouernour of the Low Countries, reiterating his commandments, and also to the Admirall, who had newly taken againe the Towne of *Emerick*, in the Countie of *Cleues*, the which Prince *Maurice* had taken from him, and deliuered freely vnto the Duke. It seemed that these two armies played at base in the Countie of *Cleues*.

The sayd Cardinall and Admirall sent excuses for an answer, both to the Empe- The Elector of Mentz an- swere vnto Carain II Andiew. rour, and to the Deputies at *Collen*. *Ferdinand de Lopes* of *Villanowa*, going from the Cardinall to make his *Spanish* iustifications vnto the Emperour, he past by the Arch- bishop Elector of *Mentz*, whome hee thought to make deafe, and blind, presenting vnto him in the Cardinalls name, a tedious writing, containing certaine reasons (like vnto those which *William Rodowitz* Commissaire for the Admirall, deliuered vnto the Deputies at *Collen*) wherefore the *Spanish* armie had entred into the limits of the Em- pire, and why it stayd there: but the Prince Elector of *Mentz*, gaue him a short and resolute answer: That he could not allow of that which the Cardinall and Arch- duke had attempted against the constitutions of the Empire. As for himselfe, he would not faile in that which concerned his dutie, for a preferuation of the peace and quiet of *Germanie*, being troubled and disquieted in this manner: aduising the Cardinall for the best, to retire his armie as soone as hee could, out off the lymits of the Em- pire, and not to attend the end of Aprill, to repaire the wrongs done: to restore what they had violently taken, and to make satisfaction for the damages done, as well to the generall as to the particular. In so doing, the Princes, and States of the Empire, should haue occasion somewhat to excuse what was past, & to allow of the vrgent necessitie, wherewith

1596.

The Admir-
r is letter
to the De-
puties of
Colen.He vpbrai-
des them
with his
good deedsHe blames
the StatesHe blames
the Elector
of ColenHe execu-
teth the
murder of
the Earle
of BrouckeHe execu-
teth his
cousins

wherewith they seeke to purge and iustifie themselues. This answer was made by A
the Elector, the five and twentieth of February. 1599.

The Admirall, in the behalf of the King of *Spaine*, of *Albert* Archduke, *Andrew*
Cardinal and in his owne, sent a Commissioner to *Colen*, to treat with the Deputies of
the Princes and States, and especially with that of the Count *Lippe*, Capitaine generall
of the Lower Circle of *Westphalia*. The sayd Commissioner presented letters of ius-
tification from the Admirall to the Deputies, written from *Rees*, the 20. of Ianuarie,
full of allegations, of the necessitie which had moued the King of *Spaine*, to lodge
his armie in those quarters, the better to subdue his enemies and the States. And
first for the great benefits the Empire had receiued from the King of *Spaine*, and the
house of *Burgundie*, it was reciprocally bound to ayde and serue him herein, seeing B
that hee was not come thither with any bad intention, not to seize vpon an other
mans Countie, nor to wrong any man, but for extreme necessitie, & a sincere affecti-
on hee carried to the Empire and the preferuation thereof.

That the States and vniuersal Prouinces were the cause of this mischeefe, who would
neuer reconcile themselues vnto the King their Lord: notwithstanding so many of-
fers of good vsage, and intercessions of the Emperour, of other Kings, and of the
Princes of *Germanie*. nor yet the grace and fauour which the King of *Spaine* hath done
them, hauing transported all the Low Countries to the *Infanta* his daughter, married
to *Albert* the Archduke.

That the said King and Archduke, hauing made him Generall of their armie,
the sooner to see him to worke, and to enter into their Countries which were held by
their enemies, did thinke that they might well allowe them so much, as to passe by the
frontiers of the Empire, to wrest out of the enemies hands, the places which they held,
and afterwards to restore them to their true owners.

That through the long delay of the Prince Elector of *Colen*, after the yeelding
vp of *Rhinberg* and the retreat of the States shippes vpon the *Rhine*, the sayd army had
stayed along the *Rhine*, pretending to raze *Schercks* Sconce, lying at one of the Cor-
ners of the *Rhine*. And being comethither, that for the treaties and negotiations which
were long in managing, they must remaine there for their maintenance, to free the ri-
uer of *Rhine*, and to keepe the Towne of *Orsay*: and that for some other reasons, hee D
was forced to take the Towne of *Burich*, to annoy the enemy, & to crosse their defences.

That victuals, and forrage being spent, considering the complaints of their neigh-
bours, many things haue past amongst others, that of the Earle of *Broucke*, who for his
accustomed crueltie, & bad inclination, killing them that went to forrage, hauing con-
demned all brotherly admonitions, desiring rather to practise armes, then to entertaine
friendship, if any misfortune had happened vnto him, he was sorie for it, being relou-
ed to do iustice. That when as the neighbour Countries came to complaine vnto him
of iniuries and oppressions which they sayd they endured, he had vpon euery point gi-
uen them iust and lawfull excuses. E

That after he had taken the Towne of *Bergh*, to preuent the policie of his enemies,
and receiued money and victuals from them of *Wezel*, according to their agreement
for their ranfome, he raised his army and went to *Rees*: the which hauing well furni-
shed, he came to *Emerick* in the view of the enemy, a Towne seated vpon the *Rhine*, neer
vnto the fort of *Schenck*, the which being strong, both by Art and Nature, and hard ac-
cesse by reason of the waters, not easieto batter, and much lesse to giue assault, he left
it, and tooke his way by the high Countie, he went before *Dentem*, which yeelded,
and to did the Castle of *Schuylenbourg*.

That after many consultations of the reason of war, and of the iniurie of the Time, it
was found expedient for the preferuation of the armie, to cause it to winter in places
neerest to the territories of the Empire, to stoppe the enemies couriers and spoyle: to
entertaine the Kings armie during winter, and to haue it alwayes readie.

That many by reason of the strangenes of the fact, being ignorant of the Perill, Ne-
cessitie and Profit thereof, haue made their complaints vnto their Princes, who seeing the

A the disc commodities of their Subiects, haue also cōplained vnto him: who hath answered
them curteously, commending the good amitie of the Lords confederates vpon the
Rhine, and of their Countries, against all inconueniences, putting them in mind of the
Kings great benefits, (to his great hazard,) to preferue the Lands and Territories of the
Empire from vtter subuersion, to the hindrance of his owne affaires.

That he did thinke by his mild carriage, to haue cut off all cause of complaint, and
did hope that hereafter there should bee no mention made to the Emperour, nor in
the other Courts and Estates of the Empire, whereof notwithstanding he heard the con-
trarie, fearing that in this assembly, by the exclamations of some moued with spleene
and hatred against the King and the Catholike religion, and through indifferetion or
malicetrufting too much to the enemies inconstant promises, or through ingratitude,
or some such like cause, that such false reports are againe brought in question.

That he had held it expedient, to aduertise his Imperiall Maiestie, of the Kings me-
rits, and iustifications, against such friuolous complaints, and to send them to the
Princes and States of the Empire in writing, and to that Assembly. Intreating them
in his Maiesties name and his owne, that without iust occasion, they would not take a-
ny bad impression of his Maiesties sincere intention, by an vndue grieue, commiser-
ation or spleene, growing from some smal misdemeanors, which be the ordinary frutes
of warre: least they fall into greater inconueniences, and troubles, which might breed
a greater mischeefe, whereof would follow a to late repentance. But rather, shew-
ing wisdom and Discretion, measuring the good with the bad, comparison being
made of small damages and losses, happened on these frontiers of the Empire, ioyning
to those of the King, from whence the Empire had receiued so many good turnes, they
should take all in good part.

That it will well appeare, with what Bountie, Moderation, Clemencie, Dilligence,
and with what Charge, his Maiestie hath, amidst so great troubles and turmoyles of
warre, preferued the whole Diocese of *Colen* and the neighbour Countries, being in
danger to bee lost, and the Catholike religion suppressed: and that to the great preiudice
of his owne affaires. By the which merits and good deeds, together with the bond by
the which the said Diocese and Countie of *Westphalia* are tyed, no man of Iudgement
(if hee will not bee blemished with the note of ingratitude) can with reason blame his
Maiesties actions, nor his own, touching the lodging, and wintering of his army, con-
tained in all militarie modestie.

This iustification was tedious: but it was answered, & all the points of vpbraidings
and accusations made therein, examined, and reiected, as false, and calumnious, to the
preiudice of the Emperours honor, of the Princes and States of the Empire. This As-
sembly was referred to *Conflins*. We shall hereafter see what passed there.

We haue before shewed, how that Madam *Catherine* the Kings only Sister, had bin
promised to the Marques of *Pont*, Prince of *Lorraine*, and Duke of *Barr*. The cōtracts
were made in the presēce of the Duke of *Lorraine*, who came into *France*. The condi-
tions were, that the sayd Lady should be entituled Duchesse of *Albret*, Countesse of *Ar-*
magnac, and of *Rhodes*, Vicountesse of *Limoges*, & should haue for her yeerely portion, a
hundred thousand Crowns: and in case shee had any children, they should carry the
same titles, and be prouided for. And in case she did suruiue him, she should inioy the
Duchie of *Bar* in *Barrois*, with a yeerely pension, taken out of the reuenues of *Lorraine*.

This done, the ancient allyances which had bin betwixt these two houses, were re-
newed, and the marriage was consummated: but there was first some quest on touching
the reformed religion, in the which she had bin bred, the which she would not change, by
reason (as she said) of her deceased mother, Queene *Joan* of *Nauarre*, whose life & actiōs
she held worthy to be imitated. She did with all her heart affect that which did concer-
ne the libertie of Conscience throughout all *France*, beseeching the King often, to let
her see the assurances thereof whilest she was in *France*, & not to suffer his Edicts to re-
maine without execution being proclaymed, and without a durable obseruation being
executed. Shee was Daughter to a Mother who preferred safety of cōscience before
B b b b b assurance

1599.

He pray-
eth the
King of
Spaine.The Kings
sister married
to the Duke
of Barr, the
31. of I nua-
ry, hee con-
tracted at
Monthu the
5. of August
1598.Why shee
would not
change her
religion.

1599. assurance of honours and greatnesse, yea then life it selfe, being accustomed to say to A them of her part, that armes should not bee layd downe, but with these three conditions, either an assured peace, an absolute victorie, or an honest death. Moreover, Shee apprehended the reproche of inconstancie at that age, if Shee should change her religion, hauing returned vnto it after Shee had bene a while Catholike: yet Shee promised her future husband to suffer herselfe to be instructed, and to do what he pleased.

The King seeing his sisters resolution, did what he could to reclayme her by mildnes, propounding vnto her his own example, and giuing her to vnderstand by some words, that the must otherwise looke for no fauour at his hands. Seeing hee could not prevail, before he signed the sayd contract (which was at *Monceaux*, a Castell belonging to the Duckesse of *Beaufort*, whome the King loued, and the common brute was, that Shee did greatly presse this marriage, by reason of her pretentions: about the end of the yeare, the King told her, that his meaning was not to force her, neither for her Religion, nor for her Marriage. He aduised his future Brother in Law to do his dutie, and so discharge his conscience. He also aduertised him of one expedient, which was, to remoue certaine women, and other persons, from about the sayd Lady, for that her traine consisted of Catholikes, and others, and among those others, there were some wilfull, and contentious, in whome the same Ladie trusted much, for that they had bin bred vp in her seruice from her cradle: but all that proceeded, but from the bountie of the sayd Ladie.

The sayd Prince of *Lorraine* accompanied with his Brother the Earle of *Vandemont*, and other Noblemen of *Lorraine*, with three hundred gentlemen well appointed, a little before January, this yeare 1599. arrived at *Paris*, in which moneth, the King had appointed the day of the marriage. He entred by *Saint Denis* gate, the King doing him the honour to enter with him, hauing mett him in the field as hee came from hunting. The King led the sayd Duke his Brother in Law, (calling him commonly brother) to the *Louure*, where they supped together, and Madam his Sister with them. The time was spent in dancing, and other exercises of recreation, and pastime among the great Princes. The Kings sister for her part shewed all the contentment that might be, as shee had good reason, hauing attained to that which shee was accustomed to say, *Grata superueniet qua non sperabitur hora*: the sayd Lady being well instructed in the Latin tongue: and free did the more apprehend this Latin verse, for that some had giuen it forth, shee would neuer be married.

According vnto that which the sayd Ladie had promised, to suffer her selfe to be instructed in the Catholike religion, it was resolved by his Maiestie, that there should be a conference betwixt some Catholike Doctors, & some Ministers of the reformed Religion, in the presence of his Sister, but they prevailed nothing for her conuersion. The King foreseeing some inconueniences, resolved (as well to satisfie her conscience, as to auoyd scandall) to have this instruction deferred vntill another time: And in the meane time they should proceed in the marriage. Hereupon there were some practises by the Ministers of the pretended Religion, who would haue the honour (sayd they) that the Kings onely Sister should bee married by them: and that the Prince of *Lorraine* should seeke his spouse where shee was, and that it was not conuenient shee should seeke him in his Church. In truth this was plausible, and it seemed the Ladie had a great interest in it. But the Prince on the other side, protested neuer to be married by a Minister. So as there was much arguing in what forme they should bee married. But the King, by his accustomed wisdom, shewed the effect of his Authority.

The thirtieth day of January being Sunday, in the morning, the King having aduertised his Sister ouer night of his intention, and intreated the sayd Prince of *Lorraine* to be ready, hee goes and takes his Sister at her rising, and conducts her by the hand into his Cabinet, where her future Spouse was already. Hee commaunded the worthy and reuerent Archbishop of *Reas* his naturall Brother, to marrie the sayd Marquis,

A Marquis, Prince and Duke, with the sayd Princess and Duchesse his Sister, by words of the present. Wherevnto the sayd Archbishop at the first made some refusal: saying, That the accustomed solemnities must be therein obserued. Wherevnto hee replied most learnedly: *That his presence was more then all other solemnities, and that his Cabinet was a sacred place.* And therefore hauing commanded the sayd Archbishop to go on, notwithstanding all difficulties, hee proceeded then to the Nuptiall blessing of the sayd parties present, that were there conioyned in marriage, euen as if they had bene in the greatest Church in *Paris*, which done, euery one went to his deuotion.

Afterwards the King commanded his Sister to attire her selfe like a Bride: and so B the feast was solemnly celebrated. All the great Officers did assist and serue there in their degrees, with all the grace and Honour the King could deuise to giue vnto the Prince of *Lorraine* his Brother in Law. This Marriage was Honoured with all kindes of sports and Dancing. About the end of February, the sayd Princess went with her Husband into *Lorraine*, whereas the Duke gaue her the greatest entertainment hee could deuise, embracing her as his owne Child. There had bene great heart-burning and discontentment, by reason of the diuersitie of Religion. The Kings intentions were, to drowne the remembrance of the bitterness of forepassed reignes, in the mildnesse of his government, and that the common feeling of so many miseries which they had suffered, and which had continued together, should perswade C them to grow familiar and friendly together, and to haue no more occasion to remember things past, then his Maiestie had meaning to remember his owne wrongs. Warre is not dead in an Estate whereas Consciences are diuided: it doth but sleepe, a small matter awakens it: there is nothing more apprehensue, or that doth pierce more violently into the perswasion of Men, to bandie them one against another, then Religion. Euery man thinkes his owne the better, and so iudgeth of it, more by his owne Zeale and Passion, then through Knowledge and Reason. The King, during the Warre, had runne to those things which did most presse him, and to the dangers that D did most import: he had desired to reconcile this diuision, being grieved in his Soule that the impietie of the Warre would not suffer him to make shew of the fruites of his Pietie.

They of the Reformed Religion, made many and great complaints, that the Kings Edicts were not obserued nor kept: that they were not prouided of all things necessarie for the exercise of their Religion: the Liberty of their Consciences, and the safetie of their Persons and Fortunes. They sayd moreover, that they desired not that the order of government of State should bee changed to their profit, or of any forraigne Prince: nor to haue the State torne in peeces, to please the Ambition of some fewe Men, but onely to enioy their Consciences with Peace, and their liues in safetie.

That so many iust requests being granted vnto them by the Edicts of Kings, Predecessors to his Maiestie, demanded and defended by himselfe, with so great Zeale & E Vertue, had not been hearkened vnto vnder his raigne, when as they should best hope, and vnder whom: and had it not been for the affection which they had vnto his Greatnesse, and the foundation which they laied on his good will towards them, they might lawfully and profitably haue practised the wayes which they were forced to hold vnder Kings his Predecessors. But they could not despaire any thing of him, whom God by the Protection of his Church had brought vnto the succession of the Crowne, nor obtaine lesse then Libertie and Life, hauing spent their blouds so freely for him. They complained, that Preaching was banished from his Maiesties Court, to banish them consequently from his house, where they could not serue him without seruing of God. No good man might remaine there, but hee was dayly in danger of murthering, or to bee hurt, without hope of comfort, or assurance of grace.

That they practise dayly to exclude them of the Religion from all Charges and

B b b b b

and

Complaints
of them of the
Religion.

The Prince
of Lorraine
arrives at
Paris.

1599. Jean of Al-
bret Quene
of Navarre
caused 12.
medailles to
be made at
Rochell. wh
this inscrip-
tion: *Pais sans
violence
victorie
re. More ho-
neste.*
The King de-
sires his sister
should be a
Catholike.

1599. and Offices in the State, Iustice, Treasure and Pollicie, which they did neuer greatly affect, as his Maiestie can best witness. They beseech him to iudge, if it be reasonable, they should doe wrong vnto their Children, to deprive them by their dulnesse, to be held in future ages for *Iewes* within the Realme, in steed of the honorable ranke which their progenitors had left them, and which their seruice done vnto his Maiestie should haue purchased them.

That it was more tollerable to liue vnder the truce of the deceased King, who was an enemy to their profession, yet he did grant vnto them the exercise of their Religion, both in his armie, and in his Court, allowed the Ministry at his owne charge, and gaue them a Towne of recreate in euery Bayliwike. With these and such like complaints, the King was daily importuned: the end of all these assemblies, was to obtaine an Edict from the King, so cleere and plaine, concerning all their necessities, as they should not be constrained to sue for any other: as they did not cease vntill the King had signed it the last yeare, being at *Nantes*, after that hee had reduced that Prouince vnto his obedience, containing a Declaration of the Edicts of Pacification, of the troubles growne in *France* for matter of Religion: the which was not established in the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, vntill the 25. of February this yeare 99. by reason of many oppositions and difficulties that were made. At *Saint Germaine in Laye*, *Berthier*, one of the Agents for the Clergie, made many petitions vnto his Maiestie, and did greatly importune the Lords of the Councell to consider of it. In like sort, the Bishop of *Medena*, who was then the Popes Nuncio in *France*, dealt in it, beseeching the King so to deale for his Subiects that were gone astray, as the honour of God might remaine whole, and the Church receiue no preiudice: In so doing, his Holinesse would endure all things for the peace of *France*.

Berthier demanded, that his Maiestie would not suffer the Ministers of the Reformed Religion, to haue any other libertie on this side the River of *Loire*, but to liue quietly, and not to bee sought after. That the Catholike religion should be generally restored in all places, and Churchmen doe their offices without any danger. And thirdly, that the Clergie men should be wholly freed from the vexations which they had suffered vntill that day, in Townes and Places held by them of the Religion, where they had taken away their Pensons and Reuenues, and in some Prouinces had forced them. His Maiestie granted the second and third Article: and as for the first, the King not being able to make any such prohibition without some trouble, it was let alone.

There was also great contention in particular, betwixt the said *Berthier*, and some of the Reformed Religion, touching the Assembly of their Synods: the which they would haue free, without demanding leaue from his Maiestie: maintaining that they might go freely into forraine Countries, and assist at their Synodes and other Actes: and in like sort receiue Strangers into theirs, the which the Marshall *Bouillon* had managed with some, who perhaps had not foreseene the danger: but *Berthier* contested it so vehemently against the Marshall in the Kings presence, as his reasons being heard, and the importance of the thing considered, that it was a meane to continue their Leagues and Intelligences with Strangers, to bee ready to take Armes at their pleasures, the which could not bee but with the ruine of the State: The King hauing heard by their Contestations, finding of what importance it was, hee presently caused that Article touching forraine Synodes, to bee razed: forbidding them expresse to go to any Assemblies, without his permission, vpon paine to be declared Traitors.

The Rector for the Vniuersitie of *Paris*, was also a tutor vnto his Maiesties Councell, that none of the Reformed Religion, nor their Schoole-masters and Tutors, might bee admitted into any Colledges of the Vniuersitie: but to bee excluded from all priuileges. Wherevpon there was great debate, especially for the Facultie of Physicke. But it was answered, that they should not bee admitted to teach, and

and as for Humanitie and professions of Faculties, they should bee admitted as the rest.

And although the difficulties were great, and the conditions in some cases more beneficiall then in the first treaties of Peace: yet the common quiet of all *France*, beaten and almost ouerthrowne with the tragicke violence of Schismes and Diuisions, hath made all to be held Necessary that was Iust, and Iust wharsoeuer was Profitable. Although it were to be wished, that there were but one exercise of Religion, for that in this Vniue consists all Truth. But seeing the restauration of the Church is the worke of God, as well as the building of it, wee must bee content with that which may bee, and leaue the triumph and conquests of Soules, to his eternall Wisdom, who alone makes and frames the heart as he pleaseth, and giues the signe vnto so many Soules that are gone astray, to make them enter into saluation, being impossible for man to impose any necessitie to things which God hath left in Libertie, as the Conscience, the which should be as free in Estates as in our Thoughts.

The Church hath alwayes detested Heresies, but they neuer employed the rigour of their iudgements, but against the Arche Hereikes, and but when they had shewed themselves obstinate in their errors: their punishments were more Shamefull then Cruell, more Medicinall then Mortall, desiring rather to see their faces blush for shame, then redde with blood. Neuer Prince well aduised, did put his Subiects to death to force beleefe, destroyed his Prouinces by warre, to instruct their Consciences by the sword; knowing well that Religion is an acte of Vnion, of Concord and of Instruction, and VVarre is nothing but Sedition and Destruction. And those which in this world haue troubled both Heauen and Earth, to force their Subiects Consciences vnto one Religion, haue in the end beene constrained and forced, to suffer them to liue free and in rest, reiecting and refusing the aduise of those bad Physitians, who applyed nothing but Antimonic and letting of blood to all Diseases.

By these reasons, the King (in whose person God hath done so many Miracles, and powred forth a Sea of blessings) seeing that the continuance of the VVarre had produced no other fruites but the ruine of Iustice and Pietie, which be the two vertues which doe canonize Princes, the two Pillars vpon whose firmesse great *clouis* was assured of the continuance of this Estate, hee doth now confirme the Edict of Pacification of the troubles for matters of Religion, and willes that which hee may, least hee should incur the note of such as seeke to correct things that are incorrigible, and shew that the sore is greater then the remedy, that some things haue taken such deepe roote, as they cannot bee pulled vp. Time, Truth, and Reason haue prooued, that this Edict, was most Iust, most Necessary, and most Profitable. Yet the Court of Parliament could not allowe of this Fraternitie and Communication of Offices: saying, That they should not bee transported with the ambition of Honours, but content themselves with the tranquillitie of Conscience: that it is not conuenient in one estate, to haue great Offices executed by men of diuers Religions, being a thing vniust, to haue the New intreated, as well as the Ancient. They found a great difference betwixt this Edict and the Precedent, and refused to establish it. The King sent for the chiefe of them, and spake vnto them in this manner.

You see mee in my Cabinet, where I come to speake vnto you, not attired in any Royall ornaments, nor with Cloake or Rapier, as my Predecessors: nor as a Prince that comes from receiuing of Ambassadors: but apparelled like a Father of a Familie in his Dubler and Hose, to speake familiarly to his Children. That which I haue to say vnto you, is to desire you to establish the Edict which I haue granted to them of the Religion. That which I haue done, is for the good of the Peace. I haue made it without, I desire to settle it within my Realme. You ought to obey mee, if there were no consideration but my qualitie, and the bonde whereby all my Subiects are tyed vnto mee, and you especially of my Court of Parliament. I haue

1599. restored some to their houses from whence they were expelled: and others to their credit, which was lost.

If obedience was due to my Predecessors, there is as much or more deuotion due vnto me, who haue serled the State. God hath made choise of mee, to put mee in possession of the Realme, which is mine owne, both by succession and acquisition. The Iudges of my Parliament should not sitte in their seates but for mee. I will not bragge, but I dare boldly say, that I haue no example to imitate, but of my selfe. I know there haue beene factions in the Parliament: that they haue stirred vp seditious Preachers. But I will take good order for such people, and will not attend your pleasures.

In former times they haue punished them with great seueritie, that haue preached lesse seditiously then they doe now. It is the course they tooke to make the Barricadoes, and by degrees to murder the deceased King. I will cutte vp all these Factions by the rootes: and will shorten all them that shall nourish them. I haue leaped ouer Towne Walles, I will easily passe ouer Barricadoes. They should not obiekt vnto mee the Catholicke Religion, nor the respect of the Holy Sea. I know the durie which I owe, the one as the Most Christian King, and the Honour of the name which I carry, and the other as the first Sonne of the Church. Those which thinke themselves to bee in good termes with the Pope, are deceived. I am more then they. When I shall vndertake it, I will make you all to be declared Heretikes for disobeying of me.

The Maiestie of Kings is alwayes wronged by the contempt of their decrees: but the offence is alwayes greater, when it comes from them that should see them to bee obserued. Those which deny the execution of my Edicts, desire Warre. I will Proclaime it to morrow against them of the Religion: but I will not make it my selfe, I will send them. I haue made the Edict, I will haue it obserued, my will should serue for reason, the which is neuer demanded of the Prince in an obedient State. Their wills should bee put in execution, and not interpreted: And yet I say vnto you, that Necessitie and Profit hath drawne me vnto it. I haue done it by the aduice of all my Councell, who haue found it good and necessarie for the estate of my affaires, and the good of my seruice: to settle concord, and to disperse all the miseries which Discord doth bring forth. Some haue complained, that I would make leuies of *Swisses*, or of other troopes. If I did, they must thinke it were to some good end, by reason of all my actions past. Witnesse that which I haue done for the recouerie of *Amiens*, where I haue employed the money of the Edicts which you would not haue passed, if I had not come my selfe vnto the Parliament. Necessitie hath forced mee to make this Edict: by the same Necessitie I haue heretofore plaied the Souldiar.

They haue talked at their pleasures, and I haue not seemed to regarde it. I am now a King, and speake as a King, I will bee obeyed. There is not any one of you that findes mee not good, when hee hath need of me. And there is not any one but hath need once in the yeare, and yet you are bad to mee that am so good. If other Parliaments (for that they haue impugned my will,) haue beene the cause that they of the Religion haue demanded New things, I would not haue you the cause of other inuocations, by your refusall. In the yeare 1594. and 95. when I sent vnto you a Declaration vpon the Edict, for the prouision of Offices, I did then promise, that I would not aduance any one of the Religion, to Offices in the Court of Parliament. Since time hath altered the affaires, wee must accomodate our selues thereto: and yet I will bee well assured of such as I shall aduance to those Charges, that they shall gouerne themselves as they ought.

Talke not so much of the Catholike Religion. To all these great cryers, Catholickes and Ecclesiastickes, let mee giue to one a thousand Crownes a yeare in Benefices, to another foure thousand Liuieties of Rent, they will not speake a word more

A Prince
giues no
reason of
his Edict.

Necessitie
is the first
reason and
essentiall
cause of
the Edict.

400. pound
Sterling.

A more. I haue the same opinion of all others that shall speake against the Edict. 1599

There are some which hate the sinne for feare of punishment, but the good hate it for the loue of Vertue. For Gods sake let mee know that you hate sinne for the loue of Vertue, or else I will chastice them that hate it for feare of paine: and afterwards they will thanke mee, as the Sonne doth his Father. The Preachers deliuer words in their Sermons, more to nourish, then to destroy sedition, yet no one of you sayeth any thing: these fautes which concerne n.e.e, are not regarded. But I will foresee that this Thunder shall bring no Storme, and that their predictions shall proue vaine. I will not vse their remedies, which being out of season, will but increase the euill. Consider that the Edict whereof I speake, is the deceased Kings Edict: it is also mine, for it was made with mee, and I do now confirme it.

I will say no more, but aduise you to imitate the example of the obedience of the Duke of *Maine*. Being perswaded to enter into some factions against my will, hee answered that hee was too much bound vnto mee, and so were all my subiects, amongst the which hee would bee alwayes one that should expose his life to please mee, for that I had restored *France* in despite of them that sought to ruine it. And if hee that was the head of the League, hath spoken in this manner, how much more ought you, whome I haue restored to the place from whence the League had expelled you, yeeld vnto my request, that which you would not do for threats? C You shall haue none of mee: do that which I commaund you, or rather what I intreat you, you shall not do it onely for mee, but for your selues, and for the good of the peace.

This speech was pleasing vnto the Parliament, & the difficulties which were found in the establishment of the Edict, were held tollerable, by reason of the Kings will, and the necessitie of his affaires. Yet they continued fortie dayes after, before they would resolue of it. The Duchesse of *Barr*, the Kings sister, would not depart out of *Paris*, before it was established. Shee had shewed her selfe burning in zeale and affection in that matter, as in all other affaires of that nature: and it was not without reason, that after the Kings entrie into *Paris*, when as the Deputies of the Churches of *Posson* beseeched his Maiestie for some thing depending vpon the execution of his Edicts: hee sayd vnto them, *Adresse your selues vnto my Sister, your Estate is now fallen vnto the Distaffe*. The articles of the Edict you may read at large in the Originals.

The Kings
Sister pur-
sues the estab-
lishment of
the Edict.

The Edict was sent, by the care and diligence of the Kings Attourney general vnto all the Baylewikes depending vpon *Paris*: And yet his Maiestie had deputed in euerie Prouince, certaine Commissioners for the execution thereof.

The exercise of the Catholike Religion was restored in *Rochelle*, and in aboute a hundred walled Townes, and a thousand Parishes and Monasteries, where the sayd exercise had beene interdicted aboute fifteene yeares: and in *Bearn* for the space of one and thirtie yeares.

Whilest this Edict of pacification was established in *France*, Cardinall *Andrew*, for and in the name of the Archduchesse the *Infanta*, made one against the *Hollanders*, forbidding all her subiects to trafficke with them: The tenor of which Proclamation was this.

That since the beginning of the Ciuill warres vnto this day, many offers had beene made by her, and her Councell, to them of *Holland*, and their Associates, which were most reasonable, to reduce them to the dutie of their obedience, whereas they had rashly shaken off the yoke, and refused to vnite themselves to the other Belgicke Provinces, which did acknowledge and obey her: but seeing they could not preuaile by that means, they were forced to come to armes, in the which, notwithstanding the King her deceased father had vsed all clemencie and mildnes, hoping they would acknowledge their error, and craue pardon for their reuolt, & receiue the grace which hath beene often offered them.

The Infanta
Procla-
mation-
against the
States of
the vnited
Prouinces.

B bbb 4

That

1599. That for this cause he had granted them their navigations, fishing, and free trafficke A
 ,, with his obedient subiects, fearing that through this occasion the neighbours should
 ,, draw the profit of all negotiations to some other parts: the which the *Hollanders* know
 ,, well that the sayd neighbours haue laboured to do with all their power. But they were
 ,, so far from being reclaymed by these benefits, as contrariwise they grew more insolent,
 ,, and are growne obstinate, refusing in their Councells to resist the Peace, and to con-
 ,, tinue the War, the which proceeds not from the people (who of their owne dispo-
 ,, sitions loue peace, and desire to liue modestly in obedience) but from some new men,
 ,, who taking vpon them the authoritie to commaund, abuse the poore people in this
 ,, sort, regarding onely their owne priuat profit, and not the publike good: wherevpon
 ,, all conditions haue bene reiected by them, refusing to heare any Mediators for a B
 ,, peace: but desired warre, and to entertayne it, not only in *Flanders*, but through-
 ,, out all *Europe*: whilst that the *Turke* most cruelly inuades and vsurps all he can vpon
 ,, the Christians, imbracing the occasion whilst that Christian Princes are troubled
 ,, with the seditions of their subiects: and by this meanes, doth enlarge the limits of
 ,, his most cruell Empire. But aboue all, the sayd *Hollanders* haue of late done a great
 ,, and intollerable wrong, refusing to heare the Ambassadors sent vnto them from the
 ,, Emperour, and the Princes of *Germanie*: and yet the Emperour hath not forgotten
 ,, the desire he had to seeke a Peace, but hath sent a new Ambassage vnto them,
 ,, whereof the issue is yet vncertaine: and yet the sayd *Hollanders* omitt not to do all
 ,, kind of hostilities against their lawfull Princeesse, being growne proud by some hap- C
 ,, pie successe in their opinions, when as the *Spaniards* were buied in the warres of
 ,, *France*.

Moreouer a Peace being made with the *French*, they haue vsed all the poli-
 ,, cie they could, to hinder the Conclusion. And being required by the King
 ,, of *France* to inclyne to a peace, they haue not onely refused the treatie, but haue al-
 ,, so renewed the warre, by their meanes, who holding the Estate in their power, haue
 ,, no other care, but to thrust all the world into combustion. To them this inconue-
 ,, nience is to be imputed, if no fruite of peace hath bene imparted to any of the Belgick
 ,, Prouinces.

In former times they pretended for their excuse, that they could not giue care to D
 ,, any peace, whilst that *Spaniards* and strangers commaunded, of whome they would
 ,, not depend, for that they could not trust them. But the deceased King by his clemency
 ,, had taken from them this pretext, sending vnto them the Archdukes *Ernest*, and *Al-*
 ,, *bert*, whose care and singular desire, was only to imploy themselves for the publike
 ,, good: the which was knowne vnto all the world, for that either of them did labour
 ,, for a peace with great care and diligence, offering to be mediators for them, to reco-
 ,, uer their Princes fauour. Contrariwise they had contemned them, and would not vse
 ,, so great a benefit. So as the poore (people being oppressed with tyrannie, and reduced
 ,, to dispaire) contemne, or cannot comprehend the things which are for their quiet E
 ,, and tranquillitie: yea their Princes, whome the King had appointed for them, were con-
 ,, temned by them: whereas the States of other Prouinces had exhorted them to acknow-
 ,, ledge Her, returning her Ambassadors which shee had sent vnto them, not vouchsa-
 ,, fying Her any answer. The which may iustly bee held too vnworthie, for that all the
 ,, world wil so conceiue, that no man ought to haue society, nor confederation with them
 ,, which make warre against God, their Prince, and their Countie.

That vnto this day they haue had free libertie to trafficke: the which hath pro-
 ,, duced no other fruite, but to make them more bitter, for that they abuse the En-
 ,, tries, Excises, Imposts, and Customes, to imploy them for the mayntenance of
 ,, the Warre, whereof they haue rayed a great commoditie. And as for the Arch- F
 ,, ducheffe, shee hath imployed all meanes by her Councells, and with the intention
 ,, of the King her brother, to haue her Subiects liue in Peace, and submit themselves
 ,, vnto their duties.

Seeing then these people cannot be reclaymed by mildnesse, nor any benefits, shee
 as

A as a Soueraigne Princeesse, by the aduice of her Councells, & namely of Cardinall *An-*
drew, forbids all her subiects to haue any more trafficke or commerce with the said
Hollanders and *Felanders*, and that nothing bee vented vnto them by her subiects, nei-
 ther by Land nor Sea: directly reuoking all letters and papiers concerning the Na-
 uigation and fishing, and also all other parrtents for negotiation, vntill within
 one moneth they resoluue to harken vnto a Peace. Which doing shee promisseth
 them all Clemency and Fauour, although they haue so often refused it vnto this
 daie.

This Edi&ct of the *Infantaes* was scarce proclaymed, when as the Estates made an o-
 the contrary vnto it after this manner. That it is easie to see what the *Spaniards* pre-
 B tended, as well by this Edi&ct, as by the other stratagems of their Councells, which
 tends to no other ende, but to ouerthrowe all the liberty, not onely of *Flanders*, but of
 all other Nations, & will challenge vnto themselves a right and power, not onely ouer
 Bodies and Goods, but also vpon Soules and Consciences, wherevnto tended those
 great late enterprises, not onely by secret conspiracies and suborning of the subiects
 of *France* and *England* against their Princes, but also the *Spaniards* haue sought by
 maine armes, both by Land and Sea to inuade the sayd Realmes, whereof being frus-
 trate, they haue attempted against the Princes of *Germanie* & the Electors of the holie
 Empire, to vexe them, taking their Townes and Castells, and spoyling their Coun-
 tries, making all desolate, by Rapin, Rauishing and Murthers, without any respect of
 C sexe or quality of persons, hauing massacred Princes and Earles. And they threa-
 ten neuer to lay aside armes vntill they haue reduced all them to the ancient Cere-
 monies that were fallen from the *Romish* Church. So as they change Religion free-
 ly, and the administration of the Common-weale by force and violence in Emperiall
 Townes and Citties. Yea and they shewe by their proceeding, and publish it euery
 where, that they wish the Princes Electors and other Estates of the Empire would de-
 fend themselves by Warre, taking armes: so should they more comodiously effect
 what they pretended.

That in the same shop this present Councell hath bene forged, by the which the
 King of *Spain* hath forbidden all vse of trafficke, and hath vsed the Marchants and Mar-
 D riners most cruelly, whome they haue taken, seized vpon the Shippes, stolne the
 Goods and Marchandise that was in them, and violated his promises in diuers sortes.
 whereof the *Infanta* following his example, hath commanded the like should bee
 done in *Flanders*. It is for that they are greeued that wee haue expelled the tiranic
 which did hang ouer our heads, by meanes of vnion that is amongst vs, and by
 our Courage, Goods, Meanes and Forces, haue withstood their attemptes, and made
 frustrate their fraudes, relying chiefly vpon the fauour of God, and then being aided
 by the Queene of *England* and other Kings and Princes. The which we haue resol-
 ued to do, and to endeavor with all our powers, not onely to defend our limits from
 iniury, but also to reuenge the wrongs which haue bene done vs: not doubting but
 E God will assist our endeavors with his fauour, being so necessary: and inspire the
 hearts of Kings and Princes with this good intention, to provide for their affaires, and
 maintaine their Dignities against the wicked practises of them that seeke to supplant
 them.

In so doing, they hope vndoubtedly, that within short time the *Spanish* forces being
 expelled out of the limits of the Empire, and aboue all out of *Flanders*, a generall
 peace shalbe confirmed as it is most desired, with as great assurance as euer was. And
 for as much as to perfect this enterprize they thinke it verie necessary, that none
 should aide the *Spaniards*, nor their Adherents with Munition, Marchandise or Money:
 F they do strictly forbidde any of their Cittizens to carry any kinde of Marchandise
 whatsoeuer into any of the Prouinces which obeye the *Spaniards* or their com-
 plices. Also they forbidde all Fishermen and others that exercise all kinde
 of Marchandise by Sea, to take any passport or safecondu&ct from the *Spaniards*, where-
 with they haue bene often heretofore intangled, and receiued losses. Also
 they

The an-
 swer of the
 vnted Pro-
 uinces to
 the *Infan-*
taes Procla-
 mation.

1599. they abandon to the spoile all men, & the goods & meanes of all such as liue vnder the rule and gouernment of the *Spaniards*, wherefoeuer they shalbe found, and they com-
mande, that not only all the *Marchandise*, *Ships*, *Wagons* and *Horses* of all such as shal
bring any thing out of the *Spaniards* Countries, or shall carry vnto them shalbe confis-
cate. But also they will that all *Owners*, *Maisters* of *Ships* & *Wagoners* shalbe punished
by fine: and if after a yere they bee taken in any such offence, then to be corporally
punished. But to the ende the nauigation may be assured for the *Hollanders*, and es-
pecially that they may be freed from excessive ranfomes which the enemy doth usually
exact, they decree, that the *Maisters* of *Shippes*, and *Marriners* that shalbe taken by the
enemies and ranfomed by them, whatsoever they haue bene taxed by them, they
shalbe rembourfed and satisfied out of the goods of them of *Brabant*, *Flanders* and o-
thers that liue vnder the gouernment of *Spaine*, besides the ordinarie tributes and
contributions, which the saied *Brabanders* and *Flemings* are accustomed to pay vnto
them.

The Arch-
duke comes
to Genoa
with the
Queene of
Spaine.

She arrives at
Biarritz.

The magni-
ficence at Val-
entia at the
King of
Spaine's mar-
riage.

Whilest these Proclamations are published in the Lowe Countries, (the which
shall bring nothing but a reuiuing of most cruell Warres betwixt the *Flemings* and the
Hollanders) *Albert* the Arch-duke, and the Queene of *Spaine*, part from *Milan*, the 5. of
February, to go to *Genoa*, where they imbarcked the 18. of the layd moneth. They passed
by *Savona* and *Nice*, and anchored at *Marselles*, where as they were royally enter-
tained by the Duke of *Guise* the Kings Lieutenant in *Provence*, and by his commande-
ments. Yet the Queene went not into the City. From thence they parted the 22. of
February, and laying along the coast of *Spaine*, in the end they came to the Port of *Bi-
rarras*, in the Kingdome of *Valentia*, where as the Queene went to Land. From thence
the Sonne of the Prince of *Orange* was sent to the Catholike King, to giue him intelli-
gence of the Queenes happy voiage, and of her arrivall.

The last of March they came to *Saint Mathiew*, whereas the Marquis of *Denia*
came in the Kings name to salute the Queene, & to acquaint her with his Maiesties
private intentions. From thence they went and staid at *Moluedro*, a village of the re-
mainder of *Sagonte*, an ancient Towne of the *Romains* Alliance. Here *Albert* the Arch-
duke tooke post to go to kisse the Kings hands, and of the *Infanta* his spouse. From thence
he went to *Madrid*, to see the Empreffe his Mother: where he continued foure daies, and
so returned to *Valentia*. The King in the meane time, inflamed with an amorous
desire to see his newe Spouse, disguised himselfe, and tooke vpon him the habit of a
Nobleman, saying to be sent from the King to kisse the Queenes hands. But hee was
knowne by the Princesses and Ladies that were then in the Queenes company: where
he was receiued with incredible ioye and content of all men. In the meane time there
were exceeding great preparations made in *Valentia* for the celebration of the marri-
age. The which being finished the 17. of April, the Queene made her royall entry,
with so great and goodly an Assembly of Princes and Noblemen, that were come
from all parts, and so gallantly followed, as it seemed an Armie, by the brauery of so
Royall a traine. There were fise companies of men at armes marched before the
troupe: then followed 30. *Atabales* or Drummes on Horse-backe, with *Trompetts*
Clairons, and *Hauboes*, which filled the aire with their found. Then came the *Cou-
tiers* without any prerogative of order or ranke. But especially there were 400. young
Nobleme, like vnto Pages of honor Royally attired, euery one followed with his Pages
and footemen, some fixe, some eight, others ten, some 20. 24. 26. and more, verie
richly appareled in luyeries of all colours. There were moreover 700. Knights of hon-
our in the Queenes Liury) white and redde, the ground satin. After them came
foure Knights carrying the Royall Maces then the Stewards of the Queenes house, and
sixteene of the *Grandes* of *Spaine*. Then came the Heralds in their coates of armes:
After them marched the great *Maiordomo* or Lord Steward, and the Maister of the
Horse: After all followed the Queene on Horse-backe, vnder a Canopie of Cloth of
Gold, carried by 20. of the chiefe Noblemen of *Valentia*: the reines of her Bridle
being of Silver and Gold, were held on either side by Noblemen of the Kingdome of
Valentia.

Valentia. The Queenes Gowne was of Cloth of Gold, the gowne Silver, most rich-
ly imbrodered with Pearle and other precious stonnes. The Queenes Mother and the
Arch-duke *Albert* followed with the Queenes Cabinet, with a great number of Prin-
ces and Noblemen: and last of all came the Princesses and Ladies in Carosses and
Coaches. It is thought, that at this nuptiall pompe there was spent three Millions of
Gold. The Queene having past the port, which was beautified with a triumphant
Arch, she was led vnto the Church, which did glister, being hanged with cloth of Sil-
uer. The great Alter was Royally furnished: before the which was an Oratory couered
with Cloth of Gold, which might hold three persons: and another by it for fise. The
Queene went thither, after shee had kist the Crosse, which was presented vnto her
by the Patriarke Arch-bishop of *Valentia*.

The Catholike King being come downe with the *Infanta* his Sister, by a priuie way
made of purpose, the Popes *Nuncio* (after the follenne Ceremonies were ended) did
first kisse the King, and then the Arch-duke, if they did ratifie the marriages formerly
contracted by their Ambassadors, and celebrated by the Holy father. When as ey-
ther of them had declared that they ratified it, then altogether approached to the Al-
tar, and vpon their knees assisted at the last blessing of their marriage. From thence
they went to the Pallace, whereas the nuptiall feast was kept with the greatest state
that might be. Two daies after the King made three Knights of the Golden Fleece, *Albert*
the Arch-duke, the Admirall of *Castille*, and the Prince *Doria*. There were all kinds of
sights and sports for the space of eight daies, in a Theater that was built of purpose, a-
ble to containe thre score thousand persons.

Knights of
the Golden
Fleece.

This yere Death strooke a great stroke among men and women, who shewed
their generous resolutions against the feare and terrors thereof. *Peter de Pinac* the
last of that name, *Primat* of *France*, Arch-bishop and Earle of *Lion*, died in the beginning
of Ianuary: whose life was so famous, as it deserves to be breely set downe in this His-
tory. The reputation which hee had gotten at the Estates at *Blois*, made King *Henry*
the 3. a great Prince, as well in iudging, as in recompensing of good wits, to call him to
his Councell after the death of *Monluc* Bishop of *Valentia*: whereas hee shewed him-
selfe to be of that iudgement, as he was in short time employed in the greatest affaires in
Councell. At that time the Court was in a manner all *Gascon*: there was no entrie
into the Kings fauours nor liberality, but at the Duke of *Espernons* pleasure, who was
the Ephesion of our *Alexander*. *Peter de Pinacs* heart could not subiect it selfe to that of
John Lewis of *Nogaret*. He was too much his owne to be any other mans, and thought
that if he must needs serue, it was inough to serue the Master, and not subiect himselfe
to the will of the Seruant.

The death of
M. de Pinac
Archbishop
of Lion.

Hee did not affect the tedious seruitude of the Court, nor did not much care for
that forced kinde of life. Writing vnto his friends, long before the trouble of these
League, he sayd, that amidst the greatnesse and Honour of charges wherein the King
did employe him, he did not leaue to desire the content of a happy retreat. But things
fell out otherwise then he expected. The League burst forth in *Champagne*. The King
sent him to pacifie the Duke of *Guise*. In this negotiation hee had a quarrell with *Es-
pernon* vpon certaine words which blemished both their Honours. Hee had written a
Poeme against the Mignons, wherewith the King was offended, commanding him to
leaue the Court: so as hee retired himselfe to his owne house, after the treaty of Peace
made at *Nemours*. But as the Kings blowes were but threats, so knowing well that
this Prelate was not to liue idly in a corner of the Realme & that this great dessein
of the League (like vnto a Ball of Snowe) did increase in manie Townes whereas
the Kings obedience was growne cold, and that the Princes enemies to this Crowne
prepared to gather the Flower de Luce, hee neuer ceased vntill hee had called him a-
gaine to Court.

Commanded
to leaue the
Court.

Called backe
againe.

This returne was the beginning of his misery. Many others before him hauing
fallen into disgrace with the Prince, haue not bene raised againe but for a greater fall.
It is seene in the Courts of all Princes, such Tragedies are vsuall.

Hee

1599 Hee was presently called to the Helme of affaires, and was followed and respected more then any other Nobleman in Court. But as wee may not iudge of the day by the morning, nor of the felicity of man by the good daies of his life, this happinesse was but the entry to misfortune which did attend him. Hee embarked himselfe in the same shippe with the Duke of Guise, the which being broken at the Estates of Blois, he had no other meanes to saue himselfe, but through the fauour of the Baron of La Roche Nephewe. He was giuen in ranfome to Gast, who kept him seauen or eight monethes in the Castell of Amboise, and then set him at liberty for thirty thousand Crownes. He went to the Duke of Maine, & seeing that the affaires of his party tended too much to confusion and to a popular government, hee perswaded him alwaies to retaine the forme of a Monarchie, to the end hee might oppose a kinde of Royaltie against the King, and not be blamed to haue broken the bonds of the Estate. So through this aduice, they made Officers of the Crowne, and gaue him the seals. Hee neuer ingaged him selfe vpon the promises of Spaine, but sayd alwaies, that hee was a true hearted Frenchman.

He was made keeper of the seals vnder the Cardinal of Bourbons whom they called Charles the 10.

Becomes at Lion vntill the Duke of Nemours.

He grows discontented to be no more employed.

The faction of Spaine knowing him to bee such, hindred Pope Sixtus the 5. from giuing him a Cardinalls hat, and they dissuaded Clement the 8. who had sayd that at the first promotion hee would remember his merits. He requited them well: when as the Spaniards came to Paris to propound the Coronation and Marriage of the Infanta Isabella of Spaine letting them know that the Flower de Luce could not pinne. He returned to Lion, leaving the Duke of Maienne, intending to settle his affaires, and to accommodate himselfe with the Peace and generall good of the Realme. At his returne grewe that tumult against the Duke of Nemours, the which he vsed ill, for his Wisedome did not second the occasion. Great vnderstanding failes sometimes in the perfection of Iudgement and Discourse. He saw himselfe forced to depart the City, and neuer to returne againe vntill the King made his first entry.

The King (who had shewed effects of his Bounty, and Clemency to his greatest enemies) could not loue him, hauing this impression in his soule, that he was the onely Instrument to crosse his fortunes. Speaking one day of the Peace of Nemours, in the year 1586. he sayd vnto him, that in that negotiation he had giuen good testimony that hee loued him not, and that hee had done him bad seruice. My Lege, answered he, I could not do better for the seruice of the King my Master. I had done otherwise, if I had bene your seruant, as I am now. When as the Duke of Espernon returning out of Provence, went to visit him at his Pallace, amongst other speeches of the remembrance of things past, he sayd vnto him, that hee did not thinke there was any one in France whose fortunes had bene so crosse as theirs: the Archebishop answered him, as for mine it was neuer crosse but by you.

After the reduction of the City of Lion to the Kings obedience, this great spirit, borne to action, grewe discontented to see himselfe no more in the honor and reuerence that he had bene. He then resolued to apply his minde onely to the affaires of his charge, to choose the time most conuenient for the tranquillity of the Hauens wherevnto he approached. When as the Duke of Nemours had made his escape out of Pierrefize, he said, that hee would not vie his liberty well: he writes vnto his friend in this manner.

Remember that I haue alwaies said vnto you, that Monsieur de Nemours will finde himselfe much intangled with the Spaniards, who haue led Monsieur de Maine into an inextricable Laborinth, & will bring Monsieur de Nemours vnto a miserable Estate: and I dare in a manner Prophecie, that in the end the Duke of Sauoy will finde himselfe deccied as well as the rest. The Spaniards Shirt is neerer vnto him then his Doublet, and he will rather seeke to preferue his owne, then to vsurpe another mans Estate for another.

The King sent for him to the Estates at Roan: but the necessity of his affaires would not suffer him to go. He sayd that he was not fit for this age, and that he was like vnto the Adamant, which serues not for all seas. In the end of his last year, he complained vnto

1599 vnto his friends of the shortnesse of his life, saying that hee was not to liue about ten or twelue yeares, when as hee liued not twelue dayes. His Physitions disagreed vpon the cause of his greefe: hee had bene long troubled with the Emoroyds, the which had so emptied his Bodie, as there was no bloud found in him when he was opened. His lights were much altered. And for that his Physition sayd vnto him, that his greefe was the Goute, hee replied. Is it possible that any one should die of the Goute without a feuer? I see well what it is: seeing men vnderstand nothing, wee must haue recourse vnto God. The third day of his sicknesse his Body was called to the Earth and his soule to Heauen.

He withstood the terrors of death with as great a courage as when it was presented vnto him at the Estates of Blois. Foure or fise houres before his decease a Capuchin came to visite him and to comfort him, exhorting him to free this last passage courageously, and to let him know that the issue of this life is equall, Death disrobing man of his titles and dignities, as Stage-players do their attire: hee called him simply by his name: when as he vnderstood this new manner of complement, & that they called him Peter de Pinac without any other ceremonie, hee lifted vp his head and eyes, to say vnto him that spake vnto him, what art thou? They found that this speech did somewhat amaze him, and that hee did take it as a watch-woorde of his departure, which was about midnight.

A Equat omnes in Paris m. Cambr. p. res m. Cambr. S. Epi. 92

The Duke of Biron did see him in his sicknesse and assisted at his funerall. No man lyuing did better iudge of the nature of men by the consideration of their visages: hee did diuine the Marshall Biron's fortune by his countenance, and the proportion of his visage, for hauing considered it some-what curiously, hee sayd vnto his Sister after his departure. Hee hath the worst Physiognomie that euer I obserued in my life, as of a man that would perish miserably. The Arch-bishoppe of Lion had profited so little by the troubles, as had hee liued longer, necessity had forced him to feele great dicommodities: his Sisters Estate was ingaged, the fruites of his benefices were seized on, and yet his table was as sumptuous, as in the best daies of his prosperitie. The League had cost him fifty thousand Crownes: the Doublons of Spaine had left him nothing but Doubles.

A Double is the first part of a Penie.

Those which haue red the publike actions of this Prelate may iudge of his Doctrine, but no man can represent the grace and force of his action but those which haue seene them. He had in him a concurrence of all things necessary for an eloquent discours. A graue pleasing countenance, a goodly personage, a facility of words, and an action that did charme his Auditors. The Duke Joyenze, Marshall of France, being at Paris in March, hauing heard Father Laurence sermons in Saint Germain L'Auxerrois, being moued in conscience, after that he had taken his leaue of the Ladies and some of his friends, he returned againe to the Capuchins: where being receiued by the Fathers, hee did a hard penance, and submitted himselfe to all the duties of a religious man. All men were amazed to see him returne the second time to his Couent, being plunged (in shewe) vnto cares in the delights of the world: but his Conscience tied him to returne by the bond of his vowe, perswading him that it were better not to vowe, then not to keepe a vowe made freely, and without constraint or impression in his maiorty.

The Duke Joyenze returns to the Capuchins.

The first motine of being a Capuchin came into his heart by inspiration, when as the deceased King Henry the 3. went on foote in procession to Chartres to haue issue, if it pleased God. He was then called Earle of Bouchages: hee made choise of this order among all others, the better to do his penance. And the rather, for that he vnderstood, that he was dedicated by his deceased Father, to be of the Church. When hee was first a Nouice, hee applied his studie with so great a courage, as he was blamed for his great diligence, wearing the haire continually. Hee had his shoulders all torne with woundes.

Motue while he became a Capuchin.

In this Estate hee continued vntill the hottest of the late miserable Varres: when as after the death of his Father, his yonger Brother, who was a Knight of Malta and

C c c c c

Grand

1599. *Grand Prior of Languedoc* was called Duke of *Loyenze*, (for the Duke of *Loyenze*, brother in Law to King *Henry* the 3. deceased, his eldest brother, who was slain at the battle of *Conttras* with *S. Sannet* his youngest brother, died without Child en) the said Duke of *Loyenze* being acknowledged by them of *Tholouze*, *Narbonne* and others of the League, for their head, he made an enterprise vpon the Towne of *Villemer* in *Lauragais*, where hauing planted the peege, for that it was held by the Royallists, such as hee thought to haue forced the Towne, the Lords of *Themines*, *Chambaut* and *Misillac* came to releue it, who charged him with such aduantage, as they put all his Army to route, so as the said Duke retyring to the passage of a river, he was drowned with many others. By this meane the house of *Loyenze* was reduced to the Cardinall of *Loyenze* his brother and to the Earle of *Bouchage* a Capuchin (whom then they called *Father Angelo*) The *Tholousains* and Nobility of their party being much amazed, had recourse vnto the Cardinall, whome they intreated often to take the charge of leading them: the which hee would neuer accept. And in the end, at their instant sute, that in rayfing his house, hee would succor them by the meanes of the Earle of *Bouchages* his brother, who was then more then capable of such a charge: but he was a Capuchin.

This difficulty was propounded to the Councill of the diuines, who concluded that by reason of the vrgent necessity they should withdrawe him from thence: the which was propounded vnto himselfe, and he refused it. But after they called before him the example of his owne Father, who being *Grand Prior of Languedoc* was yet dispensed withall to marry to raise his house, the which remained onely in him, and whereof God had approued his blessing by the effect, so many braue Noblemen being borne of that marriage, he consented to returne vnto the world, vpon two conditions. The one was, that it should be with the consent and leaue of the Generall of the Order. The other by the dispensation of the Holy Sea, and that he might returne againe when God should send rest to the Church and State. This obtained from the Pope & his Generall, father *Angelo* is againe of the world, & doth al acts of a Worldling; of a Captaine and of a Soldiar, applying himselfe to the humors of the time. After that hee had pacified many popular seditions in *Tholouse*, and became a meane to reduce it to the Kings obedience, being at *Paris*, hauing with the Kings good liking and pleasure married his only Daughter to the Duke *Montpensier* a Prince of the blood, he bethought himselfe of his bonde contained in his dispence, and went and yeelded his obedience vnto the Holy Sea & to his Order, whereas he is now one of the chiefe Conductors, hauing referred all his domesticall affaires to the Cardinall his brother, and to the Duke his Sonne in Lawe.

His Mothers teares preuailed much for his retaine. She was more afflicted for this change, then for the death of all her other Children, and neuer ceased vntill shee had drawne *Frier Angelo* (for so shee still called him) out of the deserts of *Egypt*, to *Mount Caluaire*, and that she had seene him in the habit which he had left. These be mighty effects of grace, which reformes that which is deformed, and conformes that which is reformed, confirms that which is conformed, transformes that which is confirmed, and makes the Soule to lue more in Heauen, whether it aspires, then in the body where it breathes. The King went to visit him, and commended his resolution, saying that he did sometimes thinke to speake vnto him of it, and had done it, but hee doubted that he would mistake his meaning, and thinke he did it to be rid of him. Dying one daie in a place where as there was onely his Maiesty and three other Noblemen, hee said vnto them, that in the world there were men of all conditions and qualities to be found, but they should hardly assemble foure so different, and that in the house, whereof he was one, there was a Sinner conuerted, A Leaguer repented, a Capuchin conuerted, and a Huguenot peruerted.

This amazement in Court for the Duke of *Loyenze*, was increased by the sodaine death of *Schomberg*, who was taken with an Apoplexie returning from *Conflans*, where as *Villemer* had feasted the King and all his Councill. It gaue him no respite to speake *French* nor *Dutch*.

This

A This yeare the Pope made nine Cardinals, for the second promotion of his Pontificat, among the which was *Robert Bellarmine* a Iesuite: which cauted many to murmure, being against the Institution of his Order, by the which all Iesuities are excluded from such like dignities, being forbidden, not onely to aspire vnto them, but also to hope for them, hauing taken a particular othe, neuer to seeke nor pretend any Dignitie nor Prelatship, directly or indirectly, neither in their companie, nor without, but by his commandement, who may command without reple, vpon paine of sinning, as it happened vnto Cardinall *Toledo*, and now to *Bellarmin*.

Waite dying, had left no quarrell in *France*, but for the Marquisate of *Salusses*, which the King demanded as depending vpon *Dauphiné*, and the Duke of *Sauoy* sought to vnto it vnto his house, from the which hee pretends the *Dauphins* had wrested it. The difference of this restitution must be determined by the Pope, who was named Arbitrator, by the treatie of *Vernins*. It is the most important sute that hath beene long time in *Rome*. The parties send their Ambassadors to *Rome*, to sue vnto the Arbitrator for iudgement. President *Brulart* goes for the King, and the Count *d'Arconas* for the Duke of *Sauoy*, and they come to *Rome* in the beginning of the yeare. In the meane time the Duke beseecheth his Maiestie, that hee will giue him leaue to visit him. The King answered the Duke, that he would gladly see him: but resolving to accompany his Sister when shee should go into *Lorraine*, hee should not make any long abode in any one place, during the rest of the Winter, and therefore hee desired him that hee would deferre his voyage vnto the Spring, thinking that he should not bee troubled to seeke him any farther, then in the Cittie of *Lions*, where he meant to bee about the same time. They pursue the Arbitrement at *Rome*: the Arbitrator (the best of good Popes) shewes as great Integrity, as the parties did Passion.

He was free from all affection that was contrary to Iustice, and would do nothing contrarie to his conscience. He was carefully instructed by either partie, concerning this controuersie. You may read the whole processe at large in the Originall. The Duke of *Sauoy* (hauing kept the Marquisate of *Salusses* some yeares, whilst that *France* had turned her owne armes against her selfe,) considered, that so soone as the King should ouercome his other affaires, the recouerie thereof would not be the last of his enterprises, for the restauration of that to his Crowne. Hee was therefore one of the first that sought to reconcile himselfe vnto the King: and the first propositions weremade by *Sebastian Zamet*. The King could hardly beleue that the Duke of *Sauoy* would separate himselfe from the desseignes and counsels of the King of *Spaine*, (who had alwayes a body of an armie in *France*) being so strictly tyed vnto him. Hee therefore sends to *Syllery* his Ambassador in *Switzerland*, to enter into conference vpon this matter with the Dukes Ambassadour there, and to sound his intention. The Duke had sent the Marquis of *Aix* into *Spaine*, to know how hee should treat with the King. At the same time they surprized a Pacquet comming from *Spaine*, the which being deciphered, they found the Duke desired to treat in good earnest: for his Ambassador writing from *Madrid*, sent him word, that touching the forme of the accord, for the which he desired to haue counsell, the King of *Spaines* Ministers would neuer tell it, but with many conditions, and secretly, although it were a thing which they desired, that they might retire their forces, and imploy them in *Flanders*, whereas all things went to wrack. That if his Highnesse, whom it did import, could finde the meanes to effect it, he was assured in the end they would finde it good, as they had done many other desseignes, reiected by them in the beginning, and afterwards allowed, according to the successe. Many conferences were made concerning this cause, before the Peace of *Vernins*, but nothing could bee concluded. His Holinesse being made Iudge and Arbitrator of all controuersies, betwixt his Maiestie and the Duke, the parties produce all their pretensions. The Ambassadour of *France* demanded restitution of the Possession, saying: That it ought to bee iudged before the Proprietie, and that the Possession of about a hundred yeares, should serue for a good title to *France*.

Cccc 2

if

The second
of *Loyenze*
drowned at
Villemer

He leues the
League, but by the
opes dispensation
and leaue of
his Generall.
He mediates
the reduction
of *Tholouse*
to the Kings
obedience.

His Mother
desires his re-
turne to the
Capuchins.

The com-
mend his re-
solution.

This is to
say, the King,
the Duke of
Spaine, the
Duke
Montpensier, and
Frier Angelo,
S. 17. of March
1599.

Iesuits inca-
pable of spiri-
tuall digni-
ties.

The Marquisate
of *Salusses* in
question.

The Duke of
Sauoy seeks
to be reconcil-
ed vnto the
King.

Multa sunt
prohibentur,
que tamen
facta tenentur.

1599. if they had nothing else. The Dukes Ambassadour answered, That power may give possession without right, and that his Master had preserved his interest with the possession. After many difficulties and much dispute, the *French* men that were resident within *Rome*, gaue it out, that they had pleaded too much. that there was no reason the Pope should overthrow the right of a great King, to please a petty Prince: that they must end this quarrell with the Canon in the plaines of *Piedmont*. As these men braued it in words, the others published their reasons in writing, shewing that the rule of the Law, which will haue the dispossessed restored to his possession, is not practised among Princes, nor for Principalities. The *French* insist vpon the contrary, and vee an end of this businesse with great vehemencie, desiring rather to bee presently dispatched, then to languish in the tediousnesse of the remedie. The *Spaniards* delayed the decision of this processe all they could, holding the dispute more auailable to them then the Resolution, and the Disease more profitable then the cure.

Praverie of
the *French*.

The time appointed for the Arbitrement was almost spent in tedious difficulties, as vnpleasing vnto the Pope as to the *French*. And although hee had no lesse zeale to maintaine Concord, then he had shewed affection and care to suppress Discord, yet would hee gladly haue beene freed of this Iudgement, for the bad effects which hee did apprehend, and whereof the coniectures were easie by the consideration of things past. Hee desired not that the Iudgement which he should pronounce, should giue any cause to the one or the other, to complaine of his Iustice, being troubled what he should pronounce, for that it was a thing without example, and was dangerous to determine of that which had beene decided.

A Troop of
officers
in
tion,

In these two extremes, either to iudge the possession of the Marquifate to the King, or to ioyne to the Petitorie to content the Duke: hee findes a meanes to haue the Marquifate sequestred into his hands as a Newter, to remaine in deposito, vntill it should be adiudged vnto the one or the other. To this end *P. Bonauenture Calatagiron*, Generall of the Friars, and newly made Patriarch of *Constantinople*, was sent into *France* with *Roxas* the Dukes Secretarie: vnto whom the King not onely granted (against the aduise of his Councell,) that the Marquifate should remaine in Deposito in the Popes power, as one who had no pretension nor title vnto it: but also a prolongation of the Arbitrement for two moneths. The Duke was well pleased, that this sequestration should maintaine the hope of his possession. The *French* desired rather a definitive sentence, then a sequestration, for although they had no cause to doubt of the Depositors fidelitie: yet through too much trust, men doe often fall into great inconueniences. The Kings Ambassadour freed them of those apprehensions, and managed this Sequestration so politike, as they found it in better estate, then the Kings Councell did expect. Hee caried himselfe herein like a man of great Iudgement, neither could hee serue his Maister meanly, in a subiect of so great import. The Duke grew in some Icalousie of *Arconas*, for that he was a *Milanais*, becoming that hee did rather follow the *Spaniards* intentions, then his: wherevpon hee called him back to *Turin*, vnder colour to send him into *Spain*. Hee that succeeded *Arconas* in that charge, married all, receiving the Instructions that were giuen him too lightly, and deliuering them too indifferently, for visiting the Cardinals, which he thought did fauour the intentions of the King of *Spain*, and the Duke his Maister, hee drew nothing from them, but that the issue of this businesse would not bee as hee expected. The rest of the Cardinals which had other desseignes, blamed the Dukes Councell, who had ingaged him in the expectation of a iudgement both doubtfull and of small honour: that the best hee could hope for, was the hatred of a great Prince, who would alwayes remember this iniurie: and that they had caused him to plead so long for his owne. The *French* vsed other subtilties, to make him counsell the Duke to breake off the Arbitrement. And for that this ingagement in an others hands, was not pleasing vnto them, they held it little for the reputation of *France*, to follow such tedious formes by way of Iustice, seeing there was a more speedie course by the way of Armes.

They

A They gaue it out, that the Depositarie would hold things in that Estate, as when it pleased him he would make it knowne, that the thing engaged belonged vnto him: that he had good correspondencie with the King, and that his intention was to make one of his Nephews Marquis of *Salusses*, and Feudatarie of *France*. This feare, or rather indiscretion of the Ambassadour, imbarqued him so farre in this Icalousie, as he holds the Iudge for suspect, and sends to his Maister, that he should dislike of the Depositarie, as much as the King. And although the Popes intention was not to be corrupted, yet he beleueed it to be true by the Popes coldnesse, and he did not onely beleuee it, but thinking it a basenesse to dissemble it, and treason not to speake it, hee told the Pope, That his Maisters Highnesse did expect an assured Iudgement from his Holynesse, to be maintained in possession of the Marquifate, as a thing which he held of his Predecessors, wherof he had been spoiled by the violence of the stronger, & had recovered it by the good hap of an occasion. The Pope said vnto him, that he desired not to leaue these two Princes long in this dispute, nor to breake the course of happinesse which their subiects promised themselves by the continuance of the Peace. But the Ambassadour, who was transported, added: That if his Holinesse gaue sentence in fauour of his Maister, he should dispose of the thing adiudged, and finde him as full of affection as any other, to second his intentions, when it should please him to haue the Marquifate for one of his Nephews. The Pope who marcht vprightly, being offended at an offer so contrary to the integritie of his intention, sayd vnto the Ambassadour, that he neuer had any such thought, and to free him from all feare, he would desist from the Iudgement, and deale no more neither with the Arbitrement nor Sequestration.

Indiscretion
contounds
and troubles
it telle.

All men thought at *Rome*, that the Arbitrement was broken, and the consent for the Sequestration reuoked: the *French* cared not, and the Duke was content that things should passe by other formes then those of the Consistorie. The Ambassadour of *Spain* at *Rome* would not haue the Duke of *Sauoy* doe his businesse alone, nor the controuersie for the Marquifate of *Salusses*, to remaine at his disposition: the King his Maister was interested therein, it was reasonable he should be the first Mouer of all his motions. He therefore intreated the Pope, not to leaue things imperfect, and not to refuse to end a worke so happily begun for the generall good of all Christendom, greatly interested in the Concord of two Kings, who could not long continue, if all occasions of Warre, that might growe vpon this question for the Marquifate of *Salusses*, were not taken away. The Duke had already found in many occasions, that the Councils of *Spain* were not alwaies put in execution to his content: that he fastned his Hopes to a rotten Cable, trusting to their resolutions: and that their deceits (though couered with goodly shews of Loue and affection) were so much the more odious vnto him, for that he which deceiues vnder the name of friendship, is more to be blamed, then he that is deceived. He therefore propounded to doe his businesse without them, and from many great discontents, hee tooke a resolution to go into *France*: so as from that time hee neuer slept quietly, vntill hee were assured of the Kings word.

The Arbitrement & deposit broken.

The King of
Spain repaires
all.

The Duke
complains of
the *Spaniards*.

The Duchesse of *Beaufort* had alwaies fauoured his intentions, and desired to assure her selfe of such a Prince, who offered vnto her all his meanes to support her fortune, hauing sent vnto her the goodliest Iewell that was in the Cabinet of Madam *Marquerite* his Mother. She also considering, that whatsoeuer is done by Men, may be vndone by them againe: that Princes fauours are inconstant, and that humane things haue nothing firme nor constant, no more then the Sea; shee willingly gaue care to the promises which hee made her for the good of her hopes. He could not haue found a better Sollicitor: but death tooke her away. Shee parted from *Fonsbleau* in the beginning of the weeke before Easter, to come to *Paris*, and there to passe the Feasts. The Diuiners, whom Idlenesse and Curiosity entertaines commonlie at the Court, sayd, That a Child should hinder her from attaining to that wherevnto shee did aspire. Shee had heard something, and in this apprehension,

Gabrielle d'Ellecy Marquisot Monceaux and Duchesse of Beaufort.

C c c c c 3

shee

1599.

she tooke her leaue of the King: at her departure, as if she had bene assured neuer to see him more, recommending her Children vnto him, the finishing of her House at *Montcaux*, and the Rewarding of her Seruants. This recommendation of her Children did chiefly concerne the Duke of *Vendosme*, whom she loued dearly, and whom she intended to bring vp in the most perfect institution of Vertue.

Death of the
Duchesse of
Bourbon.

Being at *Paris*, shee went on the Wednesday to *S. Anthonies* Church to heare the Musick, where shee was seized with extreame paines, which neuer left her vntill that life had left her. They killed the Infant in her, and tormented her with such cruell conuulsions, as they drew her mouth to the nape of her neck. Shee was first lodged at *Zamers* house, neere *Saint Anthonies* gate: but being fallen into this extremitie, shee was carried to the lodging of *Madame de Sourdis* her Ante, in the Cloister of *Saint B Germain l'Auxerrois*, where on the Saturday shee ended her life. Vpon the first aduertisement of her sicknesse, the King went from *Fountainbleau* to see her. The Marshall *d'Ornano* met him, and beseeched him to returne, for that sight could not prolong the life of the sicke, and would but increase his grieue. Presently after arriued *Belieue*, who brought the newes of her death, into whose Carosse the King went, to euaporate more at ease his sighes, the which hope of recouerie had somewhat restrained. Words are not able to charme such sensible blowes: and it is an error to thinke, that griefe is driuen away by exorcismes, that it regardes words, or is stayed by discourse. Yet this first violence of the Kings affliction, was calmed by the wise and graue admonitions of this *Nesler*, who said, that *France* had acknowledged him for her *Hercules*, and as hee had bene like vnto him in many labours equally glorious and admirable, so now hee should bee vnlike him, in that he did abandon the *Argonautes*, for the griefe he had for the death of *Hylas*, whom he loued.

This death did much trouble the Count, for the sorrow and lamentation which the King made for her. Her beautie and good behauiour had moued the King to loue her, for the long absence of *Queene Marguerite*, (whose place she was in hope to possesse absolutely) She left him three Children: *Cesar Monsieur* Duke of *Vendosme*: *Alexander Monsieur*, who was named Earle of *Armagnac*, & at this time is appointed Grand Prior of *France*: and one Daughter. She was more lamented of private persons, then of the publike, who found her hopes more insupportable then her carriage. She offended few, and bound many vnto her. A great Personage sayd: That she was of such an humour, that seeing the King must needs loue, he could not loue an obiekt, whose loue would be lesse preiudiciall to himselfe, nor to his people, so as shee continued in the first condition of her birth.

The little Fort
of Chamouisset
was taken by
Les Mignons
in July 1597.

The Duke of *Sauoy* was much grieued for her death. But as Domesticall afflictions, which chance to Princes, although they bee separated from the publike, are not lesse feeling and violent; his griefe to see his affaires so crost on all sides, was augmented by the Death of *D. Phillipin* his Bastard Brother, whom *Creguy* slue in combat. It is a great paine to purchase Honour, a greater to preserve it, but greatest of all: to recouer it when it is lost. Speaking of Honour, I meane the reputation of goodly and vertuous actions, whereof Honour is the recompence, and the sweetest nourishment. Of those things which do blemish the lustre of Honour, the first and most base is, to speake or do any thing for feare of death. The second is, to endure and suffer a word of Contempt, Iniurie, or Affront. The third is a Lye. This rigorous obseruation of the point of Honour, doth now countenance a Combate, as memorable for the condition of the persons, the forme and circumstance of the combat, and the cause of the quarrell, as any other of this age. Quarrels haue not alwayes reasonable grounds: this had nothing but despight, which *D. Phillipin* had conceived, being told him that *Creguy* had wanted he had gotten his Scarfe, at the taking of the little Fort, built by the Duke of *Sauoy*, neere vnto *Chamouisset*, to fauour the passage of his armie. *D. Phillipin* some moneths after, thinking that this was spoken to the preiudice of his Honor, sent him a challenge. *Creguy* comes to the place appointed by the appeale: but the appellat was kept back by the Dukes commandement.

The

A The Earle of *Brandix*, who seemed also to haue desired to fight, sent word to *D. Margueres* General of the army, that if he had any mind to see the Combat betwixt *D. Phillipin* and *Creguy* his sonne in Law, hee should not returne without his part of the sport, but hee should find one to exchange a thrust with him. Hereupon *Creguy* was taken prisoner going to succour *Charbonniers*. During his imprisonment, the quarrell grew to that point, as if hee had bene at libertie it had bene then ended at *Turin*. After that the treatie of peace had sent him home into *Daulphiné*, *D. Phillipin* sent to challenge him at *Grenoble*, and they met neere vnto the fort of *Barrault*, where the appellant was thrust through the thigh. This combat, which had bene sufficient to haue ended this quarrell, was the cause of another, for it was told the Duke, that *Creguy* had wanted that hee had of the blood of *Sauoy*. Wherewith hee was offended, and gaue *D. Phillipin* to vnderstand, that he would esteeme him no more, as he had done, nor euer see him more, if he were not reuenged of those words. Whereupon another challenge was sent, the which was accepted as cheerefully as the first.

The prohibition which the King had made of single combats, vppon paines not onely preiudiciall to their Estates, but shamefull to their reputations, would not suffer them to fight in *Daulphiné*, that the example of the Gouvernours Soame in Law should not draw others to the contempt of the Law. It was therefore resolued, that they should fight in the Duke of *Sauoyes* Countrie, vnder *Saint Andrew*, a place belonging vnto the Countesse of *Antremont*, vpon the banke of the riuer of *Rhosne*, on foot, and in their shirts, which is the most couragious kind of Combat. That they should fight with rapier and dagger: That the Baron of *Attignac* should second *D. Phillipin*, and *la Buisse* should second *Creguy*. That none but they should come into the field, and they should not part the Combaters vntill that one of their deaths had ended the Combate. That there should be twelue Gentlemen on *Daulphiné* side, and as many on that of *Sauoy*, who should be ready to receiue the body of the vanquished, or to resist any violence that should be offered vnto the victor. That the twelue of *Sauoy*, should bee so farre from the place of Combat, as they of *Daulphiné* might passe the water, and come at the same instant to the place of fight. It was long disputed whether the Seconds should fight: for *la Buisse* sayd, that he would not be one, vnles he might giue or take, and that he which goes in such occasions to be a simple Spectator, wants affectio or courage. But the Combaters thought it good that the Seconds should not medle with the decision of their fortunes.

The day appointed being come, all came vnto the place. *De Merges* passed the *Rhosne*, and scoured vp and downe the fields, to see if there were no ambush nor greater assemblie then was set downe in the Accord. The Seconds visited the armies of the two Champiōs, & searched them, if they had any Charmes or Inchantments about them. *La Buisse* did importune *D. Phillipin* much to part, saying that he had a desire either to driue it off til night, or to deferre the tryal vntil the next day. He tolde *D. Phillipin* by the way, al the braueries he could of *Creguyes* valour, to the end he might appalle him: and seeing *Creguy* a farre off in the meadow, he cryed vnto him, *he is ours*: but *Phillippin* carrying an Eye without trouble, and a Heart without feare, sayd vnto him: *why haue you so bad an opinion of mee*: Not so, replied *La Buisse*, I know you are braue and Generous, but you haue to do with one of the most furious men at armes in *France*, and that makes me to foretell your losse.

La Buisse forgot nothing in this action, that might shew the office of a friend. And it is well knowne, that if *Creguy* had not returned, *La Buisse* would haue stayed to haue slaine *D. Phillipin* and *D. Attignac*, or to haue bene slaine by them. *Du Belier* his Brother, knowing his humor, and that he had too much Courage and Honour, to returne without his Friend, was vpon the banke of *Rhosne*, attending the issue of the Combat, meaning to passe through the riuer on horseback, and to haue had his part of the Glory or Perill of this action. When as *D. Phillipin* entred the field, he had his iudgement so cleere, as obseruing his enemies gard, and the aduantage which he had, turning his backe to the Sunne, he sayd, *Monsieur de la Buisse, diuide the Sun*: and seeking himselfe

C c c c 4

1599.
This chal-
lenge of the
Earle of Bran-
dis was held
very rash.

One writes
that he was
thrust through
the bodie and
that he beg-
ged his life of
Creguy.

The second
Combat.

The condition
of the
Combat.

The difficult-
ties which *D.*
Phillippin
found in the
Conditions,
stayed them
two or three
hourses.

Resolution of
two brethren.

1599. to make the partition, he thrust at *Creygy* with such violence, as the lookers on doubted of the issue of the combat, seeing him still in his danger. This first fury did but thrust *Creygy* out of the Meadow, and *Philippin* out of Breath. *Creygy* being resolved to thrust, not according unto the judgement of Choller, but of occasion, attended with this fury were past, thrusting him into the body with such force as he overthrew him and nayled him to the ground. He willed him to aske his life of him: but he was not in case to humble himselfe to that demand, neither was it in *Creygy's* power to giue it him: for his wounds were mortall, and all those that were of his side cried to him: *Dispatch him*; neither did *Assignas* request preuaile any thing. *Creygy* repassed the *Rhone* with the twelve gentlemen which came to fetch him, leaving *D. Philippin* vpon the place. The Duke repented him of the commandement which he had giuen, or it may be his Religion (by the aduice of his Confessor) counsell'd him to reuoke a commandement, in the execution whereof there was hazard of two Liues, and the losse of two Soules. He sent a post to forbid them to fight, but he arriued two houres to late. *Creygy* thanked God for his victory, and would not suffer his friends to vse their accustomed congratulations, intreating the to speake no more of it, although the glory were great, to haue vanquished his enemy in a Forraine Country. *D. Philippin* was carried to his Lodging. The Religious of *Pierre-Chastel* refused to bury him according to the Holy Constitutions of the Church gouernmēt, which holds the that die in this sort Desperate and Murtherers of themselves, and makes the paine to continue after Death, that the shame which followes them to the graue, might diuert them from this liberty.

The Estate of the Kings affaires in *Swisse*.

The Princes of the house of *Austria* defeated by the *Swisses*.

As the Kings enemies at *Rome* labored that he could haue no reason of the Marquis of *Salusses*, to there wanted no practises to trouble his affaires in *Swisse* land. It is a long time since the King of *Spaine* discovered his ieaousie for the general alliance of the Crowne of *France* with the thirteene Cantons, hauing long practised to haue his share. Our Kings hauing alwaies hindred it, hee could neuer get any footing there, as King of *Spaine*, but he hath had an hereditary alliance for the reuenues of the house of *Austria*. So in the raigne of King *Charles* the 9. when as the King of *Spaine* demanded to be receiued into alliance, *Belienre* Ambassador of *France* seeing the Catholike Cantons almost perswaded to prefer new Amities before ancient, laied before the great sucors they had receiued of the Crowne of *France* for the setting of their liberty: whereas contrarywise the house of *Austria* had done all they could to suppress them. That they should bee wary, not to truit in the alliance of a House offended, in the which the wound did yet bleede by the death of three Princes defeated by their Armes. That hee was not ignorant, that the King of *Spaine*, as descended from the house of *Austria*, had hereditary desseins vpon them, by reason whereof the greatnesse and prosperitie of his affaires should be suspect vnto them: for as we ought neuer to feare nor suspect the prosperitie of Friends, so must wee alwaies doubt that of Enemies. These admonitions were of such force, as for that time the Ambassadors of *Spaine* returned as they came.

The petty Catholike Cantons allied to *Spaine*.

But since the troubles of the last Ciuill Warre in *France*, the King found himselfe charged with so many affaires within the Realme, as hee could not possibly prouide for all abroad. His owne Subiects did so trouble him as he could not answer the hopes of his Allies. This was a goodly occasion for the King of *Spaine* to worke his will with the *Swisses*, and to winne the game, seeing that no man plaied against him. And as mercenary friendship vanisheth, when as Money failes, the *French* Crownes appeering no more in *Swisse*, the enemy caused his *Ducates* to bee disperfed among the petty Cantons, so as they choaked all the first seedes of the Flower de Luce. Then might you see in *France*, *Swisses* against *Swisses*, and Cantons against Cantons, the one shewing their duties vnto the King as his Allies, the other armed against his seruice, as hirelings to the King of *Spaine*. When as they see that they were not paid their Pensions, and that their Captaines and Colonels receiued nothing of that which was due vnto them, the five petty Cantons tied themselves more straightly to the King of *Spaine*, and Colonell *Pstister*, who had great credit among them, taught them, not to cast their

cies

eyes but vpon the Sunne which riseth at the *Indies*: The greater Cantons continued still firme in the Kings friendship. The wisdom of *Brulart* shewed it selfe in this bad season, as good Pilots are best known in the greatest Tempests: for hee entertained the Kings seruice beyond all hope, in the greatest of his troubles, when as the King had for a Scepter his Lance, for his *Louure* a Tent, & for his credit Hope & the lawful right of a Kingdom. It may iustly be sayd, that he did great seruice to *France* in this charge, & the wisest haue wōdred how he could maintaine the affectiōs of this people, when they were entertained only with the words of his witedō, & how he could so long continue this hope amidst the cōmon despair of the affaires of *France*. But when as the *Swisses* did see that al *France* was reduced vnder the Kings obediēce, their Patience was turned into cōplaints, & they gaue it out, that if they had not effects for words wherewith they had bene fed so long as they saw the King could giue them nothing else, they had courage enough to come & demand it themselves. During the seige of *Amiens*, there was a Captaine of one of the petty Cantons, who seeking to make his profit of the time and of the extremity of the Kings affaires, propounded a bold Councell to get their pay. The Realme was yet so full of treachery, the King so ill serued of part of his Subiects, the forces of *Spaine* so great and so farre entred into *France*, as if they had done what he propounded, or *Cesar* had not sent them backe with so good a composition as in former times, he had done what he could to giue them money. The Count of Parliament had cōfirmed certaine Edicts, the profit whereof was appointed to content them as that of reunion of the Registers to the Reuenues, that of the sealing of Lether, & Companies of Handy-crafts men. Whilest that the Captaines and Colonells labored for the execution, the Ambassador entertained the rest with good words and great hopes, which serues much to temper the impiercy of the most violent, and the languishing wearines of attendants. Hee imparted vnto them the Kings Councells for the reestablishment of his affaires, and the paiement of that which was due vnto them.

Monseigneur *Morsmontaine*.

The King sent them Money. But as there was not so much as they expected, and that the greatest part was appointed for such as had serued in the last occasions: so it did but increase their discontents and complaints of the rest, so as in the beginning of this Year, *Morsmontaine* the Kings Ambassador left his charge to come into *France*. Such as thought to make their profit of this retreat, gaue it out, that it was forced: but it was freely of himselfe, who thought it expedient for the Kings affaires to make offer of this voyage, and to charge himselfe with their demands: but the *Swisses* staied not long to demand his returne, after the which he died and was sollemnely buried at *Soleurre* in a rich Tombe. After the sollemnising of the King of *Spaine's* marriage at *Valencia*, he went with his Queene to *Valladolid*, where he hath settled his Court (imitating the example of *Charles* 5. his Grand-father) & not at *Madrid*, which since the death of *Philip* the second is growne desert. This Prince, after his marriage gaue himselfe wholly to the exercise of Peace, & left the conduct of affaires to his Councel, seperating himselfe in a manner fro the view of all the great men of *Spaine*, but only of the Marquis of *Denia*, whom hee made Duke of *Lemos* or *Lerma*. The *Grandes* of *Spaine* not able to endure this vnequall distribution of the Kings fauors vpon one only obiect, & being greeued that this common sunne hath no light but for two eyes, they make great complaints, and the more for that his wife was preferred to be the chiefe Lady of Honor vnto the Queene, wherewith the greatest house in *Spaine* had bin much honored. This discontent was shewed in all the sorts the Malcontents could deuise. The Images, at the Kings coming to the Crowne, & at his entry into *Madrid*, did speake. They made the Image of *Iupiter* carrying a globe of the World vpon his shoulders, and discharging one moetic vpon King *Philip*, with an inscription shewing that the Empire was diuided betwixt *Iupiter* & *Cæsar*: there were found these words written in an vnknowne hand vnder *Iupiter's* Image: This is the Duke of *Lerma*. The King coming one day from walking, found vpon his table a letter sealed with this superscription. To King *Philip*, the third of that name, King of *Spaine*, being at this present seruant to the Duke of *Lerma*. The King vnderstood al this and laughed at it, saying to the Duke of *Lerma*, See what they say of us. There was a Tragedy made at *Valladolid*, the speakers were, the King, the Cōstable of *Castille*, the Duke of *Lemos* and the People.

The

1599. The argument was, the Complaint and Insolencies of the Duke of *Lerna*. The Catastrophe was the death of the Duke, torne in peeces by the furie of the People. A letter going betwixt the King and the Duke of *Lerna*, thrust the Duke in such sort, as he made him stagger. saying, *Stand fast, for if thou fallest, thou wilt neuer rise againe.* The King taking these words as spoken against him, answered presently, *Wee will both fall then.* Great men which had laughed at the Bouffons speech, were amazed at the Kings answere. All *Spain* admires his Fortune the most Happie thinke, that they must be borne vnder the same planet that will be Happie. But no man can say how long this happines will continue: for in the end, the great and vnmeasurable fauours of Princes are Preiudiciall and Ruinous to their Favourites. Courtiers burne themselves therein like Butterflies. But they are wise that thinke of these fauours, as the Dogges do of the water of *Nilus*, in passing and running, least they be deuoured of the *Crocodiles*, of Enuie and Iealousie.

Assemblee of the Deputies of some Princes of the Empire at *Conflans*.

The Circles of *Germanie*.

The Insufficiencies of the vniued Prouinces.

We haue sayd before, that the Assembly of *Collen* was referred to *Conflans* (which the *Germanis* call *Coblentz*) the eight of March. Thither came the Deputies of the five superiour Circles, to consult of the meanes whereby they might defend and maintaine the liberties of *Germanie*, and suppress the insolencie of the *Spaniard*, who attempted in hostile manner vpon all Estates. This word of Circle, according to the *Germanis* Custome and Phrase, signifies properly a Canton of the Countrie: but it is taken for the Alliance and League, which certaine Princes and Imperiall Townes haue one with another. And of these Circles, there are five superiour, that is to say of high *Germanie*, and the five Inferior are those of Low *Germanie*: and it is one of the causes for the which the *Allemands* are called *Germanis*, for that their Countrie doth all equally belong vnto Soueraigne Lords, according to their titles: one a Duke, another an Earle, a third a Marquis: And as for the free Townes, they be such as haue redeemed themselves from their Lords, & haue obtained the Lords Fee vnto themselves: (as they of *Metz*, who redeemed their Liberties frō *Godefrey of Bullen*, going to the conquest of the holy Land) The five Inferior Circles, are *Westphalia*, which is vnder the Iurisdiction of the Prince Elector of *Collen*, *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, *Vtrecht*, and East *Phrise*, with the Countries adioyning: and vnder them are comprehended the *Hans Townes*, which be 72. in number, the which haue very great Priuileges. Those of the vpper Circles D were such as assembled then at *Conflans*: the first is *Mayence* or *Mentz*, *Treues*, *Collen*, and the *Palatinat*, which makes one Circle. The second is *Brandebourg*, *Wirtzbourg*, *Henneberg*, *Hohenlo*, and *Noremberg*. The third is *Wormes*, *Simmer*, *Heise*, *Nassau*: for the fourth is *Munster*, *Tuilliers*, *Paderborne*, *Lippe*: & for the fift, *Magdebourg*, *Brunswike*, *Mekelbourg*, and *Mulhous*. These haue an Alliance together, and it is lawfull for them to assemble when they please. Being thus assembled, all the Propositions formerly made vnto the Assembly at *Collen*, by *Rodowitz* Commissioner for the Admiral, were againe vewed and considered of, with the iustifications of the States of the vniued Prouinces, which were these in effect.

That they had receiued letters from the Princes Electors, and others of *Germanie*, E containing the complaints of the Estates of the Circle of *Westphalia*, vpon the oppressi- ons and outrages, which the Countries of *Cleues* and *Tuilliers*, of *Collen*, and *Westphalia* did suffer by the men of warre of either partie: whereby they were required to retire their men presently out off the territories of the Empire, to restore the Townes which they held, raze the Forts which they had built, and to leaue the Countrie, Townes, and States of the Empire in their ancient Peace, Rest, and Quiet: wherupon their answer & resolution was also required. For answer whereunto, the sayd Estates declared, that they were forie to heare such complaints, and the more for that they were put in the same ranke with the *Spaniards* and Admirall, who had not forborne to Besiege, Batter, Force and Take Townes, Castels, Fortresses and Gentlemens houses in the Countrie of *Cleues* and others of the Circle of *Westphalia*, by Murthers, Burning, Spoile, and Rauishing of Wiues and Mayds, without any respect of Estate, Qualitie, or Condition: And yet not content therewith, they had by their garrisons and threats forced

A forced some of the sayd Townes (besides their Ransomes and concussions.) to change the Religion and Gouernment, which they haue many yeares inioyed vnder the authority of your Excellencies, and of other Princes, whereas the King of *Spain* had no interest, nor could with any reason colour his attempts. And contrariwise, for their part (sayd the States) no thing had beene done but by extreame constraint and necessitie, (the which hath no Law) for the Preferuation, Maintenance, and Assurance of their vniued Prouinces: and the which according to the Law of armes and custome of warre may be done without any contradiction: whereunto they had beene forced. By reason whereof, they did beseech their Excellencies, and all men of Iudgement in matters of warre, if considering the Admirals attempts (seeing they had no other meanes to make head against the enimie, but in preventing him, and occupying of those places which he himselfe would haue taken) they haue first seized on them, and put in men, seeing that the *Talhuis* which they had seized on, was not sufficient to resist the Admirals forces, who would not haue failed to come thither (whereas the Inhabitants should haue bene treated with the same mildnes that he hath vsed in other places) thereby to haue had an entrie into their vniued Prouinces. Besides, they neuer had any intention to usurpe one foot of ground belonging to the Empire, nor of any Prince or neutral Lord, to hold it in Proprietie, as they sayd they had of late assured his Imperiall Maestie, and the Princes of the Empire, and namely the Prince Elector of *Collen*, with whome they desired nothing more, then to entertaine a good Alliance, Amitie, Correspondencie, and good Neighbourhood, maintayning themselves in that sort, without diminution of their Estate, vntil they might once see an end, whereunto they did alwaies tend and aspire euen vnto this houre. The which they haue made sufficiently knowne by their resolution to restore *Rhinberg* vnto the sayd Prince Elector of *Collen*, to hold it vnder the rights of neutralitie: if it had not bin prevented by the seige which the Enemy layd before it: whereby hee would haue given some colour to his attempts, with such as through ignorance or impatiencie haue not founded the ground of the matter. The which attempts are manifest, by the surprises of Townes and places, and change of Religion and Gouernment: whereby he did not onely aduertise Princes and Lords, but plainly teach them, how he meanes to intreat them and their Subiects, at his first opportunity to settle the *Spanish* Monarchie. They had seene by experience how willingly and freely (sayd the States) they had the last yeere, at the request of the sayd Princes and States of the Empire, deliuered vp diuers places which they had wrested out of the enemies hands, lying within the lymits of the Empire, vpon hope that the enemies would also yeeld what they held depending of the Empire, as they had promised to the sayd Princes and States: which deliuerie vp by them, and refusall of the enimie, hath beene so preiudiciall vnto them, as in the end they haue beene constrained to besiege and forseth the Townes of *Alpen*, *Mauers* and *Berck*, according to the good successe which they haue had. It is also manifest how they restored the Townes of *Alpen* and *Mauers*, without restitution of one penie for the charges of the Conquest: and how they had offered to do as much for the Towne of *Berck*, with a declaration of the true meanes to entertaine the lymits of the Empire in Peace, if the enimie (who sought the contrary) had not hindred it. Which their good and sincere intention hath beene so much the more manifested, for that according to the order set downe by Prince *Maurice* their Captaine, to expell the enemies garrisons out of the Towne of *Emericke*, they did it, & restored the sayd Towne vnto the right Prince, whereby your Excellencies and other Princes may see the sincerity of our actions, without any farther doubt or distrust.

But rather that you would seeke the meanes whereby the *Spaniards* and their adherents may be chased out of *Germanie*, and their pretended Monarchie prevented, to the end that the members and Subiects of the Empire may be freed from so great dangers & troubles, for the effecting wherof (said the States) we haue these many years done our best endeouours, & mind so to continue, trusting that God will moue the hearts of Kings, Princes, Potentates, Commonweals, & States, to effect & embrace their comon defence, rising al jointly to quench this fire. So beseeching their Excellencies to take &c. These iustifications being conferred by the Deputies with them of the Admiral, they acquainted

1599.

The Towne of *Rhinberg*.

1599. red Charles Nutzel Commissioner for the Emperour therewith, who gaue them to vnderstand:

Propositions
of the Deputies
of Westphalia &c.

That it would please the Princes Electors to consider with what care and diligence the Emperour had sent his commaundement and letters, as well to *Albert* the Archduke, as to *Andrew* the Cardinall, who were not yet well aduertised how things had past.

That to leuie an armie onely vpon the territories of the Empire, they must take good aduice, and that by a Diet or Generall Assembly of all the Estates of the Empire. That the *Spaniards* and States had mightie armies, and their souldiars had beene hardened and practised in armes for these thirtie yeares.

That both the King of *Spain*, and the said States, hauing had warre with other Kings B and Princes, and their armies defeated, they haue presently renewed the warres, and with greater forces.

That for many reasons he would not aduise them to take armes presently, but to stay a time, and in the meane while, they should require both the one, and the other againe, to repaire the hurt done by them in the Emperours Countrie, by some friendly composition, and that in the meantime, the Emperour should call an Imperiall Diet, where if it should be resolu'd to leuie an armie, to chase as well the *Spaniards*, as the States out off the territories of the Empire: that the Emperour as the soueraigne head should consent thereunto, and do any thing that was befitting his charge.

Contrariwise, the Deputies of *Westphalia*, of base *Saxony* and of the vpper part of the *Rhine*, did shew, that they could not attend to any other time to resist the *Spaniards*, and the Admirall, who contrary to the promises made by them, to restore the places taken, did still rauage more and more, ouer the Countreies of *Westphalia*, *Cleues*, *Mark* and *Bergh*. That *Albert* the Archduke, and *Andrew* the Cardinall had beene aduertised of the violence of their armies, and that they must resolute to repell force by force. Whereupon it was decreed by the consent of the greatest part, in forme of an Imperiall Edi&: That they should giue necessarie succors to the Circle of *Westphalia*, and to the other Estates of the Empire that were besieged.

A decree
made at the
Assembly of
Constance.

According vnto this Decree, *Henry Iules Duke of Brunswike* and of *Lunebourg*, *Poßulus of Halberstat*, and *Prince Maurice Landgrane of Hesse*, leuied good troupes of m'n, D with that which the States of the aboue named Circles did ad vnto them, all which together made a good bodie of an armie of *Germanes*, of ten thousand foote, and three thousand horse, whereof *Simon de Lippe* was Capitaine Generall, the Earle of *Hohenlooe* commaunded the Duke of *Brunswike* troupes, and Count *George Euerard of Solms* those of the *Landgrane of Hesse*. And for Generall of the Artillerie, they had *Oliuer de Timpel* Lord of *Cruybeke*.

Count of Lippe
pe Generall of
Germane armie.

This armie being on foote, the *Spaniards* left their lodging about the end of Aprill, in the quarters of *Westphalia* and *Munster*, the which they had made very desolate, and came and planted themselves along the *Rhine* about the Townes of *Emeric* and *Rees*: And afterwards, as the sayd armie approached, hauing stayed to beseege the fort of *Walsom*, right against the Towne of *Rhinberk*, vpon the riuers side, which the *Germanes* did take in the end, they continued almost two moneths vnprofitably in that quarter, and neuer aduanced, to the great discontentment of the said Princes of *Brunswike*, and *Hesse*, and of their Lieutenants. In the end the Count of *Lippe* marching downe the *Rhine* on the same side, the Admirall of *Arragon* retired his *Spaniards* out off *Emeric* the 7. of May: remouing his bridge which he had vpon the *Rhine*, and placing it lower before the Towne of *Rees*. After he had wel manned the said Towne with a good garnison, he passed the greatest part of his army, and hauing cast a bridge ouer the *Meuse*, hee entred into the Ile of *Bommel*, betwixt *Rossum* and *Driel*, intrenching themselves, and making a fort vpon the banke of the riuier.

The *Germanes*
besiege *Rees*.

The *Germane* armie being come lower, hauing the Towne of *Emeric* at their deuotion (being abandoned by the Admirall) the Earle of *Lippe* beseege the Towne of *Rees*, being litle, and of small defence, and vnworthie to stay such an Armie: in the which

A which, besides the discontent of the Commanders, many things wanted from the beginning. This sodain and v unexpected coming downe of the *Spaniards* into the Ile of *Bommel*, did wonderfully amaze them of the Towne, and many of the Inhabitants retired themselves with what they could carrie away. Whereof Prince *Maurice* being aduertised, he flies thither with part of his Horse and Foot, whereby he assured them of the Towne. for without doubt, if the Admirall had marched directly vnto the Towne as soone as hee entred into the Island (it lying all open on the one side, by reason of the workes at the Rampiers and Bulwarks) he had taken it. At the Admiralls arrival into that quarter of *Bommel* along the *Meuse*, hee beseege the fort of *Crenetour*, whereas Capitaine *Spronke* commanded for the States, who after hee had indured the battery & an assault, in the end he yeilded by composition to depart with armes & baggage. The Admirall makes his approaches to the Towne of *Bommel*, and beseege it a far off. Prince *Maurice* (to hinder his neerer approach) did cast vp a trench without the Towne, fro one side of the riuier to the other, in the which he lodged good troopes of foot. Yet the *Spaniard* approached neerer, and brought his Canon to batter the Towne at random, as he did, where among others, *Murrey* Colonell of the *Scots* was slaine vpon the rampar, with a Canon. And as Prince *Maurice* his army was part in the Towne, part in the Trenches, and one part vpon the other banke, ioyning to the riuier of *Waball*, he was forced to make a Bridge of Boates before the Towne, to go from one quarter to another. The *Spaniard*, to annoy this Bridge, planted some peeces vpo the riuier side, to batter it in flanke, annoying them that past to and fro very much. In the meane time the beseege (who were not beseege but of one side, hauing the Riuier and their Bridge alwayes free) had their reuenge, being daily in skirmishe with the *Spaniards*, who were in the end forced to leaue their approaches, and to retire farther off, and in the end quite to abandon their trenches neere the Towne.

Prince Maurice
the Admirall
of Bommel by
his presence.

The Admirall
takes Crenetour.

Whilest that the Count *Lippe* was at the seege of *Rees*, and the Admirall and Prince *Maurice* in the Ile of *Bommel*, the Deputies of the Circles of the Empire being anew assembled in the Towne, writ vnto the States the eighteenth of Iune, making the like complaints against their horsemen, being in the suburbs of *Emden*, as against the *Spaniard*. Which letters were answered by the States, who in the end sett their Ambassadors to the Earle of *Lippe*, Generall of the army, to treat vpon certaine points, but especially vpon the reparatiō of damages done vpo the territories of the Empire.

The like letters of complaint were written by the Generall and the Imperiall Deputies, vnto the Commanders of the *Spanish* army, and vpon the same points of reparation of damages, and restitution of places held by them, free trafficke vpon the *Rhine*, and caution that there should be no more such oppressions committed by them: whereupon the *Spaniards* made many euasions. In the meane time the sayd Generall approached with his armie neerer vnto *Rhees*. Doctor *Dyenburch* was sent by the *Spaniards* the 16. of August, vnto the sayd Generall and Imperiall Deputies. At his arrival he proclaimed publicly the reparation of damages, and the charge hee had to deliuer *Rees*: but the next day he denied all, saying that he had no authoritie, and praying them to giue him 3. dayes respite to aduertise his Maisters, yet after much dispute, (threatning to ioine the forces of the Empire with the States army) they granted him 3. daies.

At that time the Emperour sent *Maximilian* the Archduke his Brother, to pacifie the troubles, and to cause the *Spaniard* to retire out off the limits of the Empire. He came to the Count *Palatin*, and to the Duke of *Wirttemberg* to that end: but the States had a litle before yeilded vp *Tolhuis* and *Sewenter*, with some other forts therabouts: and the *Spaniards* had also giuen vp the Towne of *Genep*. In the end (being threatned to ioine the *Germane* army with that of the States) the *Spaniard* consented to yeeld the places which he had taken, & to retire his army out of the Lymits of the Empire. The which he did, and the States also, vpon condition that the places which they should restore, should be hereafter so well kept by their right Lords, as the *Spaniards* should not enter any more by the Emperours Countrie, to make warre against the *Hollanders*, nor the *Hollanders* against the *Spaniards*: which done, the *Germane* army (the which of it selfe was ruined for want of money) was discharged.

Maximilian
the Archduke
sent by the
Emperour to
the Princes
Electors of the
Rhine.
The *Spanish*
army and that
of the States
retire out of
the lymits of
the Empire.

D d d d

The

1599.
The Arch-
dukes passage
into Flanders.

The Archduke having conducted the Queene into *Spain*, receiued the *Infanta* his Wife to returne into *Flanders*, to take possession of the Lowe Countries, which the King had giuen her for her Dowry. Having taken their leaue of the King, Queene, and Empresse his Mother, they parted frō *Barcelona*, & came within 18. daies to *Genoa*, from thence they went to *Pavia*, and so to *Milan*, whether the Pope sent Cardinall *Dietrich* to visit them, & to giue in his Holiness name, a Sword vnto the Archduke, & a Rose of gold vnto the *Infanta*, which are the Popes ordinary presents vnto Princes. Then they past on through the *Grisons* & *Suisses*, and the Countries of *Elzas* and *Lorraine*, whereas the Duke receiued and feasted them with great pompe. In the end of August the States of *Brabant* sent their Deputies to *Niuelle*, to offer them their homage and seruice. They made some stay at *Hale*, whither the Cardinall of *Austria* came, to giue an account of B his charge: and from thence they entred in *Bruxelles*, where they were receiued with more stately shewes then King *Philip* had beene in former time. But no Towne of *Flanders* may compare with that which was done at their entrie into *Antwerp*, when as they were declared Marquises of the holy Empire.

They spent the rest of the year in visiting the other Townes of *Flanders*, and for that the trade of Marchandise is more vsed there then in any Prouince of *Europe*, in all Townes of their obedience, they did confirme the Imunities and Freedoms of Marchants, forbidding to lay any new imposition vpon the marchandise, remembring well that as the auarice of the Duke of *Alua*, in the imposition of the tenth penny vpon all marchandise, had made all the Prouinces reuolt, so it was reasonable to augment their liberties: for the Prince which seekes to enrich his subiects, cannot be poore wile they are rich. They did hope that the *Infanta*, Daughter to a Princeesse, whom *Europe* called, *The Queene of Peace*, should be the Doue to bring the Oliue branch, in signe that these great Deluges of blood should cease: but she declared presently, that she could not yeeld vnto a Peace & liberty of Conscience. In all other things they do acknowledge her a Generous Princeesse, full of Pietie and Clemencie.

Let vs leaue their Highnesses in their Councils at warre, and returne into *France*, to see how the King doth husband the Peace. He employes all his thoughts for the profit of his subiects, to restore them to those commodities whereof war had deprived them. And therefore considering that a great multitude of his people remained vnprouitable, for that they were not imploied in trades and occupations most necessary for traffick: for that the work which should be made within the realme by *Frenchmen*, were brought and sold by Strangers, namely Silkes, and Cloth of Gold and Siluer: he did therefore forbid by an Edi&th, the entrie into his Realme of all Stufes made of Silke, Gold or Siluer, pure or mixt, vpon paine of confiscation: to the end the *French* might be imploied in the making of all those marchandises, which were forbidden to be brought in.

As the Marchants of *Tours* did solicit these Prohibitions, so they of *Lions* made great sute to hinder it. They alleged, that prohibiting the entrie of Marchandise made by hand, they must of necessity be made in *France*, the which being well planted, would yeeld sufficient comodity to nourish 500000. *Frenchmen*, & the Gold & Siluer, which goes out of the realme *in specie*, in great abundance, should continue there stil. Those of *Lions* did shew, that this prohibitio made the King to loose halfe his custome at *Lions*: that it would ruine the Faïres, & this ruine would draw after it the ruine of the City, the which had bin built for the comerce and traffick of all *Europe*, and was neuer seene more flourishing then since the strangers frequented it, by meanes wherof, it did for a time so abound with money, as our Kings haue found great succours in the necessity of their affaires, and sometimes were indebted 6. or 7. Millions of Gold, as well to the Inhabitants, as to Marchant strangers. That the whole State was interested into her preservation, being one of the Bulwarkes of the weakest part, & lying open to enterprises of his enemies. That many Strangers, being ready since the Peace, to come and make their Banke at *Lions*, were held back vpo the brute of the prohibition of strange wares, & if the City should continue disinhabited of Marchants of that quality, it would be dangerous to leaue it in the hands of poore Artisans, who are insolent in time of peace,

impatiant

Isabelle of
Valois, Mother
to Isabelle of
Austria, called
The Queene of
Peace.

The entrie of
Silkes forbid-
den in France.

They of *Lions*
hinder the
pursute of these
of *Tours*.

A impatient in troubles, and alwayes desirous of Innouations, having nothing more vn-pleasing vnto them then the present. Notwithstanding all these reasons, the King would haue the Edi&th passe, & the Duchesse of *Beaufort* was greatly afflicted to it. The decealed King would haue done it; and it was found reasonable by his Councell, but in the end, time let them know, that it was no time to vse such prohibitions, & that before they hinder the entrie of forraigne stufes made of Silke, they must haue wherewithall to make it within the Realme. And therefore this Edi&th was reuoked at the Queenes entrie into *Lions*.

The King in
favour of the
Queene re-
uoked the for-
bidden of the
entrie of Silkes

This year there was a notable Imposture, which ministred matter of discourse to the Kings Councell, to Preachers in their Pulpits, and to the Court of Parliament. A young maide of *Romorantin*, named *Martha Brosier*, hauing curiously read over the discourse of the Diuel of *Laon*, she was so transported with the imagination of that which she read, as imitating the motions of her folly, she seemed to haue the Fits & Passions of one that were possessed with the Diuel, although nothing be so hard to counterfeit as the Diuell. *James Brosier* her Father, a man of himselfe busie and factious, desirous of new things, hauing obserued in his Daughter furious motions, with such a stupidity and feare, as it did moue commiseration and amazement in the most resolute, & feare in the weaker, hee seemed to beleuee that which hee would haue the people beleuee, who came running to see this new Diuell, publishing euery where, that his Daughter was posselt with an euill Spirit. He presented her to the *Theologall* of *Orleans*, who be-

lieued some thing: & seeing that his desseigne grew into credite, he led her to the most famous places of all the Diocesse for deuotion: to all the people beleued certainly that she was posselt, the which must be verified by the Iudgement of the Church. But the Bishop of *Angiers*, a graue and a wise man, discovered her to be a counterfeite, and sent her away, threatening to punish her, if she returned into his Diocesse. The Official of *Orleans* did also finde out her imposture, forbidding the Clergie of the Diocesse to Exorcise her, vpon paine of Suspension. After that she had run 15. moneths vp and downe the Country, & being growne perfect in her counterfeit tricks & Deuillish motions, her Father thinking she knew enough, & that it was now time to present her vpo the great Theater of *France*, he conducts her to *Paris*, and leads her to all the Churches to gather almes. The people crie out presently to haue the Diuell conured, holding an impiety to suffer one of Gods Creatures to bee so tyrannically tormented by a Diuell. The Bishop assembles the learnedst Diuines and Pastors of the *Vniuersity* of *Paris*, to haue their aduise about the conuring of this Diuell: the Physitions say, that she lieth, that it was but counterfeite. A Capuchin grieued to see the incredule of the *French* in such motions, said with some passion. *If any one beleuee not: if he will but see her, the Diuell will carry him away.* *Marescot* fearing not be carried away by this kind of Diuell, answered, that he would abide the hazard: & setting his knee vpo *Martha*, & his hand to her neck, he commanded her to be quiet, wher vpo she stired not, saying that her Diuell was gone.

The Court of Parliament seeing that all the people did run after *Martha*, satisfied with that superstition (which goes before, & is alwayes the beginner of impiety) should diuide their opinions and affections, and cause some dangerous sedition, they commanded that *Martha* should be deliuered into the hands of the Lieutenant Criminal. The Clergie said, that those that were posselt, did not belong vnto the temporall iudic. But on, and that the Church had power to Iudge thereof. Yet she is committed to prison. They haue recourse vnto the King, who commands that the Parliament be obeyed. So as by a Decree of the great Chamber, and the *Tournelle*, the Lieutenant of the shire Roabe was inioyned to conduct *Martha* with her Sisters, & *James Brosier* her Father to *Romorantin*, forbidding her to depart out of the Towne, without leaue from the Iudge of the place. And so the Diuell was condemned by a sentence.

An other Diuell posselt the soule of a miserable wretch, who made an execrable attempt against the Kings person. A Capuchin of *Milan*, called father *Honorio*, gaue intelligence thereof, and the party that was described in his letter, was found, & apprehended at *Paris*. The King did thanke this good religious man by expresse Letters, and did

An attempt
against the
King called
wretched.

D d d d d

witnesse

1599 witness by his Ambassador resident at *Rome*, that he would preferue the remembrance of so good a turne, to make it knowne vnto all his Order, that he had bound him vnto him. God would not call a Prince so necessary for the Earth, so soone into Heauen, before he had fetled his people in that rest which their long paines & calamities had deserved. It was the Kings onely care to settle euery thing in his order, with the aduise of the Princes of his house, and the Lords of his Councell. They found that the subjects could not fully enioy the benefit of the Peace, nor be eased of their charges, so long as the Crowne was indebted, and that that which should serue to maintain his Royall Estate, was not sufficient to pay the Rents & Pensions, which amounted to two Millions of Gold: the fees of Officers came to 18000. Crownes, & many other charges, which were not discharged for lesse. This extreame necessitie, made them to seeke out many Rights and Duties belonging vnto the Crowne, the which had beene morgaged and aliened during the last troubles, which suffered all that could not be amended.

This was most apparent in *Languedoc*, whether the King sent *De Maiffe*, one of his Councell of State, and *Refuge* a Councillor of the Court of Parliament at *Paris*. And although it be a hard thing to draw a multitude compounded of Mutinies & Factions vnto reason, yet through their perswasions, the Countie did grant vnto the King the sum of two hundred thousand Crownes, to be paid in foure yeares, with an increase of the Gabelle or Custome vpon Salt vnto two Crownes, which came to fifty thousand Crownes a yeare at the least, more then the King received. So as the assured succours from that part, increased the Kings treasure 150. thousand Crownes yearly. But it increased much more by the continuance of the imposition of a Soult vpon the Liure, the onely remedy to supply the Kings affaires, the ground whereof is necessary, which makes that seeme iust which is profitable to the Common-weale. The Commissioners appointed to establish this Leuie of a Soult vpon the pound *French*, were not receiued without opposition, nor executed without murmuring, vsuall in such inouations. There was no towne which found not it selfe ouer-burthened, to shew that they were not able to beare any more. This body was growne so weake with this long disease, as euery little thing, how light soeuer, did seeme to oppresse it. But they complained not alone of this Imposition: other Subsidies were the cause of more ordinary greouances, & grounded vpon more reason. Traffick is one of the Elements of a Realme: when that ceaseth the subiect feelles it presently: nothing hath so much hurt it, as the augmentation of Customes and Imposts, nothing hath made it so contemptible, as the couetousnesse of such as had the charge to gather it, and no man hath more felt the discomoditie of it then the Marchants of *Lions* who complained chiefly, for that they had erected a new Custome house in the Towne of *Vienne*, which staied all marchandise that came out of the *Leuant*. These complaints were so common, and so often reiterated to the Gouernor of *Lions*, as he thought it good to send some one, when as the 12. Townes in *Dauphiné* should assemble their Estates, to intreat them to take away this Custome, which made the Marchants to keepe from *Lions*, least they should come neere vnto these Gallies. The Deputy made an excellent speech vnto the States of the Prouince assembled at *Grenoble*, as you may read at large in the Original. This discourse full of reason & truth, had not the power to make them of *Dauphiné* redresse the complaints of *Lions*, but only to beteech his Maiestie to moderate the cause. His affaires would not suffer him to giue that ease, which Iustice and his Maiesties clemencie desired.

Whilst that the Commissioners trauell throughout the Prouinces, about the executiō of the Kings Edicts, as well for the good of the Peace, as to supply the necessity of his Exchequer, he passed the greatest heat of Summer at *Blois*. There the King of *Spain* gave him to vnderstand by his Ambassador, that hee had great reason to complaine of the *French*, especially of the Lord *La Noue*, who against the conditions of the Treatie of *Vervins*, were gone to serue Count *Maurice*, & the States of the Low Countries, & if the publick faith did not maintaine these reciprocal bonds, the Peace would be more inuiolent then war, being impossible to auoide the deceits of hostility, of him who shew himselfe a friend, & is an enemy in effect. The King hauing protested, that his intention was to haue the contents of the treaty truly obserued, he commanded *La Noue* & all his subjects,

A subjects, to returne home, within six weekes, vpon paine of losse of life, forbidding all others to go thither vpon the like penaltie. The Archdukes sent the Prince of *Orange* to visite the King, and to giue him intelligence of their arriual into the Lowe Countries: and *Andrew* the Cardinall hauing resigned vp his charge, takes his way through *France*, to see the King.

About this time, the yeare granted for the Arbitrement of the Marquisate of *Salusses* was expired, with the prolongation of threemoneths: yet would not the King attempt any thing, but commanded his seruants onely to stand vpon their gardes, whilst that he approached neerer to the Duke of *Sauoy*, to know what he would say. The brute notwithstanding of an armie which the King of *Spain* had caused to imbarke in *Portugall*, staied his voyage, vntill he might see what way it would take. But this great Armie which had no reputation but a farre off, and was not knowne by reason of the distance, proued in the end but fise Vessels, the which were incountred by the States, and beaten neere vnto *Dunkerke*. Nothing did hinder the Kings exercises and sports at *Blois* and *Males-herbes*, where hee spent his time with the Marquis of *Vernueil* in the meane time his good seruants watched both within and without the Realme, for the good of his affaires: all laboured in diuers actions, but with one will, and to one end, to make the State as flourishing as it had beene, and the Maiestie of the Prince to be respected, as it is, Sacred and Holy.

Out of this number of good Seruants & Officers of the Crowne, death tooke away *Philippe de Hurault*, Earle of *Chiurny*, and Chancellor of *France*. He had beene at the first Controulour of King *Henry* the 3. house, being Duke of *Aniou*, and King of *Poland*, and by him made keeper of the Seales, in the life of the Cardinall of *Birague*, and after his death Chancellor, and by him dismissed to his house at the States of *Blois*, when as the Seales were giuen to *Montheleu* Aduocate in the Court of Parliament. In this change he made triall, that Princes Officers are in his hands, as Counters be in an Auditors, who raifeth them to the greatest and highest number, and fodenly brings them downe to the lowest. And although it be not spoken why the King commanded him to retire, yet as soone as they saw him disgraced, the friends of his fortune, and the seruants of his fauours abandoned him. He continued a while like an old cast ship which lyes in the harbrough and serues to no vse. Hee returned to his charge, and serued the King stoutly, in the most troublesome and dangerous time of his affaires. Afterwards he had many crosses. There were so great complaints exhibited against him in the Assembly at *Roan*, as he was in danger to haue lost the keeping of the Seales, or not to haue a Cardinals Hat, demanded of the Pope for him. Hee did not affect the second, and the first hee preuented, considering that they could not take away any thing, nor diminish his great Dignities, but with Shame and Disgrace.

Pomponne de Belieure succeeded him after his death: he restored the Seales (the sacred instruments of Soueraigne Iustice) to their honour. All corrupt practises which made friends to the prejudice of the Common-weale were banished. There is no other fauour then that of Iustice, no other expedition but in publike, and by order. Nothing is settled extraordinarily but by the Kings expresse commandement; or for the good of his seruice, which may not bee deferred vnto the Sealing day, and that in the view of all the Officers of the Chancerie. Nothing is presented which hath not bene examined and held iust by the Maisters of Requests that were present. The King, hauing receiued newes of the Chancellors death, he commanded *Villeroi* to dispatch his Letters before he demanded the place: which done he presented himselfe to take his oth betwixt his Maiesties hands, kneeling vpon a Cushion of Velvet, the which the Chancellor and Constable onely doe, and no other Officers of the Crowne. His Maiestie would not binde him, but to doe what hee had alwayes done, for the good of his seruice, and of his Crowne. To conclude, hee was not preferred to this high dignitie before any one that exceeded him in ranke of seruice, or in merit and experience, hauing vndergone the chiefe charges within the realme, and happily performed abroad important and weighty Ambassages for the King.

1579. About this time *John de Schomberg*, Archbishop and Elector of *Treves* dyed, and in his place was chosen *Lothaire*, of the noble family of the *Meternits*, a man of great experience, and singular learning, and above all, a great lover of peace and quietnesse, a worthie vertue in Princes and Prelats.

This yeare also tooke away some Princesses in *France*: amongst others *Mademoiselle* the only daughter of the Prince of *Condé*, the which hee had by his first Wife the Princess of *Nevers* and Marquis of *Lisle*. Her obsequies were made at *Saint Germain des Prez* with great shew, as it was fit for a Princess of the blood. *Loise de Budos*, the Constables wife died also (a little before the Duchesse of *Beaufort*) having left one Sonne and one Daughter, whereby the famous house of *Montmorency* is renewed, the which was like to fall to the Distaffe. The Marquis of *Belle-Ile* (widow to the Marquis B the eldest Son to the Duke & Marshall of *Raiz*, a younger daughter of the house of *Longueville*, having passed five yeares of her widowhood, & brought vp her Son in all vertue and pietie,) departed secretly out of *Brittanie*, not aduertising any one of her kindred, and went to professe her selfe a Nunne, in the Monasterie of the *Feuillantes* at *Tholouse*. Her Brother and her Husbonds brethren posted after to diuert her, but she was already in the Couent, and resolved to end her dayes there. A generous resolution of a Ladie, issued from that noble house of *Longueville*, which holds one of the first places in *France*: It is Soueraigne of the Countie of *Neuchastel* in *Suisse*, and allied to the house of *Bourbon* in diuers branches.

Execution of the Edict of Pacification.

The Commissioners which were employed for the execution of the Edict of pacification, found some difficulties in those places, whereas the Bishops and Pastors of the Catholike Church, had neither Temple nor place of retreat: yet the Masse was restored to those places where it had bene banished fiftene or twentie yeares; and the Preaching appointed onely in those places that were allowed by the Edict. They found in all places rough and violent Spirits, very hard to be dealt withall, which inuented vaine quarrels, when as they wanted iust cause of complaint. The Commissioners exhort either partie as well to Concord as to Pietie, and alwayes to containe their wills within the bounds of Obedience, and not of Rebellion, and to forget the factious names of Papists and Huguenots, the which haue bene no lesse fatall to *France*, then those of *Guelphes* and *Gibellins* in *Italie*. They aduised the Preachers to take heed that their discourses were not streames of sedition, as they are sometimes of Eloquence, for they that make profession to teach the word of God, may do as much harme in fauouring a Sedition, as they shall gather profit of his Ministerie when hee shall preach Peace. The Commissioners did admonish the Magistrates and cheefe of Justice, to prevent the first motiues of sedition: which getting credit with the simple, is the cause of great disorders.

Warre ruins both State and Religion.

So the Edict was executed throughout the realme, and the most sauage began to stie louingly together, burying the remembrance of things past. Things done cannot be recalled. We must grow wise hereafter by the consideration of what is past: we must haue our eyes open, to distinguish the causes from the pretexts, and discouer the euill which is hidden vnder a shew of good, holding alwaies for an infallible Maxime, that there is no iust occasion to arme against his Prince, nor to trouble the quiet of his Countrie: We haue bene so abused, as we haue taken the Maske for the Face, Selander for Innocencie, and Falshod for Truth, and vnder these false impressions, we haue lein an assured Peace for a doubtfull. We haue beleeued those Emperiks of State, who desirous to continue our languishing, and to prolong our diseases, haue from that Principle of Truth, that Ciuill warre ruins both Estate and religion, drawne this proposition: *That France cannot liue in peace with two Religions*. The which hath cost the liues of those that haue maintayned it, and the ruine of others that haue beleeued it.

Being then reconciled for that which is past, and well aduised hereafter, hauing escaped shipwrecke against our owne hope, let vs remaine in the port of this concord,

A concord, where the King doth guide vs, after so many stormes and tempests, wee shall be there assured. The Sea doth no harme to Shippes that haue good Anchors: Obedience is the Anchor which doth assure our Shippe, against the furie of winde and waues. It is that which giues life and motion to all the members of the body: and there is not a more certaine signe of the life of an Estate, then Obedience. It is the eye of the body, which liues last and dyes first: it should bee the heart, which liues first and dyes last.

Obedience the eye and heart of an Estate.

This yeare the Princess *Antoinette*, Daughter to the Duke of *Lorraine*, was conducted by the Earle of *Vaudemont* her brother, to the Duke of *Tuilliers*, who had married her: there was attended with a goodly traine, and came to *Colen*, where she was honourably receiued by the Senate: and after some dayes, she went downe the Riuer to *Duisfeldorp*. The Nuptiall ioy was great and stately, although it were somewhat disturbed by the infolencie of the armies, as well of the States, as of the Admirall. The marriage of *Sibille* Sister to the Duke of *Tuilliers*, and of the Marquis of *Bourgondie*, brother to *Andrew of Austria* the Cardinall, caused a peace in the Countrie of *Clenes*, *Lorraine*, and all the *Spanish* pretensions went to smoake.

The Duke of Tuilliers marries the daughter of the Duke of Clenes, Lorraine.

When as after the death of the Duchesse of *Beaufort*, they saw the King falling into a new shipwreck, from the which hee was lately escaped, and that loue (mourning, yet for his first *Venus*) lead him to another, you might heare the sighes of the most modest, the murmuring of the most turbulent, and generally, presages of some approaching storme. This was the onely spotte of Oyle, which did pierce through the glorious actions of this Prince: who superiour to all other in Courage and Valour, and alwayes equall to himselfe, made himselfe subiect to this Passion. Truth will not suffer me to suppress that which cannot be hid. It is good to conceale that which is doubtfull in his actions that hath no other Iudge but God: but to keepe secret that which is knowne and seene of all men, is a basenesse. It imports to know things truly, which not being written, shall passe to posteritie according to their passions, which shall begin and continue the tradition. Ancient Histories (as full of simple Truth, as voide of Affectation) haue not concealed the loues of Princes, whose vertues they haue written. Of all the follies of men, there is none more excusable, nor of the which fewer do excuse themselves, then of Loue. All fight vnder this banner. If then it was necessarie for the King to loue, he could not loue any thing more worthy of his loue. But when as Death did see that the Louer grew blind in the thing he loued, and that this blindness had brought *France* into confused darknesse, he separated them.

Vpon this consideration, the Court of Parliament finding, that there is nothing that doth more preserve *France* from falling into forepassed miseries, or more assure the present, and continue their prosperities hereafter, then the Kings issue: therefore they beseeched his Maiestie to marry, and to giue to himselfe a Sonne and a Successor to his Realme, there being no armie more powerfull, either by Sea or Land, to assure an Empire, then many Children. *La Guesle* the Kings Attorney general, made the speech. He represented vnto his Maiestie, how much he was bound vnto God. He discovered the publick diseases of his estate: shewed the remedies: and in the end he let him see, that the enioying of all the felicities which peate purchased by his victorious armes, could promise him, was weakly grounded: *France* was not assured to see it durable, the which depended on the lawfull birth of a *Daulphin*.

The Court of Parliament perswades the King to marry

That although by the lawe of State (a sacred and immutable Law, and an originary and fundamentall Law of the Crowne) the succession belongs to the neereft Kinsman, yet *France* is too full of those turbulent spirits, which in the calme of Peace, watch carefully for occasions of warre. which in the midst of rest, breath after troubles: and freed from the perill of armes, hold still (like madde men) their Hearts and their Courages armed, to moue new contentions an other day against the Lawe and order of the Realme: whereof the King himselfe had made such tryall of their bad intentions, as without the vertue of Heauen infused into him, his Right had bene vanquished by Force.

M. de la Guesle's speech vnto the King.

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Thar

1599. » That although his Maieſtie by his wiſedome, accompanied with a ſingular bountie
 „ and charitable affection to the quiet of his Subiects, hath declared his ſucceſſor to the
 „ Crowne, yet *France* hath alwayes obſerved, that when the Crowne did leape from one
 „ branche of a Familie vnto an other, and that the Sonne did not ſucceed the Father, it
 „ was diſquieted with new factions, and the fields bathed with the blood of her Cit-
 „ zens, and the fire of Ciuill warre ſo kindled, as two ages was ſcarfe able to quench it.
 „ That to take away theſe iuſt feares and apprehenſions of theſe publike calamities,
 „ the ſucceſſion muſt not change the branch, for where there is no change, there is no
 „ ſtirre, and the Children ſucceeding in the Fathers Realme, it ſeemes that he that raig-
 „ ned, is rather growne yong againe then changed: there is nothing new, the Crowne
 „ continues in the ſame houſe, the Fathers ſee is noted in that of his Sonne.
 „ That the Chaping of the Sonne in a ſilke ſhirt, and the ſetting of a ſilke collar about

The King
of France
never dies

Marriages
broken for
just causes.

That the shining of the *Sonne* is pleasing, as a calme Sea, or the Earth covered with his
greene tapistrie. But there is nothing so goodly nor so delightful to the Eye, as the
sight of Children newly borne in a family that wanted this aduantage. That to attaine
vnto this happines, they must begin by the dissolution of the marriage betwixt his Ma-
iestie and the Queene, Duchesse of *Valois*, being no lesse easie then that of *Charles*
magne with *Irmengrade*, and *Theodor* a Daughter, & Sister to *Didier* King of *Lombards*;
for indisposition and sterilitie of *Lewis* the 7. with *Elenor* Duchesse of *Guienne* for some
discontentments set downe in the Historie, and covered with the pretext of Constancy,
guinitie, of *Lewis* the 12. with *Jane* of *France* daughter to King *Lewis* the xi. contray-
ned by force, and want of consent.

That they should not be troubled to seeke lawfull causes of this dissolution, for besides the want of issue, in the which consists the second end of Matrimonic, and the preservation of the State, they should not need to inuent the degree of consanguinitie, being knowne to all men that the King and Queene are in the third degree, a blemish which hath alwayes accompanied the Marriage since the solemnisation thereof, and the which was not taken away by the breefe of Pope *Gregory* the 13. for that the necessary and essentiall formes were not obserued. After that hee had shewed the necessity & profit of this separation, he beseecheth the King to chooſe his second Wife, in a cheefe and soueraigne Familie, and which had bene heretofore honoured with the like happines, and to consider that so great a Realme flourishing in Princes and many Noblemen and ancient houses, cannot easily submit themselves to the command of those which by both sides shall not be of the bloud royall or soueraigne, halfe Princes, halfe simple gentlemen. And if at any time wee must respect the distinction of Birthes & Races, it must be when as they that come, are borne to command ouer others.

That they could not giue Heires to a Realme of too worthie a Houſe: and if hee bee
not equall by the Fathers ſide, yet at the leaſt that he come neere vnto it, for men being
by nature high minded, do not willingly ſubmit themſelues to them whom they thinke
to bee inferiour vnto their Fathers, vnto whoſe commaund they haue bene inured.

The King was well pleased wth this discour, and aduertised Queene *Marguerit* thereof by *L. Angloys* one of the Masters of Requests of his Maiesties houshold, to vnderstand her resolution touching the nullitie of their Marriage. Shee (who vpon the like demand during the life of the Duchesse of *Beaufort* had made refusall for some reasons,) returned him answer, that shee would deliuer her mynd vnto *Bertkier*, Agent for the Clergie and Intendant of her affaires. The Kings intentions were imparted vnto him, and hee sent vnto her: who returned with this answer vnto the King and his Council. *That shee desired nothing more then the Kings contentment, and the quiet of the Realme, and withall shee sent a priuat letter vnto his Maiestie, beseeching him, To grace her with his protection, vnder the shadow whereof shee would passe the remainder of her yeares.*

A Letter from
Queen Marie
to the King.

Her request
to the Pope.

The sayd Queene sent a Petition vnto the Pope, conteyning, *That her brother King Charles the 9, and the Queene her mother had married her against her will, to which marriage her heart had neuer consented: That the King and shee being in the third degree of consanguinitie, she beseeched his Holines to declare the marriage void.* The King made the like request.

A request. This business was managed very seriously by the Cardinal of Offat and by the Lord of Silvery the Kings Ambassador at Rome (who at the same time pursued the Judgement of the Marquitate of Saluces) They beseeched his Holiness in his Majesty's name: That for that which should concerne the nullity of the sayd marriage, he desired no other favour then that of Justice.

1529.

This business was imparted by the Pope unto the Consistory, and many reasons set downe to proue the nullity of the marriage. All the difficulty was, that Pope *Clement* the 8. thought it some-what strange, that hee should declare that marriage voyde, which Pope *Gregory* the 13. had approued, and who by his absolute authoritie had taken away all letts and hindrances. All which was answered at large. And although it

Pope Gregory's
dispensation
was after the
marriage.

The King
was borne
the 13. of
December
1553. and
baptized at
Tewkesbury by the
Cardinal of
Bourbon for
King Henry
the 8.

The king's
letter to
Queene
Margueritt.

Queene
Margueritt
answere.

E At the same time she tasted the effects of the Kings liberality by the increase of her pensions, lyuing happily at *Veſen* nere to *Aurillac*, in the tranquillity and silence of her fortune. This change is no let, but shee shalbe alwaies one of the first Princeſſes of *Europe*. No man can take from her that which Heauen and Nature haue given her. It is a Theater, which although it hath been beaten with lightning, is still admired. And to speake the truth without affectation or flattery, shee her selfe hath ruined the greatness of her fortune, in that shee would be what she is.

This marriage is no sooner dissolued, but they treat of another. In the blessings whereof the *French* promise vnto themselves the increase and continuance of those of Heauen. The great Duke of *Tuscany* did carefully keepe *Mary* of *Medicis* his Neece to increase the Honour of his house by some great alliance. It was in a season when as the Soueraigne houses of *Europe* had no Daughters ready to marry, or there was some disparity for their Age, or Religion. Great and important considerations, which Princes should not passe ouer lightly. It seemes, that the eternall wisdom, which concludes

1599. concludes the Marriages of Princes in Heauen, and bleſſeth them on earth, would not A marry this Princeſſe vnto the Emperour, but reſerued her for the good of a greater Empire, not being pleaſed that *France* ſhould ſecke the means to continue the Crowne in the Kings Poſterity, any where elſe but at *Florence*, one of the eyes of *Italy*, and in the houſe of *Medici*, which goeth equally with the firſt in *Italie*. The hiſtory of which houſe you may read at large in the Originall. *Coſmo* ſurnamed by *Piſtus* the firſt the Great of *Tuſcane*, had by *Madame Elconor* of *Toledo* Daughter to the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, *Francis*, *Ferdinand*, *Peter*, *Garcia*, *Iſabelle* and *Elconor*. *Francis* married *Ioane* of *Auſtria* Daughter to the Emperour *Ferdinand*. Of this marriage came two Daughters, *Elconor* & *Mary*: the firſt is married to the Duke of *Mantona*, the venture and good fortune of the other is reſerued to be Queene of *France*. And the King being now ſet at liberty, fixt all his thoughts vpon her marriage.

The Prince of *Orange*, being returned out of *France*, from his Ambaſſage, and come to *Bruxelles*, the Arch-duke made him Knight of the Golden Fleece, with the Duke of *Archeſot*, the Marquis of *Haurech*, and the Count *Egmont*. The Cardinall had bene gouernor in the Lowe Countries almoſt a whole yeare: all his exploits were reduced to the fort which he cauſed to be built in the *Iſle* of *Bommell*, called *Saint Andrewes* fort, being inexpugnable, (which commonly they called the ſpectacle of *Holland*) the which being finiſhed, the Arch-duke retired his army out of the *Iſle* of *Bommell*, and put his men into gariſon. All the reſt of the yeare their Highneſſes ſpent in making their entries into the Townes of the Lowe Countries, trying all meanes to haue a Peace with the *Hollanders*. Yea the Emperour laboring ſtill to make this Peace, ſent vnto them for his Ambaſſadors *Count Salendus* of *Iſembourg* and *Herman Manderſchiden*, who let the States of the vniited Prouinces vnderſtand his Emperiall Maieſties intent. Wherevnto the States anſwere by Writing.

That it would pleaſe his Emperiall Maieſty to remember their former anſweres, by the which they had ſufficiently declared, That they could aſſure themſelues, neither of the Arch-duke, nor of the *Infanta*, ſeeing they are in the *Spaniards* power: that alſo their power and command ouer the Lowe Countries was a maniſeſt fraude, and al- though it were true for the Country of *Flanders*, yet doth it not follow that it ſhould hold for *Holland* and *Zelande*, whereas the King of *Spaine* hath no right. Moreover the King of *Spaine* ſeckes but to command ouer all Eitates, vnder the pretext of Religion, the which hee abuſeth for pretext of his Ambition, hauing no touch of Piety in his Soule. And this is all which his Emperiall Maieſty may expect of the reſolution of the ſayd Eſtates, being reſolved to defend themſelues from the tiranie of the *Spaniards*, and their oppreſſions. And ſo the Ambaſſadors returned without doing any thing.

The Duke of *Sauoy* had ſent many of his Miniſters into *France*, to treat vpon the difference for the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, without expecting the Popes ſentence. At the voyages which *Iacob*, the Preſident *Rochette*, the Marquis of *Lullins*, the Cheualier *Breton* and *Roncas* his Secretary had made, brought him no other fruit then to haue obſerued the State of the Court, peered a little into the Kings deſſeins, the which is al- uayes the firſt of an Ambaſſadors inſtructions, and noted the countenance of ſome ſpirits impatient of reſt and deſirous of change. And although the Patriarke of *Conſtantinople* had by his perſwaſions drawne more from the King then the Duke of *Sauoy* hoped for, yet could hee neuer change the reſolution which the King had taken to haue the Marquiſate againe. He was at *Lions* whereas ſickeſſe ſtaied him for a time: The King hauing commanded the Gouernor of *Lions* to Lodge him, Feaſt him, and ſupply all his wants: *Roncas* attended vntill he was recovered, to conſult and accompany him according to the order which the Duke had giuen him. But as things went on more ſlowly then he deſired, he thought that this purſuite required a greater preſence and action: that hee himſelfe muſt do his owne Ambaſſage, promiſing more vnto himſelfe by his only ſhadow, then by all the ſoliciting of ſeruants. He therefore prepared himſelfe to go to the King, although the chiefe of his Councell diſſwaded him.

The

A The onely thought of this voyage made him irreconcilable to the King of *Spaine*, although it had not paſt the tearmes of a ſimple propoſition, ſo did he make ſhew to be deſirous to breake wholly with him: he had in ſhew great occaſions to complaine of his frienſhip and ſuccors, who did but entertaine his greefe, and made the cure deſperate. It is good for a Prince to know the humor of many nations. He knew the *Spaniards* well: their manner of liuing: the ruinous conditions which they lay vpon them whome they aſſiſt: the length and languiſhing of their promiſes were odious vnto him. He did conſider the Iniuſtice, and Inequality in the Portion of the *Infanta* his Wife, who of ſo many Scepters and Crownes which the King her father had, receiued but ſixſcore thouſand Crownes of yeerely penſion, whereas the eldeſt had the Low Countries, and the *Franch* Countie in marriage. He could not forget, that at the treatie of *Vernims*, he had bene in a manner forgotten, and that a peace was almoſt concluded before they thought of him. Hee beleued that if the *Spaniard* would, the queſtion for the Marquiſate of *Saluces* had bene ended, the which might haue bene left to him in exchange of *Calaïs*, *Dorlaus*, *Ardres*, and other places. That the King of *Spaine* did thinke (that to preuent that all theſe diſcontentments ſhould not carrie this Prince to ſome dangerous party) it was neceſſary to tie him vnto the Crowne of *Spaine* by ſome ſtrong bond. They therefore demand the firſt Prince and the firſt *Infanta*, vnder colour to bring them vp after a royall manner, and in a Court whereas they might one day hope to raigne. The Duke was diſcontented with this demaund, perceiuing well that it proceeded more from diſtruſt, then affection. His Councell aduiſed him to giue this content vnto the King of *Spaine*, that hee could not lodge his Children better, and that that was the Vniting and very cement of perfect frienſhip. Yet he reſolved to keepe his children, and to ſend the Count *la Motte* to make his excuſe, that the preſent eſtate of his affaires would not ſuffer him to ſend them, nor to provide them a trayne and furniture fit for the voyage.

The King of *Spaine* to take away all excuſe, giues order to haue money provided for him at *Milan*, and perſwades the Duke to ſend the Count *la Motte* as Gouernour and conductor of the Prince. The Duke takes the money, and keepeſ the ware, ſaying that the ayre of *Spaine* was not proper for his Children, that their indiſpoſition and the tendernes of their age, would not ſuffer him to hazard them ſo ſoone in ſo long a voyage. This reſuſall offended the King of *Spaine*, and makes the Duke to reſolue vpon that which he held moſt profitable. From that time he could no more looke on a *Spaniard*. He then left the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Turin* and came to *Chambery*. When as he did ſee any one a farre off in his Councell of the *Spaniſh* faction, he looks on him with ſuch a diſdainfull eye, as hee ſhewes himſelfe no more in his preſence: he ſcornes the *Spaniſh* faſhion, and commendeth the *French*, ſaying, that there is no ſuch felicitie as to conquer ones ſelfe, and to yeeld himſelfe abſolutely vnto himſelfe.

The King was long before he would yeeld vnto the Dukes coming into *France*, ſaying, that it was not neceſſary hee ſhould paſſe the mountaines without the Marquiſate of *Saluces*. But the Cheualier *Breton* and *Roncas* did preſſe the King, that hee would bee pleaſed to giue their Maſter leaue to ſee him, aſſuring him that hee would giue him all content. The firſt was framed to the faſhion of that Court, and did beleue that when they ſhould ſee a Prince great in Iudgment, admirable in liberalitie, and indued with many excellent qualities, they would grant him all without any difficulty. Many diſſwaded the Duke from this voyage, laying before him the dangers in truſting a great enemy, wanting no examples, whereof one in ſuch remarkable accidents were ſufficient to make him to change his mind, and to ground his iudgment vpon experience.

F *Roncas* returned from the Court: he found the Duke at *Hautecombe*, and brings him letters from the King, fuller of deſire to ſee him, then of any hope that this enteruiue ſhould yeeld him any great profit. This letter well conſidered, was not ſufficient to make the way for ſucha paſſage, ſhewing that although the King deſired his

1599.
The Dukes
diſcontent, but
counterſet.

The Coun-
cell of
Spaine de-
mands the
Dukes chil-
dren.

The King of
Spaine offen-
ded with the
Duke.

1599. his comming, it was alwaies without preiudice, to haue reason of the Marquise. It was imparted to the Councell: whereof some sayd, that this voyage would be an offence which *Spaine* would neuer pardon: others sayd, that the end of this game would be the losse of the friend-shipp of the King of *Spaine*, which would bee profitable to the Duke and necessary for his Children. The Duke answers, that the Marquis is ill aduised that strikes often against the rocke where he hath many times suffered shipwracke. That the hatred of *Spaine* would make the conditions of the treaty more easie and beneficial, and would lay open that which none but himselfe could expresse, carrying in his brest certaine desseins which hee could not trust to any but himselfe. There was no reason of force to make him change this opinion. He sayd, that as soone as he had seene the King hee should be content. They had much adoe to perswade him not to send an Ambassador, but a simple Post vnto the King of *Spaine*, not to aske his aduice, but to carry him assurance of his going into *France*: the which hee undertooke when as they could not beleue it in Court, thinking that hee had changed his resolution.

When as all doubts were taken away, the King gaue order for his receyuing, commanding the Gouvernor of *Lions*, to prepare the Arch-bishops lodging for his owne person, and the next houses for the Noblemen of his Court: That he should accompany him in the best sort he could to any thing that he desired to see within the Towne. That he should go & meete him the mid-way of the last post, with all the Nobility of his Government: that they of the Towne should attend him at the gate when he should enter, and that the Prouost of Marchants should tell him, that he had commandement to do him the same Honour that was to bee done to his Maiesty, and visiting him in his lodging, to present vnto him the goodliest & rarest fruites that might bee found in the Country, and that they should feast him, & defray him with all his traine. This was executed with such order and state, as the Duke hath sayd often since, that this entertainment had bound him. The Earles of the great Church of *Lions* were in doubt whether they should receiue this Prince as they had done the Duke *Emanuel Philibert* his Father.

The Dukes of *Sauoy*, as Earles of *Villards* and Soueraignes of that County in the Country of *Bresse*, haue had place as Chanoin of Honour in that Church, the which is presented vnto them the first time they enter. The same Honour should haue bene offred vnto the Duke passing by *Lions*, as had bene giuen vnto his Father when he came after the Peace in the yeare 1559. if things had bene in the same Estate, or if they had not found a greater difference. The Chapter of this Church had great reason to intreat the Prince as they had done his Predecessors, seeing the King would haue him receiued like vnto his Maiesty, and giue him that testimony of Honour, the effect whereof did Honour them as much that gaue it, as he could finde himselfe honoured that receiued it. But for that through the Kings Conquest the County of *Villards* was no more vnder his obedience; that things were yet in suspence of Warre or Peace; that Princes are alwaies offended with the communication of such Honours; hee resolved not to do any thing therein, but what it should please the King to appoint. He doth aske the Gouvernors aduice. whereupon *la Faye*, one of the Earles of that Church, was sent to Court, to knowe the Kings pleasure touching this difficulty.

The King demanded of him, what a Chanoine of Honour was, and if the Duke of *Sauoyes* reception had bene like vnto his. *La Faye* answered, that the great and famous Churches of *Europe* had Chanoines of Honour, who were either Soueraigne Princes, (in whose domynions they were founded) or forraigne Princes, who by their piety haue bound the Church to this acknowledgement of Honour. That the place of a Chanoine of Honour, is neither for the office, nor for the charge, but onely for reuerence and priuiledge: for as the Prince who is a Chanoine of Honour, is not bound to any other thing, but to sweare the protection and preservation of the rights of the Church, so he reapes no other profit, but is partaker of their Prayers which they make there.

That

A That this Honour should be of small import, if the greatnesse of Princes which had desired it, did not make it great in a great Church, the which being one of the cheife of *France* as well in Antiquity as in Dignity, the reputation thereof haue bene spread in farre nations, who haue founded their Churches after this modell. That this Honour had bene giuen in ancient time to the most Christian Kings, to the Dukes of *Sauoy* Earles of *Villards*, to the Dukes of *Bourgandy*, Dukes of *Berry*, and *Dauphins* of *Viennois*, which haue bene received Cannons of Honour in that Church, but those receptions did differ from that of the Kings.

The King asked the opinion of his Councell in that case, and by their aduice he answered, that the Duke of *Sauoy* holding no more the County of *Villards*, should not pretend the rights that depended thereon: that comming into *France*, to reconcile himselfe vnto his Maiesty, hee would make so small an aboad in *Lions* as hee did not thinke that hee would stay for so simple a Ceremony. That if he should demand that place of Chanoine of Honour as they had giuen it to his deceased Father, the Chapter should excuse themselves, vntill they knewe the Kings pleasure, to do their duties at his returne.

The Duke was much offended with the refusall of that was due to him, and the which they had giuen vnto his deceased Father. Neither did hee dissemble his discontent, for he would not go into this Church, although he were lodged in the Arch-bishops Pallace, nor passe ouer the place which is before the principall doore: and when as the Deane with the whole body of the Church went to salute him, hee sayd that he had alwaies honored that Companie, as hauing the Honour to be of it. Being receiued into *Lions* according to the Kings order & command, he had many prefaces of discontentment in his voyage. His seruants in Court aduertised him that if he came without other desseine then to offer the Marquisate of *Saluces*, hee would repent his comming. One sayd vnto him that hee should not get any great matter of the King, seeing hee was not pleased that the Cathedrall Church at *Lions* should afford him a little Honour and Ceremony. A man at armes of the company of the Marquis of *Vrse*, was put in prison vpon a false aduice that came from *Genewa*, that hee followed the Duke with an intent to do a bad act at *Paris*. It was strange in Court that the King had not sent any other vnto him then the Controulr generall of the Postes.

But nothing troubled him more, then when as *Varenne* (among other discourtes which the Duke offred, to sound their opinions touching his voyage) sayd vnto him, he should bee welcome so as hee restored the Marquisate. A speech which toucht the Duke vnto the quick, who esteemed not all the Estates of his patri mony, as the Marquisate alone. It is true that they loue that better which they haue gotten, then that which hath bene purchased by their Predecessors. Hee went by post from *Lions* to *Roane*: from thence hee went by water to *Orleans*, whether the King sent the Duke of *Nemours* to receiue him. Betwixt *Orleans* and *Fontainebleau* he was met first by the Marshal *Siron*, and then by the Duke *Montpensier*, being followed by many Noblemen.

The 13. of December at night (a memorable day for the Kings birthe) hee arose when he knewe his traine to bee a sleepe, and departs secretly to get to *Fontainebleau* before his people were awake. *Varenne* who had commandement from the King to come before & aduertise him, had much adoe to follow him, and if the Duke had found horses readie at the first post, they had not carried the first newes of his arrivall.

He found the King comming from *Masse*, with all the Noblemen of his Court, attended all in redde, and ready to go to horse-backe to meete him: they did wa'ke long together after their first imbracings & excuses. Then the Duke told him the occasions of his voyage, the which he had kept secret from his Councell: But hee could drawe nothing from the King by this first parle, but hee should haue him his friend in yielding him his Marquisate. It is a difficult thing to feede a King with a white beard with words. The King sayd alwaies that he desired nothing but his owne. And the Duke of *Sauoy*

Eeeee

Chanoins of
honour are
bound to
theve the an-
tiquity and
greuencie of
their extracti-
on: but the
King.

The King &
his nobles
were all red in
red, the Duke
and his traine
in black.

King

In Guiche
Gouvernor
of *Lions* aduert-
tise the
King of the
Duke of *Sauoyes* reception.
The King
demands
what a
Chanoine of
Honour is.

1599. being in the *Louvre* spake boldly that no power in the world should euer make him yeeld to this restitution. A free & couragious speech in anothers Country, not among his owne people, but to *Villeroy* the Kings chiefe & most confident Secretary of State. From *Fontainebleau* he went to *Paris* with a goodly traine, he was lodged in the *Louvre* & spent the Christmas in *Nemours* house. He admired this great Court, where he sees the chiefe Noblemen of the realme, and noted that *L'Esdaignieres* who had so much troubled him, was not so great in Court as in *Dauphiné*. The Dukes presence did increase his reputation, he gouerned his actions in such sort, as hee freed the skorne & mockery of the Court. His wisdom, his Discretion, & his Courttesie, made the to forget the tales which were yet told of the good Duke *Charles* his Grand-father. They did obserue in his actions Curtesie & Courage, Liberality, Discretion & Policy.

The Dukes
praises.

Duke of Mer-
cure's voyage
into Hungary
in October,
1599.

This yeare ended in all sorts of pleasures and sports, familiarities and profes of true friendship, so as many beleued that the two hearts and the two Courts of these Princes were but one, but there was alwaies some marke of constraint, and amidst their embrasings there alwaies past some gird or quip. The King who is ready and sodaine in his answers, gaue him alwaies some touch to thinke on. There was too great difference betwixt the tunes of their humors to make along & good harmony. But whilst the Court abounds in pleasure and delights, the Duke *Mercure* is in *Hungary*, in the midst of many discomodities, which he holds pleasing for Gods cause: but before he goes he giues them occasion to talke of him in the Court of Parliament. He had a cause pleaded there, and his Aduocate gaue him the quality of a Prince: *Seru* in the Kings Aduocate, (holding it a base preuention to be silent at that which ought to be spoken for the Kings seruice and the Lawe of State) did shew that that quality did not belong to any, but to Princes of the blood. The Duchesse of *Mercure* (who was then in presence) sayd that they could not take from her Husband a quality that was due vnto him by the right of his birth, and that the King held him so.

The Duke *Mercure*, holding that which the Kings Aduocate had sayd in discharge of his duty for a brauado and a contempt, went the same day vnto his house, and gaue him iniurious words. The King being aduertised thereof, held it a bold act. The Court esteemed the iniury done vnto them, & desired the more to reparaire it, for that the honor of the Kings seruice was wronged, and that it had bin done in sight of the Parliament of the Capital City of the Realme, & in his house that was wronged, the which should be to euery man an inuolable Sanctuary. The Court decreed that he should be personally adioined, and had proceeded further if the Kings commandement had not stayd them. It was a great vertue in the President *Lizet*, when he decreed that the quality of Prince (which the Cardinall of *Lorraine* tooke) should be raised out of his Aduocates pleadings. The Cardinall complayned vnto the King: but the President *Lizet* answered with such Courage and Constancy before the King being in Councell, that the Cardinall was no Prince nor equall to Princes, & if you will saye it, shew vs the place of your Principality. A free speech which purchased the old man much reputation, & yet within two yeares after he made him resigne his place vnder an other pretext. There was no Nobleman in *France* that vsed the benefit of the Peace more worthily than the Duke *Mercure*, for disdayning the idleness of the Court and the ease of his house, hee employed himselfe to succor the Christians, against the greatest enemy of their Religion. He leads with him the Count of *Chaligny* his brother, with some gentlemen at his owne charge, resolving to imploy his Goods as well as his Life in this holy warre, hauing vowed to serue Christendome two yeares at his owne charge. Hee shewed himselfe a great Captaine as well to defend as to assault, hauing kept the enemy with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men from besieging of *Strigonia*: this was in his first voiage, before whose returne the Emperour desired to see him, and intreated him to take his way by *Prague*.

In the yeare
1598.

What past in
Hungary.

After the raising of the sege of *Buda* or *Belgrade*, the Christian army was dismissed & sent to Garisons, & *Buda* receiued a new *Bascha*. The Knights of *Comorre* at the beginning had defeated part of the troupes which were come to conduct & accompany the *Bascha*, they spoiled a Ship, & being laden with spoile they returned to their companions.

The

A The Turke sent sixe Shippes to *Buda*, and changed al the Estate, and one of the *Baschas* which had bene there during the sege (who had bene of opinion to yeeld the place) was punished. It was thought the *Bascha* of *Agria* would haue giuen some notable attempt, hauing made great preparation for Warre in diuers places, and prouided three hundred barrells of poulder. Those of *Sigeth* on the other side, hauing made Souldiers Coates of the *Germane* fashion, thought to surprize the Christians, but they failed being discouered.

The *Tartares*, which adhere vnto the Turke (by his commandement) spoyled the Country vpon the riuer of *Hipolis*, and fell vpon *Pesse*, *Zolneck* and *Hattouan*, Townes subiect vnto the Turke who being tired with their courtes, and exhausted of money by the great warres hee had against the *Persian*, hee resolved to demaund a Peace of the Emperour. The *Tartares* came to make this demand at *Vienna* in the beginning of February, who being adressed vnto the Arch-duke *Mathias*, they had no answer, but returned as they came, by reason of the spoile their men made: this request was not reported vnto the Emperour, nor vnto the Court at *Prague*. In the meane time the *Tartare*, made a furious reuenge hauing surprised the City of *Tolise*, and put all to fire and sword, they slue all within it that were of mans age: and had done worse if the Lord of *Palsi* had not made head against them, and slaine some among others three Captaines, who choose rather to bee slaine then to yeeld, except one *Valler* who demanded his life, and was saued.

The *Tartares*
demand a
peace.

The *Tartares*
reuenge for
being con-
quered,
The *Tartares*
defeated by
Palsi.

C They of *Ratzon* withall their men retired vnto the Mountaines to auoide the fury of the *Tartares*: but they of *Crabatzen* resisted them brauely, and tooke one of their Captaines. Those of *Vaxenice* (vnto *Buda*) defeated a great number, being gone to freeboote neere to *Palaner*, *Mengrade* and *Zetischen*, but the rest of the *Tartares* hauing notice thereof, burnt about thirty villages neere vnto *Calon*, which had like to haue bene taken, and *Laomare* also, if it had not bene well manned: but they durst not sally forth for that the enemy was about 12. thousand. The Fort of *Canisia* was also burnt at that time, whereas the soldiars and the Inhabitants lost all their baggage & mouables. About that time the garrison of *Strigonia* defeated a Conuoy, & tooke a great Booty. *Orspetre* the Gouvernors Lieutenant, got much welth and honor among other things he had a Gowne of cloath of Tissue of Gold and Siluer, which was sent to the *Bascha*, and knowing that the Fort of *Wailes* was fallen, hee enters it and defeats the garrison with the *Aga* (which is the Governour) and deliuered them of *Bischir*. The *Heiducks*, (which are horsemen) led away 800. Sheepe which did greatly releue *Strigonia*.

In the meane time there happened a great alteration in *Transilvania*: the *Vanoide Sigismond* (who had before accepted a recompence of the Emperour to deliuer *Transilvania* into his hands) hauing gonne from his word, hee prest the Emperour by the Bishop of *Alba-Iulia*, and by *Stephen Paschay* his Chancellor, to restore him *Transilvania* againe. And without attending any answer, he goes thither in post, takes it againe, and makes his Cousine *Andrew Battory* the Cardinall, to sweare fealty vnto him, the which he did also cause *George Balte* to approue, being then at *Cassouia* in heigh *Hungary*, General of the Emperours army, who was therein surprized: for hee gaue him to vnderstand, that it was for the good of Christendome: and in the meane time Cardinal *Andrew* treated with the Turke by safe conduct. The Emperour sent Doctor *Petzen* thither, but coming to *Thorne* the Principall Towne, he found that it was too late. Afterwards the Popes *Nuntio* interposed himselfe, & there was some hope of reconciliation. About that time, three hundred Christians of *Canisia* defeated foure hundred Turkes of *Sigeth*, and not one escaped. *Schwartzebourg* General of the Christian army, with *Palsi* and *Nadasse* attempted *Buda* in vaine, but they surprised *Schambock*, notwithstanding the resistance which the garrison made. On the other side certaine *Hussars*, *Cedryns* and *Palkceins* which went to *Zolneck*, defeated a troupe of Turkes and *Tartares*: and contrariwise the *Tartares* spoiled *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, firing all, euen vnto *Cassouia* and *Asilech*, where the Christians taking courage slue all these firebrands: this execution was done by the Peasants.

What past in
Transilvania.

E e e e e 2

Nowe

1599. Now did Cardinall *Andrew Battory* send letters of excuse to the Emperour, with assurance to bee alwaies faithfull vnto Christendome, and that he would loone restore the Contract by an Ambassage, which he would send expressely. *Schwartzenbourg* sent twelve thousand men out of *Comorre*, and laide them in Ambush in a Valley nere vnto *Tuda* of purpose to surpris the Towne, but not being able to effect it, they spoiled the suburbs, the enemy not daring to fallly forth. And the next day he detoured a Conuoy which carried money vnto *Agris*, where 400. Turkes were illicite, and the *Bega* him'selfe taken prisoner, which was the Captaine of *Hattouan*. The Emperour, to encourage the Nobility, did honour *Melchior Reder* and *Rebess* his Lieutenant with the Order of Knight-hood, for that they had valiantly defended the siege of *Varadin*.

Reder and Rebess made Knights by the Emperour.

The Turkes defeated by the Christians.

Ambassadors from the Moscovite to the Poland.

The Moscovite sends Ambassadors to the Emperour.

The great Duke of Moscovia presents to the Emperour.

The first of Iune the Christians of *Comorre*, et vpon the Castell of *Bique* and took it, although *Igin* (a name of the Country) being revolted, had discovered vnto the *Bega* the estate of the Christians, & they returne victors with a Conuoy that *Palfi* sent them, by reason of the *Tartares* courses. The Emperall army was not yet come into *Hungary*, although the troupes of *Suedenland* were discombed by the river of *Danubius*, & Colonel *Osterrues* of *Saxony* had also brought a thousand soldiors. The other Princes of *Saxony* sent not any, by reason of the courses of the Admirall of *Spain* vpon the territories of the Empire, as hath bene sayd. But God gaue a great victory to the Christians beeing but fewe in number, against a great multitude of Turkes: they had intelligence that five thousand Turkes went with a Conuoy of victualls, vpon the *Danube*, vnto *Buda*, the which was wonderfully prest with famine, the Christians knowing that the enemies would refresh themselves at *Pest*, layed an Ambush nere vnto *Buda*, and cut all these troupes in peeces, taking a great spoile, to the great confusion and hindrance of the Turkes. About the same time, God put it in the minde of the Duke of *Moscovy* to aide the Christians against the Turke, he sent first vnto the King of *Poland*, an houre-glasse of sand, a Cimiter halfe drawne, and some Petronells. Some did interpret this as a defiance of War, taking the houre-glasse to signifie that the time of offence betwixt them was past, the Petronells berokened war, but the Cimiter halfe drawne signified that the Duke of *Moscovy* was ready either for Peace or Warre. But the *Moscovites* Ambassafor declared the contrary, and that his Master desired passage for forty thousand men through *Poland*, the which hee would send vnto the Emperour, against the *D* Turkes, in fauor of Christians, & that there should be a perpetuall Peace betwixt the *Polonians* & the *Moscovites*. The *Polonians* (being suspicious by nature) denied a passage for 40000. horse through their Country, and as for a Peace, the Estates should deliberate thereon in their next assembly. The Duke of *Moscovy* apprehending this injury, scorned the *Polonois*, & caused his Ambassadors to imbarke on *S. Nicholas* day in an English ship which coasted aboute *Suedenland*, *Norway* and *Denmarke*, to enter into *Germany*, by the river of *Elbe*, hauing been three monethes in this voyage, in the end they arrived at *Stode*, & so passing by *Hamberow*, *Lubeck* & *Magdebourg*, they came into *Bohemia* where the Emperour was. They were honorably receiued at *Lubeck* and *Hamberow*, where they gaue away publicly great sums of money vnto the poorer sort, & gaue hope vnto the *E* *Hans* Townes that their Masters would cōfirme their priuileges in his great City of *Nyogard* in *Moscovia*. The Emperour gaue the audience at *Pilsen*, for that the plague was at *Prague*. The day the Emperour gaue them and once, they caused the presents that were sent by their great Duke to bee carried before them, which were many white Falcons, a Horsemans Mace all couered with precious stones set in gold, a great Cuppe with two handles all of gold, a cloth of gold with the Image of *S. Nicholas* (whom they especially reuerence) certaine peeces of *Perfume* cloth wrought with Gold, foure timbers of Sables, and summe Foxes skins as blacke as Veller. After the presents the two Secretaries followed, holding two letters in their hands being lift vp on high, the one from the great Duke of *Moscovy*, named *Borissou*, & the other fro the Prince his Sonne. *F* both written to the Emperour, the which carried credit for the Ambassador, who presented the letters and presents him'selfe. The Emperour receiued them very graciously, with offer of all reciprocal friend-shipp. But of all their promises there was nothing effected by reason of the Icaloussie and Hatred of the *Polonians* against the *Moscovites*.

We

A We haue before shewed what happened to the King of *Poland* in his calme of *Suedenland*, & how that after he had made a Peace nere vnto *Stockholme* with his uncle *Charles* Duke of *Snyderland*, who in fleede of coming to twaie the obseruation of the layd accord, was returned to *Colmar* and so into *Poland*, leading his Sister with him. The *Suedens* who had yeelded vnto his party, would not follow him into *Poland*, but remayned at *Colmar*, which is a Sea Towne where the layd King of *Poland* had left *Ladylaus* for Governor, assisted by *John Sparre* and other Nobles of *Suedenland*. *Charles* seeing the King his Nephews retreat, besieged them, and made them ready to yeeld by famine. During the siege (not that he would not seeme to imbrue the accord made betwixt his nephew and himselfe) the Estates to the Towne of *Inceop*, being assigned vnto *Lyncop*, who confirmed all the ordinances of *Oberg* and *Sundercep*, and the two precedent Conuocations of States by the which it had bene decreed, that *Charles* should be sole Administrator.

That they should send an Ambassage vnto the King, to let him vnderstand, that if he came in armes, they would oppose themselves. If otherwise, the Realme desired him. That if the affaires of *Poland* did detain him, he should send his eldest Sonne *Vladislau*, or his brother Duke *John*, to settle the Realme of *Sueden* according to their ancient lawes.

Whilest they expected his answer, *Charles* takes *Colmar* and sendes away Duke *Charles* freely the *Hungarians*, *Polonians* and *Germanians*, and hanged all the Nobles of *Suedenland* hang up the Nobles of *Suedenland* that to the number of 48. *John Sparre*, with *Christopher*, *Laurence* & *Adam* with their heads: *Suedenland* that *Ladylaus* *Ecchez* was in like sort condemned, but the King sent him manes to saue his life, by the yeelding vp of the *Sueden* prisoners, whom the King had carried away with him. So as the Souldiers which followed the King did afterwards hold for *Charles*, to those that would depart he gaue leaue, and appointed them two ships to returne by *Pomerania*, and hauing armed his ships of War, he lett them in Garrison at *Colmar*, the rest of the Fleet he sendes by the Baltike Sea, the which doth much annoy them of *Luce*, and the Country thereabouts. But not content with all this, he assembles the States againe at *Stockholme*, where he propounded seven Articles.

1. That they should allowe of the taking of *Colmar*, seeing that the King would keepe it with a Garrison of strangers, against the Lawes of *Sueden*.
2. That they should ratifie the orders made at *Lyncop*, and *Inceop* according to the Peace sworn at *Lyncop*, vpon condition, that the said Towne of *Colmar* should be restored vnto the *Suedens*.
3. If they would haue him to mainteyne them still in liberty, they should provide to gaue him more means, for the recovery of *Finland* and *Lsuonia*, and other Countries subiect to the Crowne of *Sueden*.
4. That they should attaine the Archbishop of *Stockholme* & other seditious Counsellors, who had practised against his life.
5. That those of *Lubeck*, should be punished in hostile manner, for that they had declared themselves enemies to the State.
6. That all the Seditious should be punished, and their goods confiscated, or at the least banished, and their families degraded of all dignity: and that they should consider, what they would do therein.
7. That seeing the King would not vouchsafe to answer the Ambassage of the States held at *Inceop*, to know whether they were any more bound to him by obedience, & what they expected more.

See how this ambitious spirit subiected himselfe to the humour of a multitude to attaine to that degree, which he could not hope for. Notwithstanding it was decreed, that King *Sigismund* was no more their King, but his son Prince *Vladislau* was not excluded, & within two yeares he came into *Sueden*, to mainteine the auncient Lawes of the Country, & for default thereof, they would provide for the State according to Custom. All the rest of the Articles were gratned, so as being transported with pride & vaine glory, he entred presently into *Finland* where without the succors of *John Back* a great

E e e e 3

great

1599.

great Captaine of *Finland*, he had beene in danger of his life by the meanes of *Aschel A Kork* a *Finlandois*, who held for the King, so as *Aschel* was forced to retyre to *Vibourg*, but the *Vibourgeois* being loth to hazard the fortune of the Warre, disinffed him, and receiued *Charles* Viceroy of *Sueden*, who a little before had taken *Helsingfor*, which was the cheefe caule that *Vibourg* yeilded, where their three braue Captaines, *Gysper Tisfen*, and *William Faremsbach* remayned prisoners in the Castell of *Vibourg*, and *Thomas Greue* saued him selfe.

All things falling out successfullly, he came to *Nience* with fixe ships of warre, hauing sent *Peter Stoly*, a Nobleman of *Suedeland* thither before, and was receiued by the *Russians*, and them of *Luangrode*, the Capital Cittie of *Russia*. He fought also to reduce them of *Riualia* to the obedience of the State, which is the vtermost bound of the *Baltike* Sea, who answered. That they would not acknowledge any but *Sygismond*, and resisted him. In the meane time the Fort of *Ahoruie* in *Finland* being yeilded, *Charles* put garrisons in the places which he had taken, and leauing *Jeams Schel* Admirall, and his Lieutenant Generall, he returned into *Sueden* about the end of Nouember, where we will leaue him, to finish the Christians enterprises this yeare against the *Turke*. The *Heidugues* attempted the Castell of *Formes* beneath *Buda*, being repulst from it with the Cannō, hauing lost about 400. men, they brake the bridge of *Transluania*, & tooke 2. Castels, ruining all the other bridges, & sinking the boats of the passages, the which did greatly annoy the *Turke*. For this cause *Schwartzebourg* did againe try if he could surprise *Buda*, but Colonel *Orspire* incourting with certaine *Turkes*, some of them went presently to *Buda*, to giue them intelligence thereof. the which was contemned by the *Bascha*, who issuing forth off the Towne, was taken by the Christians, and led to *Schwartzebourg*, who sent him to the Emperour with certaine enfeigns which the Barons of *Pulsi* and *Nadasse* had taken from the *Tartarians*, *Pesta* was beseegeed, where *Schwartzebourg* was sore hurt in the foote; the Emperour to keepe him still in the army, sent him a chaire, in the which he might sit without paine. The *Bascha Serdar* being in *Buda*, threatened to beseege *Strigonia*, the which was furnished for all euents, that the Forts built by Count *Charles Mansfelt*, might hold firme. In the meane time *Paul de Niar* Gouvernour of *Varadin* tooke the Towne *Zarrada*, and placed a garrison there.

During these attempts, they did not forberae to talke of peace. A place was appointed for the assembly. The great *Cham* of the *Tartares* sent his Deputies, and *Sardar* the new *Bascha* of *Buda*, sent *Amurath* *Basha* and *Ameth* for the *Turke*, and for the Emperour, *Schwartzebourg* *Pulsi*, *Nadasse*, and Doctor *Peizen*: but the demanded *Iuuarin*, *Fillech*, and *Serchin* to be reitored vnto them, and they would deliuer vp *Agria*, so as nothing could be concluded. Presently after, *Pulsi* defeated 700. *Turkes*. The *Tartarians* nere to *Fillec*, to the number of 3000. were charged by the *Hussars* (which are *Hungarian* Knights) & almost all slaine. At that time two *Turks* turned Christians, who discouered that *Serdar Bascha* was countermanded by the great *Turke*, who was much afflicted by the *Persians* and *Georgians*: so as *Serdar Bascha* hauing made some countes vpon *Fespaie* and *Pappe*, he retired to *Constantinople*; and the Christian army was disinff by the Archduke *Mathias* for that yeare.

Whilest they laboured thus in *Hungarie*, all *Transluania* came into the Emperours power, by the meanes of *Michael Vauoide* or *Palatin* of *Valachia*, who chased the Cardinal *Battory* from thence, hauing put himselfe into the *Turkes* protection, and become his tributarie, and declared himselfe enemie both to the Emperour, and to *Michael* the *Vauoide*, who opposed himselfe against him with all his forces. The *Palatin* tooke *Cronstar* neere to *Poland*, and going downe that way, he conquered *Halleis*, and then the Castell of *Fogear*, finally he encountered the Cardinals armie neere vnto *Cibigno*, and vanquished it: of twentie fife men which fled with the Cardinal, there were few escaped, but all were slaine or taken, only the Cardinal saued himselfe. *Istuan Battory* Vncle to this miserable Cardinal, went from *Alba Iulia* into *Claufembourg*, with all the most precious things that he could gather together, but the *Valachian* followed him so neere, as he tooke him, and the Towne wherinto he was retired. By this meanes many *Turkes* and *Tartares* yeilded themselves vnto the sayd *Michael*, and afterwards became

A became Christians, with their Wiues and Children.

The *Turke* sent an Ambassage to *Michael* the *Palatin*, to make an allyance with him, but the *Palatin* discoueing his treacherie, retained the *Turkes* Ambassadors to send them to the Emperour, and executed the spies of *Serdar Bascha*, so as all the *Transluaniens* yeilded vnto him: euen the worthy *Alasfi*, who might easily haue defended himselfe. Moreover *Baniffy* a cheete man was committed prisoner, by the Lords of *Kaykel*; and *Istuan Battory* who had escaped, was taken agayne at *Sorbeil* by the Colonel *George Bassi*, who being ioynd With *Paul de Niar* of *Varadin*, & *David Huniades* a *Hungarian* Prince, to succour the *Palatin*, serued vnder his pay.

Istuan had his life saued, vpon condition that he should cause *Viuar*, which held yet for the Card nall with 200. men to be yeilded vp, the which he did: & the *Palatin*, hauing put a Garrison into *Lippe*, a Frontier Towne ioyning to *Tartary*, he sent an Ambassage to the Emperour, passing by the Archduke *Mathias*, who after hee had giuen thanks vnto God, sent *David Huniades* and *Lassa* his Deputies to take possession, the which they did in *Alba Iulia*, with great solemnity, and great presents and honors done on eyther side. Yet soone after there was some trouble at *Hast* for that the Gouvernour would not receiue a Garrison of *Germains*, which *Bassa* would haue brought in, but by the wisdom of Doctor *Peizen*, all was friendly agreed, and the *Palatin* was content that his *Valachians* should retire, although he had made a Campe volant of *Suezes* to charge *Bassa*, yet there was Peace among them. After the losse of the Battel, the poore Cardinal *Battory*, flying with eight more with him into the mountaines, they were all slaine there by the *Palachians*, (whose names were not known) they cut off his head, & planting it vpon the end of a Lance, they presented it vnto the *Palatin*, who caused his body to be taken (hauing the little finger on the right hand cut off, on the which hee did were a ring of great price) & honourably buried in a goodly tombe which he himselfe had built for a brother of his. Such was the ende of this miserable Prince, who had other wise good parts in him, and was of an excellent spirit, but he wanted Iudgment at neede, being blinded with his ambition and desire of rule: wherevnto not any one shall euer attaine, but he to whom God hath giuen it.

They began to distrust the sincerity and fidelity of the *Valachian*, becing generally beleueed, that he would make his party a part, and diuide his forces from those of the Emperour: seeing him to fortifie the strong places of *Transluania*. But he sent his Ambassadors to the Emperour to assure him that the publike cause was his, and that he had no other desseine in this war, then the common good of Christendome, holding that what soeuer was not prosperous and happy to the General, could not be profitable nor happy to him in particular: but in the end God discouered and confounded his bad intentions. The *Turke* was stil very importune for a Peace, sometimes they demanded of him restitution of all the prisoners, and that hee should stay the *Tartares* courtes: the which *Serdar Bascha* refused, and therefore *Pulsi*, set vpon *Resluer* & *Lachia* (Towns of importance) the which were taken without fight. The *Latzsens* and *Martolesins* were put to death, for that being Christians they had serued the *Turke*. Moreover *Palantuarcepp* and *Caret* were yeilded, but *Capos Viuar* defended it selfe, where there died about two hundred Christians, & Captaine *Morbourg* was sore hurt in the left arme. In reuenge whereof the Christians of *Comora* charged the *Tartarians* halfe a league from *Buda*; deliuered 400. Christian prisoners; surprised two Barkes laden vpon the *Danowe*, the which were so rich as euery priuate soldiart had a hundred and fity crownes for his share. Such was the reuolution of this yeere in all parts of *Europe*, as much as might be discouered by the history of diuers nations.

The first day of the yeare, Pope *Clement* the 8. began the *Iubile*, which he could not performe on Christmas-Eue (as they had bin accustomed to do) by reason of his goute. It is hard to finde in any history the first institution of the yeare of *Iubile*, but it is apparent that *Boniface* the 8. did publish the first constitution in the yeare 1299. Who seeing a great concourse of people come to *Rome* on Christmas-Eue to get the Indulgence of the *Iubile* as they sayd, the which they did by tradition euery hundred yeare.

The Pope with the aduice of his Cardinals decreede, that euery hundred

Eccc 4

years

The Christians enterprises in Hungary against the *Turkes*.

The *Bascha* of *Buda* taken.

A parole of peace betwixt the Christians *Turks* and *Tartares*.

Cardinal *Andrew Battory* defeated.

1599.

The Cardinal *Battory* slaine by the *Valachians*.

The *Palachian* forth dmy *Transluania*.

1600.

The *Jubile*.

1599. yeare it should be celebrated at *Rome*, and that which was kept but by tradition should passe in forme of the Law: *Clement* the 6. changed the celebration to euen yeares: *Urban* the 6. brought it to thirtie three, and in the end *Paul* the 2. did change it to five and twentie yeares.

Publication
of the Jubile.

The begin-
ning of the
Jubile.

The publication of the Jubile is made the day of the Ascension, the yeare before the Church of *Saint Peter* of *Vatican*, by two Preefts in two severall churches, one in the Church, the one reads the Bull in *Latin*, and the other in *French*, and it is proclaimed in the four corners of the Citie of *Rome*, to invite the four parts of the world to this holy yeare. On Christ mas eve at Evening time, the Jubile begins by a solemn procession, in the which the Pope, the Cardinals, Princes, Ambassadors, Prelats, and the Officers of *Rome*, march according to their order. The Pope is carried in a chaire, and stays at the holy doore, which is walled up, and neuer opens but the yeare of the Jubile. He carries a taper in one hand, and a little hammer of silver in the other, with the which he strikes three times vpon the wall, which is sodenly beateen downe by them that stand readie for that purpose. In doing this Ceremonie, his Holynes sayes many prayers, and blesseth the worke, whilest the Clergie sing Psalmes and Hymnes, the people gather vpon the peeces of bricke of the wall, which they keepe enviously. Then the Pope enters into the Church, and the Evening begins, and from that time the grace of the Jubile is communicated vntill the same day the next yeare, those that will gaine it, are bound to visit foure Churches, *S. Peters*, *S. Paul*, *S. Iohn de Latran*, and our *Lady the great*. The Prince of *Parma* was at the ouerture of the Jubile, and lodged, & well entertained at the Popes cost. He gained the Pardons and a Wife, the Pope hauing giue him his Niece, the eldest daughter of *Iohn Francis Aldobrandin*, who was not yet twelue yeares old, and therefore the Ceremonie of the marriage was deferred for three or foure moneths.

This opening of the Jubile was one of the foure great actions which made his Papacy happie and memorable. The first was the Kings Conuersion. The second the peace betwixt the two greatest Christian Monarks. The third was the reduction of the Duchie of *Ferrara* without warre. He is held a great Prince, and a very Father of Concord, euen by them that are enemies to his Papacie. This yeare there died many Cardinals, *Andrew Battory* died violently as I haue sayd. Cardinall *Roderic* who was come out of *Poland* to *Rome* to gaine the Jubile, died of a feuer. The Cardinall *Arragon* followed him at the same time: Cardinall *Andrew* of *Austria*. Cardinall *Prinzi* a Marke of *Venice*, and Cardinall *Caietan* did see the beginning, and not the ending, of the holy yeare. In the beginning of the yeare, the Duke of *Sauoy* sent the King two great Baskets, and two boxes of Cristall, the rarest peeces of the Cabinet of *Esten*, of *Portugal* his Grandmother, and of *Lady Catherine* the *Infanta* of *Spaine* & his wife, the which could not be valued neither for the matter, nor for the workmanship, and the King returned vnto the Duke a Jewell of Diamonds, in the midst whereof there was one Diamond transparent which discovered his Maiesties portrait, the which he esteemed so much, as hauing lost it once in dancing, he gaue five hundred Crowns to him that found it. The Duke was not to be imitated in his Bountie, and when as they thought that he had giuen all, he invited the King and the Court to a dancing, where he shewed himselfe so rich in Jewels, as they were esteemed to bee worth above sixe hundred thousand Crowns. He gaue presents to all the cheefe in Court, who accepted them with the Kings permission: Onely the Duke *Biron* refused the honies that he sent vnto him: but the King had nothing the better opinion of their intelligences, nor the Duke less assurance of his affection by this refusal, for it was cheefly for his sake, that the Duke of *Sauoy* had made his voyage, to draw him wholly from the Kings seruise. It was that great occasion which hee carried secret in his breast, and would not reueale vnto his Counsell, when they dissuaded his going into *France*: the Marquisate of *Saluces* was the pretext of his voyage, but the finishing of this great Conspiracie was the true cause. It was a goodly foyle well set out, but couered with a talic none.

The New
ye reserues
of the Duke
and King.

The Duke
Biron refused
the Duke of
Savoy present

The cheefe
cause of the
Dukes voyage
into France.

A *La Fin* was employed as a Truchman of the wills of the Conspirators and Confederates. The first time that he had any speech with the Duke of *Sauoy* was the night after the feasts of Christmas, when he was brought into the Dukes chamber in *Nemours* house, by Signor *Iacob* without the prinitie of any other. The Duke of *Nemours* (comming to giue the Duke the good night) was intreated not to enter, for that the Duke would take his rest. They would not haue him acquainted with any thing, fearing lest hee should aduertise the King; hauing obserued what hee had the first day of the Dukes arrival, that nothing should draw him from the Kings seruise, and that excepted, he would do any thing for his Highnes. There was not any night but *La Fin* sent a good part of it, to acquaint him with the State of the Faction. Those that were of this intelligence, met at the most remote Churches, to acquaint one another with that which past. Nothing was sayd in the Kings Councell, but the Duke of *Sauoy* was presently aduertised thereof, by them that were at his deuotion. But hee had not yet spoken with the Duke *Biron* of their desseine, but by a third person it was necessarie they should ioyn to knit the knot of their vniou. They had both sought the occasion, but there was still some obstacle, or some spie that hindered them. They incountred a fit oportunitie at *Corsins*, being all alone, the King hauing commanded the Duke *Biron* to entertaine the Duke of *Sauoy* vntill his returne, they lost no time, in plying it but in three or foure words of trust, and assured intelligence, referring the rest, to the mediation of *la Fin*. Their discourse was broken off, by the coming of the Count *Saiffons*, and the Duke *Montpensier*.

C The Dukes proceeding therein, was very cunning and iudicious, for often times he would begin a discourse of the valour & courage of the Duke *Biron*, to sound the Kings opinion, who did not alwayes giue him the glory of those goodly executions, whereof hee wanted. The Duke did still aduertise the Duke *Biron* of any thing the King had sayd of him, that might any way alter him, which made him to breake forth in the bitterest words hee could against all respect of the Kings seruice, being very sensible of any thing that was spoken against the reputation of his valour, in regard whereof hee esteemed nothing: and when hee entred into the Historie of his life, hee would speake contemptibly of all the world, not sparing the King himselfe, whose valour and experience in militarie actions, hath obscured others, and forced them to confesse, that hee hath not benee aduanced to the Royall Throne by the benefit of Fortune, but by the vertue of his vertue.

E The Duke *Biron* committed great errors against the rules of such as haue a desire to raise and aduance their fortunes. No man must euer enter into comparisons of valour and sufficiencie with his Prince: hee may not dispute of his aduice, contradict his opinion, nor affect to seeme more aduised, more iudicious, nor more capable. Many haue benee cast away vpon this Shelle. The Duke *Biron* was of this humor. The exccesse of his courage made him to disallow with disdain, all that was not dohe or inuented by himselfe. Hee sayd sometimes vnto the King, that he would not haue them write in the Historie of *France*, that other then hee had done such and such a thing.

The second day of the yeare, the King went to *Saint Germaine in Laie*, leading the Duke with him, to shew him his buildings, his Grottes or Caves and his Chaires, and withall hee shewed him his other houses, and all the goodliest places about *Paris*. In the meane time hee dissembled his discontent, with so great wisdom, as hee seemed alwayes one, at the Table, at Hunting, at Play, and at Dancing: the King though hee refused what hee demanded, yet did hee still shew him new sights, to recompence the fained repentance of his voyage.

F After that hee had seene all that was rare about *Paris*, the King would shew him his Court of Parliament, for al that he had seene was nothing in respect of the admirable greatnes of that reuerent Court, whereof in former times, many Emperours, Kings and Princes, comming to *Paris*, had more admired the Iustice that was administrated there.

1599.

The Duke of
Nemours did
point out the
Kings seruice.

The Duke of
Savoyes policy

The Duke
Biron could
force him in
other places.

These words
were spoken
and heard at
the siege of
Amiens.

The King
leads the
Duke to the
Court of Par-
liament.

1600. there, then any thing else that they had seene. The King aduertised the chiefe President *Achilles de Harley*, that he would go see and heere them. They prepared the lodging of the Golden Chamber, whereas the King and Duke might see and not be seene. There was a most tragickall cause pleaded, whereof the first President made choise: The subiect was of one *Iohn Prost* a Practitioner of the Law, who had bene murdered at *Paris*, and the authors could not bee discovered. His Mother accused a Baker where he was lodged, vpon some apparant presumptions of certaine money which she had sent vnto him. VV herevpon the Baker was condemned to bee rackt with all extremity, after the which hee was enlarged for a time, putting in Caution for his appearance againe in Court. It happened afterwards that three Gascons were taken for robbing of a house, and condemned the next day to bee hanged. B At their execution, the last of the three sayd, that the Baker was innocent for that which he had bin accused of, for the murder of *Iohn Prost*, and that it was he with his companion *la Sale* that had slaine him, thinking that he had money: and that after they had slaine him, they did cast him into the priuy, whereas he was yet. The which was found true. Wherevpon the Baker being declared innocent, he presents his petition vnto the Court, and demands reparation of honor, with his Charges, Damage and Interest against the Mother. The Mother defends her selfe, and saith, that her accusations were not calumnious. *Maister Anne Robert* pleaded for the Baker; and for the Mother *Maister Anthony Arnault*; and for the Kings interest *Maister Seruin* his Maisties Aduocate Generall.

Anne Robert Aduocate in the Court, pleading for the Baker being Plaintife: said thus,

MAY IT PLEASE YEE.

THE ancient Poets taking pleasure to discourse of many Combats happened at the battell of *Troy*, report that *Telephus* (the sonne of *Heracles*) receiued in an encounter a sore wound with a Lance by *Achilles*: who seeing his paine to encrease dayly, fled to *Apollons* Oracle for Councell, who answered, *That nothing could giue him ease or cure, but the same Lance wherewith hee had bene wounded.* A Lance called *Pedias* of Mount *Pelson*, in the topp whereof *Chiron* gathered it, to present to *Achilles*: so as in *Telephus* accident, the Remedy & the Cure, came from the same Lance, which gaue the wound and did the harme.

The Plaintife with some like consideration, hath reason to say, that hauing bene by the authority of a sentence miserably tormented, and exposed to the rigour of the rack and torture, by the wilfull slander and importune rashnes of a Woman, he hath recourse vnto the same Lance of *Achilles* which did wound him: seeing that hee doth now appeale vnto the Authority & Iustice of the same Court, which hath heretofore giuen the first sentence of condemnation against him, hoping that by the exemplary punishment of the rashnes and slander of this Woman, the soueraigne Iustice of this Parliamēt, guided by the conduct of an *Achilles*, which doth preside & hold the chiefe place, shall giue cure to his wounds, and bring consolation to his griefes.

The estate of the cause that is now in question, and to be iudged, is not whether the Plaintife were falsely and slanderously accused or no: for the accident of two murderers hath auerred and discouraged the slander without any doubt. But the question is, if this Defendresse, (after so false and calumnious an accusation) shall passe unpunished: and whether her pretended excuses shalbe receiued and countenanced by Iustice. For one of the chiefe points which she pleads for her excuse is, that the Criminall Proccesse hauing past through the hands of the most famous Iudges of *Europe*, if they haue bin deceived (saith this woman) if by presumptions and probable coniectures, they haue found cause to condemne this Man vnto the rack, if so many worthy Iudges haue bin surprised, will you not excuse the simplicity of a Woman, and the extreme sorrow of an afflicted Mother for the death of her son, hauing had no hatred nor malice, in this accusation.

A wound
giuen by
sentence
cannot bee
cured but
by sentence

Alluding to
the name of
the Iudge
which was
Achilles D^r
Harley.

A accusation. It is a great abuse to measure the actions of Iudges, with the actions of Parties: the pursure and proceeding of parties is meere voluntary: no man is forced to plead or accuse: the Plaintife should be well aduised before he begin, & not to drawe any man into the danger of a capitall condemnation, if he be not first assured, that hee who he calls into question hath done the deed and is author of the crime: but the charge of a Iudge is tied to a necessary duty, bound to certaine Maximes, and subiect to rules, established by the Lawes to condemne necessarily vpon presumptions and proofes, and vpon the testimony of witnesses, examined at the instance of the party. Antiquity doth teach vs, that *Tiresias* that great Southsaier, foretold things to come by the flying of Birds, not that he did see the birds, for he was blinde, but (say the Poets) he had alwaies his daughter *Manto* nere vnto him, who told him in what manner the Birds did fly, & thereby he diuined. Iustice may rightly be compared to this excellent blinde man, & the comparison cannot seeme bad, seeing that the *Egyptians* thought good to paynt their Iudges with their eyes blindfold. For Iudges cannot rightly see nor knowe what doth passe. Iustice decrees nothing but according to the reporte and testimony of parties & witnesses. If any inconuenience happen in the condemnation, the mischiefe is to be imputed to the parties, and not to the Iudges or Iustice.

Iustice doth
Iudge of that
which ap-
pears.

They report that the *Greekes* hauing put *Palamedes* to death, his Father *Nauplius* to bereuenged, obserued the time when as the *Greekes* after the sack of *Troy*, returned by sea, in a great tempest, *Nauplius* being vpon a Rock in full sea, held a burning Torch in his hand, as if that place had bene a safe port for the descent of Ships: the *Greekes* abused with this light, ran against the Rock, and suffered shipwracke. In this misfortune if there were cause to complayne, it was against the malicious inuention of *Nauplius*; but as for the Pilots and such as gouerned the Shippes, they were not to be blamed, in following the direction of a Lanthorne in a darke night, being vually set at safe Ports. So in accidents like vnto this in question, all the harme, all the complaints, and all the wrong, is to be imputed to the accused, which kindles the fire of slander, and from whom proceeds the practices and subornation of witnesses; and the search and disguising of presumptions and circumstances. Who doubts but the complaints & malicious teares of this Woman were false directions, & sufficient inductions to circumuent the wisdom of the best Iudges, who in the midst of the night, that is to say, in the darknesse of hidden Crimes, haue followed the ordinary formes of Iustice.

Slander is the
cause of false
iudgment.

It was with reason that a *Greeke* Author discoursing of the criminall proccesse of *Orestes*, who to reuenge the death of his Father, slue *Clitemnestra* his Mother: sayd, that when he was brought before the Parliament of *Arriopage*, *Minerva* Goddess of Wisdom was President in Iudgment. The Ancients by such fictions would teach vs, that in the iudgement of Criminall causes, if a Celestiall power doth not assist, there doth many times inconueniences happen, but the fault must then be imputed to the accuser, who giues the first cause, by an information framed expressely to assist and condemne an innocent. *Appian* in his History reports of *Iulius Caesar*, that seeing a mutiny in his Campe, he commanded the authors thereof to be apprehended. A souldiar was brought before him as one of these mutines, & yet it was presently auerred that he was none. *Caesar* caused him that brought him to be seuerly punished, iudging that although hee did it not maliciously, yet he deserued punishment, for that he had drawne an innocent souldiar in danger of his life. We read that *Martian* hauing found a dead body in the night, & through piety (which was the greatly recommended among Christians) seeking to bury him, was taken, led before the Iustice, & condemned vpon suspicion: but at the same instant, when as they caried him to execution, it chanced happily that the Murderer was taken and executed, hauing confessed the fact to the great happines of *Martian*, who was deliuered, and within few yeares after chosen Emperour. As also the Ecclesiasticall History doth teach vs, that *S. Athanasius* was accused to haue slue *Arsenius*, and was ready to bee condemned, if by good happe *Arsenius* had not bene found, being hidden by the enemies of *Athanasius*. A late Writer curious in the search of the singularities of the History of *Venice*, reports an Aduenture somewhat like vnto this: *Fuscarus* sonne to the Duke of *Venice*, had a capital

Martian con-
demned vpon
suspicion.

1600. capitall quarrell with an other *Venetian* Gentleman called *Hermolaus Donat*. This Gentleman was found dead, and the author of this murther not knowne. *Fuscarnus* vpon suspicion of their quarrell, was called in question, condemned and sent into exile where he died for griefe, to see himselfe banished from his Country. Within three moneths after his death, a theefe was executed, who amongst other crimes, confessed, that it was he and not *Fuscarnus*, which had slaine that *Venetian* Gentleman. In such and the like inconueniences, were it reason to giue absolute impunity, to him that was the Calumniator? be it that malice or indiscretion hath drawne him to this slander? *Scipio* said, that a Generall of an army must be well aduised what he doth, for in matters of Warre there is no meanes to erre twise, the first fault being sufficient to ruine an Army. Euen so in Iustice, it must be very exact, when there is any question of a capitall accusation, for seeing that the life depends thereon, there is no meanes to erre twise, the first being irreparable. It is an approued distinction of all those that haue treated of the punishment of false accusations, whether an Informer be induced to accuse slaundrously and wickedly, or by indiscretion and without mallice.

The punishment of false accusations.

The one differs from the other, so haue they diuers effects: the one hath some excuse, the other is punished seuerely: the one Ciuilly, the other Criminally: for where there is mallice and slander, the Law of God doth punish the Calumniator with the like paine, *Lege Talionis*: and at *Rome* the Calumniator in crimes that were not capital, was beaten with a hot iron, and branded in the forehead, for a signe and perpetuall marke of his slander. And the Emperour *Macrinus* did punish those accusers which did faile in their proofes with death. *Phlyne* speaking of such men, called them abominable sacrifices, which should be offered vp to the publike quiet. And the good Emperour *Traian* did so detest Calumniators, as hee caused them to be put into a ship without sayle or racking, abandoning them to the mercy of that mercilesse element, which would haue no pittie of them, no more then they had had of many poore innocents.

But as for the Slander which proceeds from indiscretion without mallice, the seueritie in truth should not be so great, yet is it fit there should be some punishment. No seuerer or capitall punishment, but at the least pecuniarie and ciuil, of domages and fine. If she were not excusable as a Mother, forced to accuse by extreme griefe without mallice: what racke? what punishment? what torments were sufficient to punish her, which hath drawne an innocent man in question, and in danger to bee broken vpon the wheele? The Poets saie, that the Goddesse *Ceres* by the supposition of *Tantalus* did eate *Pelops* shoulder. This Goddesse finding her own error, although vnadvisedly, condemed her selfe to make *Pelops* a new shoulder of Iuorie. You are the cause of the cruell torments which the playntife hath suffered vpon the racke, but you say it was by indiscretion, and without mallice. At the least by an award of domages and fine, make some Pecuniarie recompence, to releue the miserie of this poore man, and to helpe him to finish the remainder of his dayes, languishing after so many torments. And if this woman represents vnto you the pittie and griefe of a Mother, imagine I pray you the miserable sightes of this innocent, in the midst of the cruelty of the most violent tortures, hauing no other feeling but his paine and griefe. In one houre a thousand deaths without dying, a bodie tormented, stretched, halfe torne in peeces, his sinewes dried and strayned, his members broken, and his whole bodie in a pittifull estate, being bound, and miserably racked. And to speake truth, it had bin a great happiness for this poore man to haue died, for what remaines, is no more a perfect body, but peeces displaced and disioyned, members broken, lame and feeble, hauing his bodie reduced to that miserable estate, as hereafter he shall hardly by his labour, get a liuing for himselfe, his Wife, and five Children. It is the clamor and sightes of these poore yong Infants, whose erie pierceth vp to heauen, and their complaints come vnto you, to moue you vnto pittie. He in the meane time seeing himselfe miserable in his body, F and his family reduced to beggerie, liues and dyes altogether. It is a paine which still encreaseth, a Griefe which euer doubles, and a Death which neuer end.

The picture of Slander.

That great Painter *Apelles* meaning to paint Slander, set him forth in a mourning

wee'd

A weed, hauing two Vines, one of either side, Ignorance and Suspition: what reason were there to take for payment, an auaylable satisfaction, the indiscretion of the Defendresse, and the excuse of Ignorance, (an ordinary companion to Slander) and to pardon to norable a fault, vnder pretext of an afflicted Mothers griefe, for the death of her sonne: and hereafter when any Murther is committed, shall it bee lawfull for a Father, a Brother, or a neerer Kinsman, with all Impunitie, vnder a pretext of Iustice, to accuse whome he pleaseth, and to bring him in question of his life, or of some cruel torments, and in the end to be quit, excusing himselfe vpon his Griefe, or Ignorance. The rules of Iustice and Law doe not allow it. *Titus Linius* sayd excellently, that the Law was Inexorable, Deafe without Pittie, and without Passion. Why doth that worthy Author say, that the Law is deafe, but for that it doth neuer giue eare vnto the vaine discourse of Pittie and Commiseration? The propertie of Iustice is to bee strict and seuerer. The Surgion that is pittifull, and doth not lanch deepe, makes the wound incurable. An Indulgent & ouer-milde Father, makes the Child incorrigible: So a mercifull Iudge doth nourish and increase vice, and betrays the Lawes and Maiestie of Iustice.

The Lawe inexorable.

This cause doth therefore import the Publike, for examples sake: for although the Playntife hath no other quality but of a simple Bourges and handy-crafts man, yet to obtaine reason in Iustice, and to hope for reparation of the wrong which hath beene done him, he thinks himselfe great enough, seeing he hath the happinesse to liue vnder the peacetull gouernment of the best King in the world, who hauing heaped all happinesse vpon *France*, mainteynes equally in his protection and vnder the safeguard of his Maiesty, the life and health of all his subiects, Poore and Rich, Great and Small.

The Ancients held, that *Themis*, which is the Goddesse of Iustice, was the daughter of the Sunne: and as the Sunne may be seene in a Glasse by them which cannot behold his beames. So the Maiesty of our great King, the true and comfortable Sun of this monarchy, the eye and heart of *France*, would giue authority to this famous Parliament, as the true leate of his greatnesse, to the ende that therein as in a Looking-glasse, we might admire the Beauty, Light and Beames of his Iustice. An Historian sayth, that the Emperour *Augustus* had fire eyes, *igneos oculos*, inferring thereby that he had such glistering eyes and such a piercing sight, as it was impossible, or very hard to looke stedfastly on him. And we in like sort mult content our selues that it is lawfull for vs to admire the beauty of this soueraigne Court, and to beleue that our weaké sight is not strong enough to inioy fully the presence of our great Prince, sitting in his seat of Iustice, nor to indure the glistering beames of the Maiesty of our great *French Augustus* whom God hauing led through so many dangers, as it were by the hand, to the height of all greatnesse, and hauing endued him with the Valour of *Cesar*, the Fortune of *Alexander*, the Bounty of *Traian*, we can wish no more vnto him but the happines, the many yeares, and the continuall prosperity of *Augustus*, to the end that all we his subiects may liue happy and content vnder the raigne of so great a King and the assured Iustice of this famous Parliament.

So the Playntife hauing recourte to this soueraigne Iustice, as to the last Port of health, beseecheth the Court to allow of his Request, and that he may be absolved of the slanderous accusation layde against him, that the inrolement of his imprisonment may bee razed, and hee discharged of all condemnations which heretofore haue beene giuen; and moreover that the Defendresse may be condemned to a pecuniary reparation, such as it shall please the Court to decree, and to all Charges, Domages and Interest.

F ffff

ANTHONY

ANTHONIE Arnaud for the Defendres, sayd.

MAY IT PLEASE YEE.

Afflictions
speake of
themselves.

YOV shal vnderstand in this cause, how true it is: *That ordinarie afflictions speake with iudgement, and that extreme calamities do quench or confound the spirit.* The Plaintiffe, hath represented his griefes vnto you in an eloquent discourse, full of Arre & the force of eloquence: And contrariwise of our part, you shall heare nothing but the Sobbs and Sighes, of a Mother transported with greefe, and reduced to all sorts of despaire. I would to God the torments whereof you speake, and all the cruelties that may be imagined, had bene executed vpon me poore Mother, who haue one foote already in the graue: And that the death of my Sonne (and the Kinde of death, more miserable then the death it selfe) had not ministred the mournfull subiect of this miserable cause, so as on what side soeuer you turne, there is nothing to be seene but Teares & Desolation. But there is this great difference: that the greefe of the aduerser party (if there yet remains any), may be mollified in time, by a thousand remedies which excellent wits haue inuented during many ages, to ease the discomodities of the body. But contrarywise the extreame affliction (which findes no words of force to represent it), for the losse of a Sonne, of an onely Sonne, the onely support and comfort of the trembling age of an olde Mother, hath neuer found consolation in all the most excellent discourses in the world, being the onely phisicke of the minde. The Greefe is so violent as it exceeds all Remedy, and bleeds a fresh euery day. The older it growes, the more greuous it is. It doth hourly master the resistance which it found in the beginning, and doth continually vanquish the forces of the Body with them of the Minde.

It is a strange thing that my poore Sonne hauing bene thus cruelly massacred, you who see him returne no more into your house, instead of aduertising me thereof, went into his Chamber to take his money, you transported it out of your owne house, and hid it in your Brother in Lawes. And which is worse, being examined by the Iustice, you denied it constantly and often, vntill that your Sonne (to young to conceale the truth) discovered the place where you had layed it. All this is iustified by the Processesse, the which remains in the hands of the Kings Councell.

So as it was not in you that these Murtherers were not vnpunished, but the piercing eye of Diuine Iustice, which neuer sleeps: for a robbery committed two months after hath brought them to the execution. It appeeres by the informations, that the very day of the Murther, these two Murtherers went into your lodging, and brake open my Sonnes coter, if you had fled vnto Iustice, they might haue bene instantly apprehended. As peradventure my poore Childe was not then fully dead. Howe many are left for dead which are not so? Howe many haue bene taken out of the Coffin, yea out of the Graue, which haue suruiued their Funeralls fiftie yeares?

At the least you cannot denie but you were the cause to moderate their punishment, what know I what they would haue sayd vpon the wheele? you neuer attempted any thing against mee, but when as they which slue my Sonne could no more accuse you? What did then hinder you, why you did not speedely aduertise the Iustices? At the least it was feare to restore the money which you had taken, in committing a Domestickall theft: the which was alwaies, punished with death; and wherein the Lawes of Hospitality (the which are Holy among all Nations) were also violated. Whome should I sooner challenge for the death of my Sonne, then him, who had his spoiles? Nature hath hidden in the earth both gold, silver and iron, but the malice of Man hath drawne them all forth, that it might want no instruments for Murthers, nor reward for Murtherers. No man sheddeth blood, to die his hands therein; there must be some other violent passion to thrust him on: Couetousnesse is the most ordinary. All conjectures, all presumptions, were and are found true, that my Son had bin slaine by some

Desire and
couetousnesse
the cause of
murthers.

one

one that desired his money, whom then might I better call in question then him who was found teized thereon?

If reading vnder foote the Murther of my Sonne (as some Mothers do) I had onely demanded his goods of you, you could not haue auoyded a unanimous and rigorous condemnation. But for that I haue sought reuenge of the Murther, I am this day in danger to bee condemned, what recompence? *Catus Antonius* was accused for the Conspiracy of *Cathin*: whereof he was found innocent, but his innocent was intermixt with other thefts, which he had in former times committed in *Macedonia*, for the which he was condemned. And yet the one of his accusations had nothing common with the other. In this cause Murther and Theft haue great advantage. How many bee there in this great City, which being murdered like to this poore Youngman, should remaine three monthes vnknewne, if their Hosts wanting them, did not presently aduertise the Iustice. Suffer them to take their money without punishment, that is to say, declare him innocent that hath hidden it, and you shall hope to hide the Murtherers.

It is a strange thing that in the head City of this Realme, and in the face of the Parliament, there should be such furious Tigers found, to murder men who die as in the most hideous forest in the world. The more these wicked engines are condemned to condemn the Lawes, the more must you endeavor to forestall them. All that may serue to punish such detestable crime, must be done with secrecy, that it may can so much aduance it, as to auerete the Iustice speedely, which is the best way to reuel spirits are terrified and amazed. It shall be like vnto the Parliament, which may bee rotten before they know he is dead.

There be some that are incident to the suspicion of a crime, till one that be very innocent, as he that is found neere vnto a man that is newly Murdered. He may happily be put to the Racke, this is a meere misfortune, or rather (sayng a fictionality obserued in this case by the Heathen Lawiers) let vs say with the Doctors of the Church, that it is a secret iudgement of God, the which we cannot see, and not curiously serch into. The Thunder is Worshipped euen by them that are stricken with it: Punishments ordayned by Iustice are the chastisements of Gods hand, whole Poore is represented here below by the Prince, and His by his Magistrates. The *Philosopher Crator*, sayd, that hee which suffers all without desert, is much eated in this accident of fortune. But in this fact which is now in question, the Plaintiffs theft and not his misfortune, hath with great reason made this suspicion to fall vpon him.

Do you not consider that the paine which you haue suffered, is the cause you shall be it is day ablated? Without it your theft could not remaine vnpunished, nor demand of damage and interest, belongs onely to them that are meere innocent, if you bee accused of two faults, and are found guilty of one, you must implore the mercy of the Iudge and not his rigour.

It was then impossible to free you from the Racke, by all the Maximes of Lawyers, and their Interpreters, followed by a Decree which needes no other defence then Reason. And not to strate from this cause, shall I let you plainly see, that you neede not bee so fearefull to come to the Racke. If these Murtherers had not bene tortured for the robbery for the which they were executed, they could not haue bene condemned for want of prooffe. The one of them confessed vpon the Racke. As the Racke tormented you, so the Racke releued you, hauing discovered your innocency in regard of the Murther. And in easing you, it hath brought before mine eyes my Murdered Sonne, who presents himselfe euery night vnto mee with stretched out armes, whilst the Murtherers kill him.

So as one and the selfe same thing hath filled me with Heauinesse, and you with Ioy. Comfort your selfe then with your good Fortune, and insult no moreouer my misery: do you not feare that they will lesse pity you, and the paine you haue endured, when they shall see you haue none of mee, nor of my distresse. I will not say vnto my Matters

Ffiii 2

that

1600. that it is cruell and barbarous to add afflictions to the afflicted, why should I see-
 feeling that all the condemnations which my aduerser partie demands against mee, ad-
 no more to my calamitie, *then small brookes doe vnto the Sea*? It is the onely comfort
 which remaynes in my miserie, that it can haue no increase. I will not therefore
 spend any time to cyte the texts of Lawiers, which hold the violent passions of a
 miserable a Mother, excusable. They be Lawes which are borne with vs, where no
 man can be ignorant, seeing we haue suckt it with our Mothers milke, and which wee
 cannot abrogate but in spoyling our Humanitie. I will not strine to represent vnto you
 that affection to the Children, or to the Parents, (euens as the loue of good Subjects
 to their Prince,) consist not in any mediocrity or temper, but in excess, that excess
 which in other motiues of the mynd is vicious, is herein the full of ail perfection. Why
 should I come to these excuses, seeing that if I were to begin my Accusation, I would
 doe no lesse then I haue done? I had rather bee condemned to all sorts of Damages,
 Interests, and Reparations, then to repent mee of the pursure I haue made for the death
 of my Sonne.

A mothers
 passions ex-
 cusable.

A goodly pretext for those Mothers, which doe every day sell the deare blood
 of their Children, when they shal heare that I haue bin condemned, shal they not then
 haue reason to say that they feare Damage and Interest, if they open their mouthes?
 Dion obieries that they were reduced to that point at Rome, hauing so much discour-
 tenanced accusations, as they were forced to promise Impunity to him that should con-
 uict an other of a greater crime then his own. Calumniators and false accusers are to
 be feared vnder bad Princes, which enrich themselves with the confiscations of their
 Subjects, and not vnder the iust and flourishing gouernment, of our great King, which
 hath erected for many euerslasting trophies of his Clemencie and Bountie, equalling at
 this time by the glorious effects of Iustice (which shines throughout all this great
 and mightie Estate) the victories and the stately triumphes of fearefull warre: show-
 ing by the effects, that the same Vertue, and the same Magnanimitie carries great Prin-
 ces and excellent Captaines into the midst of the most blodie and furious battayles,
 and doth conduct them alio to the holy and sacred actions of most happie and bles-
 sed Peace.

Talions Law
 wholly abrogat-
 ed.

Wee haue then no need amongst vs of these *Talions* punishments, the which were
 as soone Abrogated, as they were Inacted. If they were in force, not two crimes
 amongst a hundred should bee punished: at the beginning wee must necessarily fol-
 low coniectures and presumptions, If they may lead vs to the certaine knowledge
 of the truth: they condemne the culpable, if not they forbear: *God onely walks in
 light, but men in darkenesse*. But I beseech you to consider what power I haue had in
 ail this Criminall proceeding. The Plaintife begins his action against mee, be-
 cause I am the most weake. If hee durst challenge the Iudges, hee would doe it
 much more willingly, ail the instruction of the Proceffe comes from the Crimi-
 nall parte. It is not I, but the Kings Atturney generall. Alas I brought nothing
 but my sighes: therein consists my cryme. Oh I may well double my teares, seeing
 it is not lawfull for mee to weepe: it were more then a second losse of my Sonne
 to lose my teares.

The Plaintifs intent is to haue againe for his damage and interest, the money
 which Iustice hath forced him to yeeld. I haue it not, I haue beene employed in
 praying vnto God for my Sonne who was cruelly murdered, and had no time
 to thinke of his soule, which was a double crueltie. Howses shake before they fall.
 The smoake fore-tels the fire that will consume vs. A Tempest is discovered a far off,
 but the murdering hand of man strikes sodenly, when wee least thinke of it. If you
 condemne mee in Damages and Interests, you may iudge that remembering
 his paynes, how rigorously hee will intreat mee. I haue nothing left to pay it, that
 little which I had was employed in the education of my Sonne, holding it to bee
 the richest and cheefest treasure that I could desire: *O deceitfull hope!* By vertue
 or

A of your sentence he will confine me into a Prison, but I regard it not, so as hee make
 choise of a darke and a hidious one, that it may soone shorten my miserable life, the
 which shall neuer find ease but in death: for I am resolu'd to passe the remainder of
 my dayes, like vnto those Mothers which accompanie their Children vnto the Graue.
 All that makes me to desire Libertie, is to the end that I might liue among the Rockes,
 in deserts and the most solitarie Woods, and that I might neuer see Mothers that
 make much of their Children. Alas my Sonne, my poore Sonne, I shall call out thee
 night and day, although thou answerest me not. If this extreame miserie doth not sa-
 tisfie the Plaintife, let him feare, and apprehend the wrath of God and a second
 B punishment. Let him not abuse the grace which he hath done him, in making manifest
 the truth of this Murther. Let him liue happily to see his innocencie knowne: and I
 alwayes vnhappy to haue lost my poore Child. I conclude that it would please the
 Court to absolue me from his request.

After this the Kings Solliciter General, master *Servin*, did rise to plead and conclude
 for the Atturney Generall, vpon that which the Solliciters had deliuered for the par-
 ties: the opinions of the hearers were in such suspence, as they knew not which way to
 incline. He that had first heard for the Plaintife, sayd, that he had reason: but as Iudges
 must alwayes reserve one eare for the defender, being impossible to iudge definitiue-
 ly vpon the discourses of one partie. when the second had pleaded, there was such an e-
 qualitie and concurrence of reasons found, as it seemed they had both a good cause.
 C The Kings Solliciter discours, was the poulder to separate the truth from that which
 had some apparance of truth: but let vs heare this other *Demosthenes* of France, whose
 pleading followeth.

The defend-
 ers conclus-
 sion

L. S E R V I N: for the Kings Atturney General said thus.

MAY IT PLEASE YEE.

IF it be true, according to the worthy saying of *Statius Catilins* (vsed by *Apuleius*) de-
 fending himselfe against an accusation of impietie: *That innocency is true eloquence*.
 D it might satissie the intention of the poore Playntifes, and might promise them an ho-
 norable issue, for that a Poore and vntainted life speaking for them, surmounts in the
 opinion of good men, the richest eloquence of them that are Guiltie. For hee may
 well defend, that can purge himselfe from crymes, hauing done nothing but
 what he dare publickly auow. But if it be more true that the art of speaking be Ver-
 tue and Wisedome, as the *Stoicks* haue defined it: signifying thereby that the vertu-
 ous and wise haue subiect enough to talke: It is most certaine that God, which giueth
 Wisedome, and out of whose mouth proceeds all knowledge and vnderstanding, ha-
 uing not endued the Plaintifes with such graces, seeing they haue neither the know-
 ledge nor word, which is drawne out of the holy Scriptures, nor the perswasive speech
 E of humane Wisedome, hauing not the refined discourse of Reason, they had great
 need of the assistance of their Solliciter: who as hee doth not yeeld in Eloquence and
 knowledge to any one of his profession, hath made prooffe by this present action, how
 well he can defend the innocent, the which is so much the more commendable, for that
Dionysius Halicarnassens (a great iudge of Orators) did hold *Plato* worthie to be blamed
 for that he had written the *Appologie* of *Socrates* in a flat and cold stile.

On the one side, Maister *Anne Robert* hath liuely represented vnto you, the miserable
 estate of the Baker and his wife, lately accused, and now Plantifs: how they haue beene
 pursued in the Chasteler, iudged and appealed, and condemned by sentence, the Hus-
 band put to the torture, and the racke presented to the Wife, and to her Maide: and to
 conclude, al the family in trouble, by the accusation of a horrible Murther, pretended
 F to be committed vpon the persō of his guest: a crime which God hath made knowne by
 the reuelation of the Murther, that the hearts and hands of these poore people were in-
 nocent. By reason whereof they demand reparation of Honor, with Damage and In-
 terest

F f f f 3

1600. terest against the Accuser. You haue on the other side, heard Maister *Anthony* *Proff*, for the Mother of the deceased *Iohn Proff*, miserably murdered, being before Plaintiffe, and now accused of Slander, who may well defend her selfe, by the simple colour of Piety, which cries and is intercessor for her, for her I say: A Mother whose affliction is such, as there is no tongue but the Mothers, or rather the voyce of GOD that can well expresse it. neyther can any Aduocate or Orator how excellent foueuer, vnlesse he be possessed with a diuine spirit, represent the passions of a Mother: witnesse the Prophet, when he deliueres what God had sayd. *Can the Mother forget her child, but she must haue pity of the fruit of her wombe? and if she should forget it, I will not forsake him saith the Lord.* It is God our common father, God who is charity it selfe, for so he is called by one of his Apostles: God of whom the Greeke Poet *Aratus* (honoured by the allegation of *S. Paul*) sayd, *That we are his offspring.* God of whom the same Apostle doth teach vs, *That he is father of Heauen and Earth.* It is hee by whom all Mothers haue their affection to their children. It is hee by whom the Defendencie (a miserable Mother was encouraged to seeke & pursue reuenge for the blood of her child. Behold persons of diuers qualities in our cause, who pretende their innocencies by different reasons. The Baker and his wife demand reparation, being ignorant of the Murder of *Proff*: and the Mother (of *Proff* murdered) seeks to be freed from the imputation of slander. But there is yet an incounter in this controuersie, which regards the authority of things iudged, wherein the publike hath an interest. To deliuer what is fit vpon euery one of these qualities, it seemes expedient to obserue what hath past in the accusation, and pceedings; the first iudgement in the decree, the execution and what followed since.

That which appeares by the Proccesse iudged, is, that the deceased *Iohn Proff*, sonne to the Accuser, hauing bene lodged for a time in the Bakers house: About the beginning of February 1599, *Katherine Cordier* the Wife of the Baker, sent for a Locksmith by her husbands Sonne, and caused him to open the Chamber of *Proff* being absent, the which she hath confessed after much disguising of the boies name, whom since she knew to be her sonne in lawe. After this ouerture there was another made in the view of two vnkowne men, who brought the Keys which the sayd *Proff* had given them: the which is a second charge; for these two men entred into the Chamber in the presence of the Hostesse, and tooke what they pleased of that which *Proff* had left: and yet afterwards there was a third opening made by the Locksmith, which was brought by the Sonne of the Baker, & by his wifes commandement, this beeing thus aduowed and iustified by the sonne: The Chamber being opened the fourth time by a Committary of the *Cheseler*, there was some money found, belonging to *Proff*; but not all, for that the Baker and his Wife had taken and promised some to their Maide, if she said nothing. Moreover *Proff*s apparell being in his Coffer, and among the rest a Dubler, the Hostesse being examined, sayd that *Proff* had none other. In the end the Proccesse hauing bin made perfect by intergatories & confrontations. One of the cheete allegations made by the Husband and the Wife for their iustification was, that the Accuser although a Mother, did not loue *Proff* her Sonne, whereof he had often complained. By a sentence given by the Prouost of *Paris* it was decreed, that the Baker, his Wife and Seruant, should be put to the Rack. They appeale. There followed a second decree in regard of the Baker; & as for his Wife and seruant, it was ordained they should haue the Rack presented vnto them, the which was done. And after the deniall of the Baker, his Wife and Mayde, there followed another sentence allowing the receipt of the ordinary Proccesse, and yet restrained that in case no greater proofs being found on the ordinary Rack, The accused should preuaile, yet the should haue no Charges, Damage nor Interest iudged vnto them. In Iune following, God hauing suffered that 2. theues, whereof the one called *Iohn Bazana* had murdered this *Proff*, were apprehended by the Iustice and by the testimony of *Bazana*, the act was confessed. So as the Baker & his Wife pretend themselves freed by this testimony, & demand an honourable reparation, with some recompence from the Mother of him that was murdered, saying that the accusation being false, she ought to be iudged a slanderer.

Wherein

1600. A wherein it seemes that Innocency presents it selfe at the feete of Iustice, and cries out for them as *Dauid* in the 7. Psalm intitled *Siggaion*, that is to say: *The ignorance of Dauid*, the which is his defence against the slanders of *Semei*, where he exclaymed in denying and fortifying the Impositions of his aduersary, and in saying that he knewe not what it was, he spake these words. *If I haue committed such a fact, if there be iniquity in my hands, that I may fall before mine enemies.* Excellent words and deliuered in the kind of an oath. In like case a poore Host plaintiffe, complaines and may say with *Agur* the Sonne of *Iake Truly I am more brutish then any man whatsoeuer, I haue no vnderstanding, neither haue I learned any wisdom, nor attained to the knowledge of holy things. The wit of man will maintaine the infirmity thereof, but who will support a greened minde.* The Accuser at the first seemed iust in her cause: but the Accused come to purge themselves and haue found out the truth. The Words of slanderers (saith the wise King) are ambushes of blood, but the mouth of Truth shall deliuer them. You see an Host and Hostesse accused of Inhospitality, of Infidelity, and of the Murder of their Guest, a crime so far from the manners and hearts of the French, as if *Euripides* staid among the Grecians.

That it was not for the Achæans to murder their guests.

We may say with the Plaintifs, with as much or more reason, *That it is not vsuall among the French to murder their guests*, for among Ciuill people our Caltike nation hath bene most renowned for Hospitality, a vertue proper to the French and celebrated by many Strangers: yea by *Parthenius* a Greeke Author in his booke of the *Affections of Loue*, where he saith in the History of *Eurippus*, that at what time the *Gauls* made roads into *Ionia*, the *Celts* receiued their guests willingly and intreated them courteously. The which is confirmed by *Saluianus* a Preeft of *Marseilles*, in his booke of the providence of God, where among the vertues of our Nation, hee termes them *Francois hospitales*. It was therefore a great crime, vnfit for the Plaintifs: A crime for *Barbarians Pagans and Infidells*, worthy of extraordinary punishment, and so much the more punishablen, for that it had bene committed in *Paris*, the chiefe City of the Realme, the seat of our Kings, the Place of soueraigne Iustice, whereas the most Hoily and Reuerent Senate of the world is resident: The Court of Peeres, and the great Parliament of our great King.

The Husband accused in this Parliament, and not onely accused, but iudged and tormented in Body and Minde, comesthis day in Iudgement as a man reuiued againe, by his innocency, he brings his wife with him, and saith against the Accuser. *That he which slandereth his neighbour is like vnto a false witness which is as a hammer, as a sword, as a sharpe arrowe.* Although he be borne poore and miserable, yet is he of a pure & innocent life. That his Soule and that of his Wiues are no lesse precious before God then the richest: that they haue not wronged any man: that they haue liued content in their poverty (Pouerly which is a singular gift of God and vnkowne of men) & yet they being poore, and innocent haue bene afflicted: a thousand feares haue seized on them, and the life both of the Husband and Wife haue bene in danger. The Sonne hath bene heard against the Father, all the family defamed, fearing to loose their credit and to see no more good daies: to haue no meanes to get their liuing, nor to shewe themselves. The troublesome greefe of a mournfull prison, deprived of light, and cast into an obscure dongeon fit for Murderers: *To liue often-times, & to die as of ten.* The Rack given vnto the Husband & presented to the Wife: all danger, all greefe: their eyes dried vp, their mindes oppressed, apprehension of Nakednes, Hungar and Death, yea and of as ignominious death. They demand this Day, that which the Men vnjustly tormented in the Iustice of *Athenes* demanded: that the Altar of mercy might be adorned with a monument, carrying a declaration of their innocency. They demand moreover pretend reparation against the Accuser, and this demand is not newe nor strange: there are many Presidents of the like, among the which there is one very famous in the Declarations of *Marcus Seneca* the Rethorician.

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1600. A Father hauing two Sonnes, goes into a farre Countrie with one of them, the sonne returns alone: his Brother accuseth him of Parricide: he is condemned, but by reason of some festiuall daies the execution is deferred: the Father returns, the Brother condemned accuseth his Brother of false witnesse: obtaines Iudgement, causeth him to be bound, and deteines him according vnto the Lawe, which sayd, that a false witnesse should be prisoner to him whom hee had falsly accused. The innocent Brother sayd, that the Accuser was the cause of Parricide in the person of his Father, and had committed one, in that of his Brother: the Minister of Iustice had giuen notice vnto the condemned Brother of the comming of his Father: the expected punishment was more greuous then death. It was more troublesome for the condemned Man to apprehend it, then to endure it: he layd before his eyes all kinds of Death. *And what can I lesse doe (saied this innocent,) then keepe him in my bonds, that might haue taken away my life?* In another famous example, we see an other controuersie in the same Author. A Father hauing two Sonnes, deliuer the one into the others hands, vpon suspicion of Parricide, whereof his Mother in Lawe accused him. The accused Brother is cast into an vnrig'd Shippe. God preferres him from danger: he falls into the hands of Pirates, and is made their Captaine.

The Father makes a voiage by sea; he is taken by the Sonne, whom he had so ill intreated, and the Sonne sends him home into his Country. *Cestius Pius* an eloquent man sayeth for the innocent Brother. *That innocency is a strong fort, and a faithfull safegard in danger.* The Sea compassed in the Shippe, the waues cost it: the Tempest draue it, yet innocency did assure him. O Sea more iust then their Iudgement! O Waues more mild then the Father! what a soule haue you cast into the Port! and you haue not onely saued the Sonne, but you haue deliuered him into the hands of Pirates: it was diuinely decreed that the Father should vnder take a voiage, that the Iudge should bee taken to repent him of his Iudgement. A Mother in Lawe might accuse, yea and cause her Husbonds Sonne to bee condemned of Parricide, but she could not make him a Parricide, no nor in condemning him. The Sonne here vpon saied vnto the Father, *Behold my innocency O father in the sea, which you would not knowe in your house.* and then turning vnto the Iudges hee saied. *I had rather haue mine innocency iustified vnto you, then vnto my father.* Here vpon *Aristotle* sayeth that by the Lawe of *Greece* they gaue the right side to the accused. And by the *Romaine* Lawes, Iudges are taught to be more inclined to absolue then to Condemne.

If this bee requisite in Ciuill causes, howe much more in Cryminall: And the Mother which was the Accuser, whome the Demanders say was ill affected to her Sonne when hee liued, could she without feare of punishment, slander the Complaynants, charging them with the vncertaine suspicion of a murther committed vpon the person of her Sonne, so much hated, or at the least not much beloued of her.

That if the Demanders be not exempt from faults, wherevnto all men are subiect: yet they may iustifie themselves free from the Crime imposed vpon them by the Accuser, being this day purged by a testimonie which God hath caused to bee giuen by a Man, the which is so much the more credible, for that hee Deposited it neere vnto his death, not speaking to discharge himselfe, but accusing himselfe and confessing the Murther. These (in sorte) bee the griefes which the Demaunders can propound. It being hard, yea impossible in such cases to speake words that may equall the sorrowe.

Contrariwise the Defendresse a poore Mother, saith, or crieth out in that sort, as it is not well possible to represent her passion: but we must paint it out, as *Timanthes* did counterfite *Iphigenia: With her face covered, a Lowe voice and a Languishing speech.* who cannot make you vnderstand what shee hath suffred and doth yet suffer. Shee hath lamented her absent Sonne, euen when as shee accused the Complaynants: shee thought him to bee dead: her feare was grounded vpon presumptions, the which

which not onely the first, but the last Iudges haue held to be repugnant. A voyce was heard from on high, the Mother weeping for her Sonne, & would not bee comforted. Doubtlesse no kinde of affection or commiseration is like vnto that of a Woman, but amongst Women, none so great as that of a Mother. So as GOD hath compared the remembrance which he hath of Man to that of a Mother. And in truth, Mothers haue more then a Fatherly remembrance. Our Defendresse in this case is assisted by the surrages of Nature: three sighes vpon Earth, and fills Heauen with her complaynts: her lamentable cries, and her abundance of teares, are her only defences: the which are so much the better, for that they are naturall. A Mother who knowes not whether to go, who findes no place to rest in, who seeks her Child as if he were yet liuing: who would haue endured his wounds; and desired to see that shee did not before her Sonne: she implors Heauen in lamenting her misery, and desires her end: her sighes moue all men to compassion. Griefe hath seized vpon her soule, and her vnderstanding is nothing else but Sorrow. Nothing is more constant then the loue of the Father to his child, & especially of Fathers that haue the instinct of Nature. But mothers haue their affectiōs more violent. If any thing happen vnto their children, it breedes a great alteration in them. Vnto the iudgement of *Solomon*, seeking betwixt two Women, to know the right Mother. So yu may see the passion of *David* when hee called his Sonne, *My Sonne Absalon my sonne*: he was much troubled. But Mothers are much more, feeling the same paine they suffered at their birth. And that which afflicts the Deten here much more, is that they Complaynants, object against her, that shee loued not her Child. That without doubt is insupportable to a Mother. The latter times are miserable, foretold by the Prophets: That Inhumanity, Incivility, Attorie (that is to say want of loue in the Parents vnto their Children, and of Children vnto their Parents) should enter into the hearts of men. What say I of Men, who are no Men, seeing they proue Inhumane, Cruell, Brutish, and Vnnaturall.

But can it be, that two such contrary passions should intempe in our Defendresse? Could she hate her Son, and not feeling him any more, complaine that he was dead? Could she accuse his Host & Hostesse if shee loued him not? *Iosephus* in his first booke of the *Iewish War*, reporting the accusation of *Herode* against his Children, sayth that *Saturninus* would not condemne the accused, saying, *that it was not lawfull for him who had children to giue sentence of death against another mans children.* A speech worthy of a graue *Romaine*, but had bene better spoken by one borne in *Iulian*, for in former times the Iudges giuen by God vnto the People, were chosen out of the fathers of families, who had, or had had Children, and who by this meanes knew best the true affections of Fathers loue. The History addees that an old Man at armes of *Herods*, called *Tyron*, was so transported seeing a cruell Father, as hee became almost madde, going to complaceto place, exclaiming, that, *Iustice was troden vnder foote, Truth was perished, Nature confounded, and all was full of iniquity*: with such like speeches as passion made him to vtter. So strange this good old Man held this Mallice, not beleueing that such neere Kinsmen should contpire against their owne blood. And therefore it is not to be presumed that our Defendresse being a Mother, was otherwise then well affected to her Sonne. and what greater proofe of her loue can bee giuen, then her accusation against the Complaynants. And who can represent the tender affection of Fathers and Mothers, which teale the resemblance of bodies, and munes, in the little admirable scale of the Infant, the Mothers being much more affectionate to that which proceeds from them then the Fathers? What then may bee sayd of the objection made vnto the Defendresse? Doubtlesse false allegations must concur with naturall, as *Paulus* the Lawyer sayth of Confessions: and it is not lawfull for Iudges, especially for such as are Fathers to beleue that a Mother would hate her Sonne to the death: especially this poore Woman, who making her complaint of the Murther, did note one notable circumstance, saying, that her Sonne had complayned vnto her, that the Demanders were fioward Hosts.

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L. confessionibus. D. de Interrog. adu.

1600. The which shewes a wit in her complaint, and the Loue which she bare to her Sonne. Sonne: remembring the first yeares of his infancy, being young and the onely child of his Mother. A Sonne whom she (being his Mother) teeming no more, came out with the Mother of *Lamuel*, *What my Sonne, what the Sonne of my womb is called the Sonne of my bowes?*

Prou. 31.

This poore Mother was perplexed: she sought her Sonne, and found him not. A Sonne which was but simple and might easily be wronged, for he went to get Money, hee left in his Chamber, which was a bayte for Thieves: his Mother himselfe lay as hand on it, the suffered men to enter into his Chamber: men whom she knew not. What might the Mother thinke of this? Had hee not reason to be troubled? flayne him. As much as was said in the booke of *Valdome*: *But the Iustice of men is tedious shall deliuer them.* It is also written. *That the disloyall shall be taken for their money, and the wicked shall be the ranfome of the iust, and the disloyall for the righteous.* And then this poore Woman thinke with reason, that you are not to haue any regard to the Demaunders, vnder colour of their base condition, *seeing that for a pence of money, they would haue committed the deede*, hauing taken their Chills money which satisfied them. These bee the reasons by the which the poore Mother may excuse her selfe, that shee hath not attempted any accusation, for the which shee should be charged with slander.

Prou. 18. v. 21

Let vs nowe come vnto the Iudges. They need no excuse, nor any defence of their Decree, then the authority of foueraigne Iudgements: yet we may say, for the time which they had of the proofes, if not full and cleare as the Noone day, yet they were such as the presumptions were vehement. If the accused iustred, it came from themselves, for they obserued not the precept which teacheth man: *About all things his heart pure, from whence life proceeds.* They haue applied their hearts to desire another mans goods, *resembling those that erre: Either through want of instruction, or by their great indiscretion, or hauing their hearts pierced with the Dart of conuentionall sinne.* And therefore it is no wonder if they haue not appeared in iudgement with a constant countenance. *For blessings are vpon the head of the iust: but extorsions stoppe the mouth of the guilty.*

Prou. 4. v. 23

Ibid. 5. v. 23

Ibid. 10. v. 6

Ibid. 12. v. 11

Do you not see, that God was not with the accused? they were confounded in their owne speeches. *Life and death are in the power of the tongue, hee that looses it shall esteeme himselfe thereof.* They haue said too much, charging the Mother, which accused them, or hated their Sonne. And who will not beleue but the Iudges (seeing the Protestie) made their players vnto God to open their vnderstandings. The doubt which they had of the circumstances of the charge, hath bene fortified by examples, the which are the still encounters that come vnto the minde. In this City, a Woman dwelling neere to *Suttons*, was hanged with a Hammer, which two theeres had taken a Smith. I suppose, the Smith being condemned, he was put to the Racke. Afterwards the theeres were apprehended for other crimes, and freed: the Smith who was already executed. Iudges in coniectural causes, erre sometimes against their willes: being bound to follow the probable, for that which may happen, or hath happened. Sometimes there are bad Hints, Treacherous and murderers. It is dangerous said *Phidias* to beleue, but it is more dangerous not to beleue.

Pro. 17. v. 25

There is no reason then to heare the complaints of the Accused, against the Iudges: Wherein that which that wise King hath written, whose words are like vnto deepe springs which cannot be dried, and from whence we drawe profit for all affaires and especially for iudgements. *To condemne the iust is not good, nor to strike Princes that haue carried themselves iustly.* An excellent sentence, and agreeing with our cause. Hee called Iudges, Princes: and in another place they are termed Gods. That if God making his Iustice to shine, hath since discovered the Murther, yet hath not the Baker nor his Wife any cause to complaine of the Court. The eye of God intuseth his knowledge into the spirits of men, in such measure as he pleaseth, giuing vnto some a neerer light, (and as *Synecius* Bishop of *Cyrene* layd) more approaching vnto things which

Awch he doth reueale, to others farther off. We take moysture from the Water, heat from the Fire, firmenes of the body from the Earth; & spirit from the Aire: but Iustice comes from God, who is the onely fountaine of all good. We haue not this Iustice in vs, be it for the good of our selues, or for the perpetuall and constant durie which wee owe vnto our neighbours, to doe euery man right. God onely knoweth all things, and all is hidden from vs, but what hee pleaseth. There is none but hee which knoweth hidden things. It is hee whose admirable name is aboue all other names. It is hee whom *Daniell* calleth a CERTAINE, (by the word *Palmoni*), of whom the admirable name of *IEVS* the Saviour of the world, was not reuealed, before that hee was made man. That Sonne of Iustice whose glorie is incomprehensible. It is hee who by his light both open the Iudges eyes when it pleaseth him: *To the end they should take care of the innocent, and looke vnto his estate.*

Dan. 8.

Iob. 22. 20.

It is written in the booke of the wise King: *That euen as in the water one face is opposite to another, so doth the heart of man vnto man*, so as oftentimes the Iudge discovereth the truth of a crime, by the face and countenance, as well as by the mouth of the Accused. And to that purpose the same King sayth *That Councell in the heart of man is like vnto a deepe water, the which a wise man shall draw forth.* But this doth not often happen, but vnto the King: of whom the wise man saith thus. *There is no prophecy but in the Kings lippes, and his mouth shall not stray from Iustice.* God giues this priuiledge to a iust King. God which is the onely searcher of hearts. *There are many thoughts in the heart of man, but the onely Councell of our Lord God is firme.* And therefore *Saint Augustin* in his booke of the Citie of God, in the Chapter which he hath exprelly made, touching the errors of humane Iudgements, makes a complaint of the perplexities whereunto Iudges are reduced: when to saue an Innocent, they are forced to condemne the accused vnto the racke, and for an vncertaine fact, they cause him to suffer a certaine paine. The which hee excusing saith: *That a wise Iudge doing not things with a will to hurt, but by necessitie to iudge that which hee knoweth not, must cry vnto God: Deliuer mee from my extremities and cares.* The which hee speakes not to blame the racke: for hee knowes it to be necessarie. But if it bee not (as we cannot rightly say) done by malice, yet is it a great miserie. And doubtlesse if it bee a mischeefe, yet is it well ordained, and by good Lawes which are practised in all Countries, whereas Iustice is well administered, whereof there are so many Statuts, not onely in this Realme, but in the Estates of *Italie*, and in the neighbour Countries, as in *Piedmont*, in *Sauoy*, and other parts of *Christendome*, as there is no reason to doubt thereof.

Ibid. c. 16. 10.

Ibid. 19. v. 2.

August. lib. 19.

c. 25. de ciuit. dei

lib. 25. v. 17.

Neither is it lawfull to argue the Iudges of rigor in this cause, for besides the prescriptions which might moue them, who knowes whether the Accused had committed some other crime, whereof God would suffer this accusation, whereof the now complayne should be the punishment: *There are some generations which thinke to be free, and yet they are not cleansed from their filthines.* And what is hee that can say, *I haue purged my heart, I am cleansed from my Sinne.* If thou sayest, *we did not know it, hee that weighs the heart shall not be vnderstanded: and reward euery man according to his workes.* In another place the wise man saith that, *Hee which walketh innocently shall be saued, but the peruerse, walking by two wayes shall fall.* *Aristotle* speaking of the Iudges of *Greece*, sayd that they were accustomed before sentence, to sweare that they should iudge, by the best aduise they could conceiue. The which *Demosthenes* in his Oration against *Aristocrates* hath sayd, *by the most iust aduise.* In which case although the *Areopagites* did sometimes iudge (as one would say) against the Law, yet could they not bee reprehended to haue gone against the oath taken by them to iudge well, whether it were in the Senate, or in the Assembly which they call *Hellas*: no man being able to answere but for his owne conscience.

Pro. 30. v. 12.

Ibid. 24. v. 12.

And for this reason, by the Lawes of *Charlemagne*, & of *Lewis the Debonair*, our most Christiã Kings: *It was not lawfull to blaspheme*, that is to say, *to accuse of false iudgement, or to blame the Earles*, (which was the title of Iudges in *France*) if it did not appeare that they did

1599. *did iudge either by enuie, or by some badoscaſion.* To conclude, the Iudges which chose A great Princes called *Fideles* were held for good, and without blemish, when they were once, guided by the zeale of true Iustice. So the Demanders doe not complaine of the Iudges, but of the Accuſer, against whome if shee had framed her accusation maliciously, and vpon spleene, shee were then subiect to that which was decreed by the Capitulaire, which saith, *That they which haue accused Innocents, either before the Prince, or before the Iudge, if they were spirituall men, they are to bee degraded, if they be lay men, they must bee condemned to the like punishment, which they should haue suffered that were accused.* But this is to be vnderstood of accusations wherein there is malice, in which case the false and malicious Accuſers deserue that which the Accused suffered for the Slanderer resembles vnto the wicked; which are represented by the wife man. *watching secretly for them.* B cent, and persecuting him without cause. In which case, such as slander to vexce, and to get money: by the Constitutions of the *Romaine* Emperors, were punished with the same punishments.

FROM. I. V. 11.

Capitulum
Caroli magni.
lib 6 cap.
penult.

It is therefore no reason that the Complaynants should trouble the defendresse for the accusation which shee hath made, seeing it was not with any intent of slander: but they must take their trouble as an accident sent of God, as a mischance which the *Grecians* called a *Diuine Fortune*. We must not vie the inhumanitie of *Gneus Piso* although he were an vpriight man, and free from many vices, but hauing not the true rule of reason, hee tooke rigour for a resolution of seueritie, who being aduertised that two Souldiars going forth together, the one was returned without his companion, hee condemned him as a murderer of him that was absent: and as the condemned man was in the hands of the Executioner at the place of Iustice, his companion (whome they held to be dead) returned: This rigorous Iudge hearing that the officer had pronounced the execution, he caused him to be apprehended, & to be brought vnto the scaffold, & with him the Companion, taking for a pretext that he was the cause of this mischance by his absence, and to him he added the officer, iudging him worthy of punishment, for that he had brought backe the first condemned, whome hee should haue presently executed according to the sentence. It is not fit in all causes, to stand so stilly vpon Iudgments: as *Alexander* the Great did, who had rather pay a fine for *Athenodorus* then remit it: for sometimes a temper of humanitie is commendable, as in this case: Imitating the example of Prince *Titus*, the Son of *Vespasian*, when hee deliuered *Iosephus* out of prison, saying vnto the Emperour his Father, after that hee had commended the prisoner to be vnbound: *It is reason O Father, that with his bonds the dishonor should be taken from Iosephus, for he shall bee as if in the beginning he had not bene bound. But if we vnbind him, we must cut the chaine, for so they vse them that are uniuſtly bound.* A speech of a worthie Prince, witnessed by the History of *Iosephus*, worthy to be spoken before a great King, and well approoued of by the Emperour: *As true lippes please Kings and they loue him that speaks iust things with a pure heart.*

PRO. 16 v. 13.
22. 11.

And therefore to make an end of the Plaintiffs miserie with that of *Iosephus*, the Court if it please, hauing in some sort regard vnto their request, shall set them at Liberte, declaring them innocents of the cryme of hospitalitie violated, and of the murder whereof they haue bene accused, without aduſing vnto them (notwithstanding) any Reparation, Charges, Damages, and intereſts against the Accuſer, seeing shee hath not, nor cannot be iudged a Slanderer. So either partie obtayning what they may hope for by reason, things iudged shall remayne in their authoritie, and, *God who holds the Kings heart in his hand as little brooks of running water, inclining to his will,* shall make him raine happily, and his Posteritie after him, as all good *Frenchmen* and true Christians doe wish by a happie Marriage, so as our great *Henry* the fourth, sitting in the throne of Iustice, or represented by his Councillors, mayntaining his Countries shall disperse all danger by his looke: and euery one will say with *Saloman*, the wel beloued of God. *That the seat of the King which iudgeth the poore iustly, shall bee firme for euer.*

Ibid. 10 v. 3.

Ibid 19. v. 14

The sentence of the Court vpon these Pleadings pronounced by the first President, on Monday the 17. of Ianuary, was confirmable to the conclusion; taken by *Monſieur L'Aduo-*

A Aduocate for the Kings Attorney Generall.

1600.

The King and Duke tooke great pleasure to heare them. Both gaue their opinions on them that had best pleaded, but aboue all, they commended the equity of the Court, which dismissed the parties free fild further sute. The King at the Dukes request granted a pardon to a poore woman an Adulteresse that was condemned to die, whose Adulterer had bene executed for that he had abused her being a house-hold seruant, & so had the beene in like sort, but that she was found with Child. This Pardon was granted by the King vnto the Duke, notwithstanding any opposition made by the Court & the Kings Council, shewing the consequence thereof. His Maieſty would haue it passe of his absolute authority. Yet vpon condition that shee should liue in perpetuall prison B and norrishd at her Husband charge. All these good receptions; all these exercises; all these pastimes, did not make the Duke forget the care of his affaires, he had sayd vnto *Monſieur de Villeroy*. *That he was not come to yeld up the Marquisate.* The King on the other side being at *Fontainebleau* sayd vnto him, *That he should be alwayes his friend, but he would haue his Marquisate.* The Duke was aduertised that the King had sayd primarily in his Cabinet. *That the Duke was a braue and gallant Prince, yet he kept his Marquisate:* These words made him presume, that the report which the *Cheualier Breton* and *Roncas* had made vnto him (that the King was desirous to see him, and that they should agree) was not true, for whenſoeuer the Duke spake to the King in priuate touching that businesse, he desired him to referre it to their Councils.

C And although this was a very important businesse, yet the King had one which did presse him neerer, which was his Marriage. Being aduertised, as wee haue formerly shewed, by *Sillery* his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, that the Pope had granted his desire touching the nullity of his marriage, he sent *Alincourt* (Gouernor of *Pontoise*) to thanke him, and to aske his aduice vpon the alliance hee desired to contract with the house of *Florence*. He came to *Lions*, to passe to *Auignon* by the riuer of *Rhone*, and so to *Anibo*, whether the State of *Genoa* sent him a Galley well appointed to conduſt him to their City, where hee was receiued with all the honors, fit for the greatnesse of the Prince that sent him, and worthy of the credit & reputation which the name of *Villeroy* carries among the friends of this Crowne. They did cast lots there, where he should be D lodged, which fell to the Pallace of *Grimaldy*, where hee was defraied two daies, at the charges of the State. The Ambaſſador of *Spaine* went to visit him. He went to the Senate, was seated in the Dukes place, and saw the order they held in their Councils and Deliberations, where they granted him liberty for two Galley-staues *Frenchmen*, that were in the Gallies of the Seigneury, the one was a *Parisian* and the other a *Lionois*, which they esteemed a fit fauour to grateſie a Prince. He went in post to *Rome*: the Ambaſſador met him with a great number of *French* Gentlemen, hee lodged him in his house, and the second day of his arriual he had audience of the Pope. He continued in *Rome* vntill Easter, during his aboad, he did see the *Vice-roy* of *Naples* make his entry E into *Rome*, comming to do homage vnto the Pope for the Realme of *Naples*, presenting vnto him a white Steede, for an acknowledgement of the fee, for the inuestiture of *Naples*, for that it is one of the Realmes which holds in fee and doth homage vnto the Church of *Rome* and for that reason (besides the eight thousand Ounces of Gold which they owe yeerely,) they are bound to take armes for defence of the Church.

They had their part also of the fruites of the Holy yeare, during which time many *Frenchmen* and others of the Religion went to see for curiosities sake, without any feare of the Inquisition, whose iurisdiction doth cease in the yeare of *Iubile*: many great personages from diuers parts of *Europe* went to this *Iubile*, among the cheefe was the Duke of *Bar*, who went in a disguised habit, to get absolution, for that hee had beene married against the rules of the Church, and without dispensation of the decrees of consanguinity that were betwixt him and the Kings Sister, for which cause the Bishop of *Lorraine* refused him the holy Sacrament, and held him for excommunicate. The King assisted this Princes humility and submission with his letters of fauour to diuers Cardinals.

Monſieur d'Alincourt come to Genoa.

He came to Rome on Alhedvedes day the 6. of February.

8000 ounces of gold comes to fourescore thousand Crownes.

The Duke of Bar goes to Rome disguised, to the Cardinal Albrandin and Oſat and to Monſieur de Sillery.

G g g g g

The

1599. *did iudge either by enuie, or by some bad occasion.* To conclude, the Iudges which these A great Princes called *Fideles* were held for good, and without blemish, when they were only guided by the zeale of true Iustice. So the Demanders doe not complaine of the Iudges, but of the Accuser, against whome if shee had framed her accusation maliciously, and vpon spleene, shee were then subiect to that which was decreed by the Capitulars, which saith, *That they which haue accused Innocents, either before the Prince, or before the Iudge, if they were spirituall men, they are to bee degraded, if they be lay men, they must bee condemned to the like punishment, which they should haue suffered that were accused.* But this is to be vnderstood of accusations wherein there is malice, in which case the false and malicious Accusers deserue that which the Accused suffered for the Slanderer resembles vnto the wicked; which are represented by the wife man. *watching secretly for the innocent, and persecuting him without cause.* In which case, such as slander to vex, and to get money: by the Constitutions of the *Romaine* Emperors, were punished with the same punishments.

Capitularium
Caroli magni.
lib 6 cap.
penult.

Pro. 1. v. 11.

It is therefore no reason that the Complaynants should trouble the defendresse for the accusation which shee hath made, seeing it was not with any intent of slander: but they must take their trouble as an accident sent of God, as a mischance which the *Grecians* called a *Divine Fortune*. We must not vse the inhumanitie of *Gneus Piso* although he were an vpright man, and free from many vices, but hauing not the true rule of reason, hee tooke rigour for a resolution of seueritie, who being aduertised that two Souldiars going forth together, the one was returned without his companion, he condemned him as a murderer of him that was absent: and as the condemned man was in the hands of the Executioner at the place of Iustice, his companion (whome they held to be dead) returned: This rigorous Iudge hearing that the officer had pronounced the execution, he caused him to be apprehended, & to be brought vnto the scaffold, & with him the Companion, taking for a pretext that he was the cause of this mischance by his absence, and to him he added the officer, iudging him worthy of punishment, for that he had brought backe the first condemned, whome hee should haue presently executed according to the sentence. It is not fit in all causes, to stand so stilly vpon Iudgments: as *Alexander* the Great did, who had rather pay a fine for *Athenodorus* then remit it: for sometimes a temper of humanitie is commendable, as in this case: Imitating the example of Prince *Titus*, the Son of *Vespasian*, when he deliuered *Iosephus* out of prison, saying vnto the Emperour his Father, after that hee had commended the prisoner to be vnbond: *It is reason O Father, that with his bonds the dishonor should be taken from Iosephus, for he shall bee as if in the beginning he had not bene bound. But if we vnbond him, we must cut the chaine, for so they vse them that are vniustly bound.* A speech of a worthy Prince, witnessed by the History of *Iosephus*, worthy to be spoken before a great King, and well approved of by the Emperour: *As true lippes please Kings, and they loue him that speaks iust things with a pure heart.*

Pro. 16 v. 13.
22. 11.

Pro. 31. v. 8.

Ibid. 10 v. 3.

Ibid. 19. v. 14

And therefore to make an end of the Plaintiffs miserie with that of *Iosephus*, the Court if it please, hauing in some sort regard vnto their request, shall set them at Liberty, declaring them innocents of the cryme of hospitalitie violated, and of the murder wherof they haue bene accused, without ad iudging vnto them (notwithstanding) any Reparation, Charges, Damages, and interests against the Accuser, seeing the hath not, nor cannot be iudged a Slanderer. So either partie obtayning what they may hope for by reason, things iudged shall remayne in their authoritie, and, *God who holds the Kings heart in his hand as little brooks of running water, inclining to his will,* shall make him raine happily, and his Posteritie after him, as all good *Frenchmen* and true Christians doe wish by a happy Marriage, so as our great *Henry* the fourth, sitting in the throne of Iustice, or represented by his Councillors, mayntaining his Countries shall disperse all danger by his looke: and euery one will say with *Saloman*, the wel beloued of God. *That the seat of the King which iudgeth the poore iustly, shall bee firme for ever.*

The sentence of the Court vpon these Pleadings pronounced by the first President, on Monday the 17. of January, was confirmable to the conclusion; taken by *Monsieur L'Aduo-*

1600.

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The Duke
of Bar goes to
Rome disguised,
to the Cardinal
Aldobrandin and
Officiari and to
Monsieur de
Sillery.

G g g g g

The

1600.

Deputies for
the King and
Duke.The Popes
Nuntio in-
treats the
King to leave
the protection
of Geneva.

The Duke of *Sauoy* was not pleased with the long delays of the Court, he complained that he was intreated with to great rigour. The Duke thought to finde a King of Complements: And the King a Duke more easie to restore that which he held. The Duke couered his discontent with silence and discretion. In the end they agree to treat of their affaires and differences by Deputies: For the King, were named the Constable, the Chancellor, the Marshall *Biron*, the Marquis *Rhosny*, and *Villeroy*. For the Duke, *Bely* his Chancellor, the Marquis of *Lullins*, *Jacob*, the Earle of *Moret*, and *Almes*. The Kings Deputies demand restitution of the Marquifate of *Saluces*, in the same Estate it was in when the Duke surprized it. The Dukes first proposition was to haue the King renounce the protection of *Geneua*, the which was not (sayd they) comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, in speciall words, as other Townes. This did much offend the King and his Councell. The Duke intreated the Popes Nuntio to make this proposition, who (hauing his soule as free from craft and dissimulation as it was full of zeale and integrity) found meanes to speake vnto the King without trouble or alteration. He sayd that there was a meanes to vnite the extremities of their wills: for the same reason which required the Duke to restore the Marquifate, did not hinder his Maiesty from the enioying of that which did belong vnto him. *It is true* (sayd the King). There the Nuntio replied: The Towne of *Geneua* belongs vnto the Duke, and nothing hinders him from settling the authority which his Predecessors had there, but the power of your protection.

Is it not then reason that as you will haue him restore the Marquifate which is yours, you should suffer him to enioye the Towne of *Geneua* which is his? The King to be speedily freed of this argument, answered, that things were different, that hee had not made the protection of *Geneua*: It was a Treaty wherunto he was bound by faith, for the reuerence he did beare vnto his Predecessors, who had made them selues Protectors of that Common-weale, from whom they had receiued seruice in their necessities: And he would neuer oppose himselfe against the firmnes of their promises. The Nuntio sayes presently vnto the King. As you will not leaue the protection of *Geneua* for that it was made with your Predecessors, in like sort the Duke is not bound to yeelde you the Marquifate of *Saluces*, for that he tooke it not from you, but from the deceased King. Our difference replied the King, although (for my part) it consists of many points, is reduced onely to that which concernes the Marquifate of *Saluces*. The vlturper must restore the Duke of *Sauoy* hath vsurped my Marquifate, there is nothing that doth free him from restitution. I hold nothing of his, and therefore must not restore him any thing. I will neuer hinder him from hauing reason of *Geneua*, so as hee get it without armes: for when hee shall come thether with force, I will alwaies resolute of that which I ought. He thinks that if I should abandon that Towne, he might force them to acknowledge him: but I should purchase in abandoning them much blame, it being against the honor of this Crowne and the firmnesse of a Kings word.

The Duke had reason to affect this place: he might make a great Bulwarkethereof against the *Swisses*, to recover that which they did hold from the ancient house of *Sauoy*, and to make all things difficult for the *French*, among the Cantons: This proposition of *Geneua* was razed out of the Duke articles, & no more spoken of in the Assembly of the Deputies. They did presse the restitution of the Marquifate, or the exchange of the Countries of *Bresse*, *Pigneroll* and *Saualan*, with some valleys for the passage of *Piedmont*. The Deputies assembled but once. The Duke foreseeing what the issue would be, and hauing vnderstood that the Chancellor speaking of the Restitution or Exchange, had sayd that they must passe that way or by the sword: he let the King vnderstand that to many delt in the busines, and that it should be sooner ended, if but one did faithfully report the intentions of either part. The Patriarke of *Constantinople* was employed therein, but the Duke disliked thereof.

Hee refused to free himselfe of these difficulties, and to runne the hazard and shame of the refusal. Then hee presented his first proposition of the Empire and Duchie of *Milan*: giuing him very plausible meanes, if they had bene

as

1600.

The Empe-
ror hath lit-
tle more
then the ti-
tle, the so-
uerainety
remaining
to the
States of the
Empire.

As easie in the execution as in the discourse: shewing that for all the fruite of the conquest, he desired nothing but to hold the Marquifate of *Saluces*. Wherunto the King answered; That he was neither of that age, nor his affaires in that estate, that King *Francis* his were, when he aspired to the Empire. That there was not a Duke of *Saxony* nor a Langraue prisoner, to giue him the Title of Protector of *Germany*: and other Princes prisoners, as vnto King *Henry* the second. If a King of *France* should bee ambitious of any thing greater then his Crowne, it might bee an Empire, but not in the estate that it is now: the title of an Emperour beeing little more then that of a Duke of *Venice*, but as it was vnder *Augustus*, when as *Rome* which commands but 7. hills had reduced all the world vnder one Empire or at the least, as it was vnder *Charlemagne*. As for the Duchie of *Milan*, the King said that the enterprise was tedious, and the issue vncertaine, as of all other desseins, and for the meanes which the Duke discovered vnto him, there was nothing so easie which the King of *Spain* might not make difficult, hauing both Land and Sea at his commandement to hinder him. Besides it was the Nature of actions of War, still to produce v unexpected difficulties. You alone (added the King) can not succour me, I know not how my men will agree with yours. And if things should succeed according to your desire, I know not what shold become of the fruit of the Conquest. I haue enough to do in my Realme without thinking of others. The Peace is but in the flower, the vent of such a designe would wither it. I will haue no War with the King of *Spain*, while he be weary of Peace. Brother you haue no need of my Councell, but affection commands vs sometimes to giue it to him that doth not aske it. I would countell you to lue in good terms with him. If there were any troubles betwixt you, I would not meddle but to reconcile you. I haue too much care of the honour of my word, to breake a Peace so iust and so necessary without a precedent injury. If I did it, I should make my selfe the Argument of all the complaints of Christendome, the discourse of other Princes, the cause of a foraine War, and the renewing of infinite calamities. It were an indiscretion for me, vpon a vaine and imaginary hope, to loose the assurance to recouer mine own, wherewith I content my selfe without seeking an others. The desires which are infinit, are vnworthy of a iust Prince, they are proper to Tyrants, who raigne without Lawe, and lue without Feare: if I had any will to that which you propound, there should not need so many words: but hauing no will to it, it is in vaine for me to speake of it.

None of these words could content the Duke, but dissembling his discontent, he answered. If I should reape no other good by my voyage but to haue scene so great a Prince, whose valour and greatnesse is greater then the report, I should not be grieved. True it is, that the estate of my affaires should haue perswaded me to haue come without the assurance of my Ambassadors, that I should receiue more of your Maiesties free will, then I could expect of the Popes sentence, and that you would not so much presse the Restitution, but would be satisfied with a gentler Composition. I haue offered you the meanes, which lead to so great and so worthy effects, as the Marquifate of *Saluces* is nothing in comparison of them. You find difficulties therein. There is no great enterprise, can be without them, but being wel resolute, it is halfe executed. A courage like vnto yours finds nothing difficult, and all *Europe* admires your actions, hauing made that which was impossible possible. And seeing that I must attribute it, not vnto the violence of reason, but to my unhappines, that I cannot perswade a thing, which in his Glory and Profit carries his own Perswasion. I beseech your Maiesty to intreat me, as your most humble seruant & kinsman, who desires no greater happines for his the to be yours. They are already by the Laws of Nature, they are by my wil: & shall be more by the fauours of your bounty. For one Marquifate, you bind many Princes, and by the inuesting of one of my children, all the house of *Sauoy* shall be bound vnto you: your Maiesty will say, that you make not such large gifts: but you must consider if you please, that many vertues are common to men, but this belongs onely to Kings. As it is more royall to giue then to take. And they wrong the greatnesse of their courage, if they should not giue great things: And to giue a thing that is li-

The Duke
demands
the inuelli-
ture of the
Marquifate
for one of
his sonnes.

tigious

Ggggg 2

They de-
mand an ex-
change in
stead of resti-
tution.

1600. religious and doubtfull, you shall purchase an immortall right of soueraignty. Hee added many reasons for the execution of the enterprize, and with such vehemence, as he seemed to haue some secret, to make Mountaines remoue and drie vp Rivers. The King considered that there was no profit but for the Duke, and that the fruite which (at the least) he promised himself in keeping the Marquisate of *Saluzzes*, would be more certaineto him, then the Conquest of *Milan* vnto the King. If the Duke of *Sauoy* could haue ingaged the King, he knew well how to crosse him in the execution. All the danger he could apprehend, was the King of *Spaines* indignation: but hee might as easily returne into fauour without speaking a word, as he came away without bidding him farewell, For what should haue hindered him, when as the *French* had bin far ingaged in *Italy*, to haue ioyned with the *Spaniards* to expell them, and to breake the B

The Duke of
Sauoy perplexed.

Bridge of his assistance, whereby he had made them to passe. The Duke seeing that he could not obaine any thing of the King, but that he must make a double recompence for the Marquisate, he continued a while in doubt of his returne, as he alwayes repented him of his coming. The King desirous to free him of all cause of distrust and apprehension, that should force his will, to promise that which hee would neuer hold, sent him word, that he should not trouble himselfe with the Resolution of his Councell: for he should neuer be forced but by the right of Armes, and that he should alwayes haue time to thinke of it, and to returne to *Paris* with his will as free, as when he came to *Paris*.

Passionate
Councells.

The Duke
would depart
without taking
his leave.

The Duke not able to see clearly with his owne eyes, nor to distinguish of these difficulties, aduised thereof in his Councell. But as the eyes troubled with those diseases which the Physicians terme *Hypostragma* and *Ictere*, haue the operation of the sight so troubled, as they cannot well iudge of colours, all objects seeming vnto the Yellow or Red. Euen so when Princes Councells are subiect to any passion, they giue counsell accordingly, nothing presenting it selfe vnto them, but through the false sight of Opinion and Choller, which doth alwayes make the bodies seeme bigger then they are. So in the Councell of this Prince, those which desired War, said *That neither the Restitution of the Marquisate, nor the Exchange of Bresse, might be accepted, and that a good Varre should be more honourable, then a shamefull Composition*: Others hauing no other passion then Peace, aduised him vnto it at what price soeuer, fearing, that if the King should not receiue that satisfaction from them which he expected, hee would stay them. The Duke grew into choller, and would haue departed without taking his leave. The most aduised of his Councell told him, that his departure in that sort, would make him a by-word to all the Princes of *Italy*; *Spaine* would laugh at him; *France* would be scandalized; that all *Europe* would hold him the cause of this War, and in this War of a world of miseries. That there needed no other Herald to proclaime War against him; which would be in the midst & in the foure corners of his Estate, before that he had passed the River of *Rhone*. That he shewed the greatnes of his courage to vanquish all these difficulties, and wisdom to dissemble his discontents. That wisdom should make the entry to a busines, seeing that repentance is fruitlesse in the ende. That if he had not foreseene the end of his voyage, hee should by his constancy mitigate the feeling, and represent vnto himselfe that to come into a goodly Paine all couered with flowers, he was forced to passe ouer a narrow and vneuen Plank. The Duke answered, *I will neuer passe it*. Leauing his Councell in suspence, that he would make as dishonorable a departure, as his arriuall had bin honorable: yet through the Prayers and perswasions of some of the Kings good seruants, the Duke resolved to depart as he came. But it was not without complaining that they intreated him with too much rigour. That there was no curtesie in *France* for him: That friendships were rare, finding least in them where he thought it did most abound: That they did force him to formes that were too preiudiciall, and that they had made him to hope for things which they now refused him, and that his Ambassador had deceiued him. The King knowing that *Chevalier Breton* had let the Duke of *Sauoy* his Master vnderstand, that his Maiesty desired he should come vnto him. He said vnto him that he was mistaken, & that he did neuer speake it.

True

A True it is, that he had sayd, that he hoped the Duke should not returne, but they should be agreed. The Duke seeing that Witdom must moderate the rigour of Necessity, he took another course, and resolues, (seeing he could get nothing else) to make his profit of the time, and of his abode: that he might haue meanes to vnitte that which hee had disioyned with *Spaine*. Foreseeing they would soone giue him leaue to be gone, for already they sayd in iest, in the Antichamber, *That they must send him away by an Edict*. He had therfore found a fauourable pretext for his stay. He was (or made thewe to be) in loue with one of the rarest beauties in the Court, and seemed not to care for all other affayres in respect of her. There were two solemne Feasts at *Paris*, which followed one another, *S. Germans* Fayre and Shrouetide. It was giuen out, that hee would see them before his departure. In the meane time he makes no haste, although he did not much aduance in his affayres. There were dayly new propositions, and the Last were more vnpleasing vnto him then the first.

A pretext of
the Dukes
stay.

The Kings Seruants were of opinion, that they should giue this Prince as little cause as might be to distrust him of his voyage, and to giue him time to consider whether he should consent to the Exchange or the Restitution: for that it was a thing (as he sayd) which hee could not doe without conference with his Councell, and the aduice of his Vassalls. The King hauing had the opinion of the Princes of his blood and others, & of the cheefe Officers of the Crowne, would no longer forbear to acquaint him with his resolution, commanding *Sebastian Zamet* (one of his Maiesties confident seruants) to tell it him, the which he did so artificially, as before he left the Duke, he drew from him a writing of the principall conditions of the Treaty, by the which were drawne the Articles of the Restitution of the Marquisate or of the Exchange. But to the ende the Duke should not thinke that the King would precipitate his Councells, hee gaue him three months time to choose eyther of the two conditions of the Treaty, either by Restitution or the Exchange. Whereupon the Duke signed the Articles following.

Articles of
the Treaty of
Paris.

1. That the Duke of *Sauoy* should restore the Marquisate of *Saluzzes* vnto his Maiesty, by the first day of the moneth of Iune next following, to vse & inioy as the Kings Predecessors had done, when it was in their hands, without any delay or difficulty, grounded vpon any colour or pretext whatsoeuer. 2. And his sayd Maiesty doth promise and grant vnto the sayd Duke, not to giue the Charge and Government of that Country, to any one that hee shall haue occasion to hold for enemy. 3. In like sort, to imploy *Suisses* in the Garde of the Townies & Places thereof, except in the Castles, where his Maiesty will place *French* Captaines and Souldiars, or such as he shall thinke good. 4. Notwithstanding, his Maiesty doth not meane to be bound to continue the *Suisses* in the sayd Townes, but for the time that the Compromise shal continue, made in the Person of his Holines, hereafter declared, & specified. 5. Or else the said Duke shall yeeld and deliuer to his Maiesty, for a recompence of the Marquisate of *Saluzzes*, by the first day of Iune next ensuing, all the Country of *Erse*, lying from the River of *Saone* vnto that of *Dain*, which River of *Dain* shall remaine in common betwixt his Maiesty and the sayd Duke, eyther of them to inioy it of his side, comprehending in the sayd Country the Towne and Cittadell of *Bourg*, and other places that depend thereon, *Barcellona* with his Vicariate, or Deputishipp, vnto *Argentiere*, the vale of *Stures*, that of *Perouse*, with all that depends thereon; with the Towne and Castle of *Pignoral* with his territory, vpon condition that his Maiesty shall transport vnto him all his right and interest to the sayd Marquisate, poulded notwithstanding that he suffer the Inhabitants of the sayd Marquisate, which haue serued his Maiesty, or shall serue him hereafter, to inioy their goods freely and safely. And in like sort, those which haue serued or shall serue the sayd Duke, shall in like manner enioy their goods, as well in the sayd Marquisate, as any other places that shall be deliuered to his Maiesty by the said Duke, without any alteration before the said delay nor after, to the preiudice of the one or the other, according to the rule which shal be set downe by his Maiesty and the Duke. 6. Moreover the Towns of *Cental*, *Emont*

Ggggg 3

Reques

1600. *Rognes, Pernieres, Castel Dauphin* and others held by the sayd Duke, belonging vnto his Maieſty, and in like manner thoſe which his Maieſty holds in *Breſſe, Saouy, Barcelonette* and others belonging vnto the ſayd Duke, ſhall reſpectiue be reſtored, at ſuch time as the Marquiſate ſhalbe yeilded vp: and in caſe of Exchange, thoſe of *Breſſe & Barcelonette*, ſhall remaine to his Maieſty, as hath bin ſaid, & the reſt ſhal be reſtored on either ſide. 7. All which places ſhalbe reſtored in the ſame Eſtate they are at this preſent, neyther his Maieſty nor the ſayd Duke, to be bound to pay nor ſatiſfie the charges made of eyther part, in the fortification and repaying of the ſayd Places. 8. In like ſort the ſort of *Beche-Dauphin* built by the ſayd Duke during the Wars, ſhall be deman-
reled at the ſame time. 9. The Inuentories duly certified of all the peeces of Artillery, Powder, Bullets, and other munitions of War, which were in the Townes and Places of the ſayd Marquiſate, when the Duke entred it, ſhal be faithfully deliuered vnto his Maieſty, when as the Duke ſhall chooſe the one or the other of the ſayd two offers, wherevpon his Maieſty ſhall declare his will for the reſtitution thereof, the which ſhall be performed by the Duke, as well in their kindes, as in money, according to the price, which ſhal be concluded betwixt his Maieſty and the Duke. 10. All Sutes Judgements, and Sentences giuen in Iuſtice, on eyther ſide before this preſent accord, (when the parties haue conteſted voluntary) ſhal ſtand and take effect, whether Reſtitution be made or an Exchange of the Marquiſate: yet it ſhal be lawfull for the parties to relecue themſelues by prouiſion according to the order of the Lawes. 11. That no ſerch ſhould be made of any Impoſitions, Contributions and Leuies of Money or Victualls in the ſayd Country, againſt ſuch as had appointed, receiued or diſpoſed of them, oreither part, vnto this preſent Treaty. 12. And to the end that the Inhabitants of the Townes and Country which are to be reſtored, may not be ouercharged nor vnjuſtly vexed, with leuies of Money, during the reſpite granted vnto the ſayd Duke, to make choiſe of, and to effect one of the ſayd two offers, vnder colour of payment, as wel of Arrerages of the ſayd Impoſitions impoſed before, & ſince the Peace of *Vernins*, as for the paye and entertainment of Capitaines & men of War, appointed for the gard of the ſayd Townes and Countries, or for any other pretext, vntill the Reſtitution or Exchange of the ſayd Marquiſate. It is decreed, that there ſhall be no leuy of Money made vpon the Inhabitants of the ſayd Townes and Countries, conformable to that which was agreed vpon, as well by the Treaty of *Vernins*, as by the Orders and Accords, made ſince, for the payment of the ſayd Arrerages & Money, by the Deputies of his Maieſty and the ſayd Duke, in the beginning of the yeare, for the ordinary entertainment of Garrisons, appointed for the gard of the ſayd Townes & Places, and of Officers imploied in the Eſtates of the ſayd Garrisons without any new Impoſitions of either part. And we declare all that ſhal be done & attempted to the contrary, ſubieſt to Reſtitution & Reparation. 13. And whereas as the ſayd Duke hath requested his Maieſty to allowe & confirme the Feoffment, made by him, in the Marquiſate, in caſe he ſhall chooſe to reſtore it: his Maieſty doth declare that being informed of the qualitie of the ſayd Feoffments, he would haue that reſpect to gratifie the Duke, as his ſeruiſe would permit him: without being bound to reſtore that which had bin payde for the ſayd Feoffments, but as it ſhal ſtand with his good pleaſure. 14. And for aſmuch, as the ſayd Duke, hath intreated his Maieſty, to giue him time to confer with his Vaſſals & Subieſts of both parties, before that he accept of the one or the other, his Maieſty deſiring to wiſnes vnto him, as wel in this as in al other occaſions his good will: doth grant vnto the ſayd Duke his choiſe, ſo as he chooſe and effect the one or the other of the two offers, by the firſt day of Iune aboue named, without diminishing or altering of any thing, or vſing of any Euaſion, Delay, or Difficulty, grounded vpon any colour or occaſion whatſoeuer. 15. Whereunto the ſayd Duke had bound his Faith & Word, & his Maieſty doth the like, for the accompliſhment & execution of all things, granted by theſe preſent Articles which depend thereof. 16. In like ſort it hath bin agreed betwixt his Maieſty & the ſayd Duke, that they ſhal conſent, as they do at this preſent, after the Reſtitution ſhall be Really and Fully accompliſhed. If the
ſayd

A ſayd Duke makes choiſe thereof, that our Holy Father Pope *Clement* the 8. ſhal iudge of all Controuerſies that are betwixt his Maieſty and the ſayd Duke, according to that which hath bin agreed vpon by the treaty of *Vernins*, and that within three yeares.

17. Promiſing to accompliſh & performe, faithfully on either part, whatſoeuer ſhal be decreed by his Holineſſe with in the time prefixed, without any delay or difficulty, for what cauſe or pretext ſoeuer, as it is concluded by the treaty of *Vernins*. 18. And for the greater aſſurance of the execution of the Treaty, and euery point and Article therein conteyned, the ſayd King and Duke of *Sauoy*, humbly beſeech his Holineſſe, that as by his good and fatherly exhortations they are entred into this way of Accord, that it would pleaſe him as a common Father, to continue the care which he hath formerly ſhewed to norriſh Peace, and to aſſure a firme friendſhip betwixt them, and in all occaſions that ſhould be offered to interpoſe his Authority for the full and reall execution of things promiſed of either part, as it is conteyned in this preſent Treaty. Made at *Paris*, the 27. day of February. 1600. Signed, *Henry* and *Emanuel*, and ſealed with his Maieſties ſeale and the Duke of *Sauoyes*.

Three or foure daies after this Treaty, the Duke tooke his leaue of the King, who being followed by all the Court conducted him to *Pont Charenton*, and gaue him the Baron of *Lux* to attend on him out of the Realme, with commandement to the Gouernors of *Champagne & Bourgondy*, where he ſhould paſſe to receiue him, as his Maieſty they would. Whileſt he was neere the King he ſhewed ſuch outward content, & concealed his greefe ſo cunningly, as his owne people did iudge that nothing could better content him. But being a little retired, his countenance bewraied his diſcontent and the repentance of his voiage. He farther hee went from the King, the neerer he approached to *Spaine*: being reſolute to reconcile himſelfe, and to that end he preſently diſpatched *Bely* his Chancellor. Being in Caroffe, he ſayd ſometimes, that he had bene deceived, that the words which they had giuen to perſwade him to come into *France*, were ill interpreted: and that as ſoone as hee ſhould come to *Chambery*, hee would ſend to beſeech the King to prolonge the time, in the which hee would make choiſe of the Reſtitution or the Exchange.

The Baron of *Lux* obſerued his diſcourſes, and aduerted the King of the Dukes intention, wholly inclyned to Warre, rather then to performe any part of the Treaty. Being vpon *Saint Inhans* bridge, the Baron of *Lux*, hauing commandement from the King not to go any farther, tooke his leaue of the Duke, and aſſuring himſelfe that his words ſhould be as pleaſing vnto him, as he ſeemed to haue bene content with his conduct, hee beſeeched him not to transport his Heart out of *France* as he did his Bodie, but to cheriſh the friendſhip of ſo great a King derely; who loued him as his Brother. That he feared, that ſuch as had ſhewed ſo great diſcontent, for the voiage, which his Heighneſſe had made into *France*, would reape the profit which hee himſelfe might enioye. That he ſhould hold their Councells not only ſuſpect, but dangerous: as paſſionate men, whoſe perſwaſions were ſugred poiſons. Who being more iealous of his Greatneſſe, then deſirous of his Quiet, would not ceaſe vntill they had diuerted him from the execution of his promiſes. That if it pleaſed him to thinke of what was paſt, and compare it with the preſent, he ſhould ſinde that Peace was the inexpugnable rampar of his Eſtates: and that it was a great miſery for a Prince, to ſubmit himſelfe to an others diſcretion, beſeeching him to belecue that the Councell which hee gaue him, was the ſame which he would giue him, if it had pleaſed God that hee had bene borne his Vaſſal or one of his Councell.

I take (answered the Duke) that which you ſay vnto mee as of a Nobleman of Iudgement, and thanke you: I acknowledg my ſelfe ſo much bound vnto the King, as I would ſacrifice my life in exchange of the dutie which I owe him: and doe promiſe neuer to giue him any occaſion, to eſteeme mee other then his moſt humble ſeruant and louing Kinsman. But commonly Princes wordes ſerue
but

1600.

The Duke of
Savoyes de-
parture.The Duke
diſcontent.

1600. but to disguise their inward conceptions, houlding dissimulation for a great vertue. Such was the issue of the Duke of *Sauoyes* voyage. The yeare shall not passe before he tast the fruit. His presence did procure him the condition of exchange, the which the King would not haue granted to his Ambassadors. But hee continued not long in this opinion, to performe the one or the other. Going out of my Cittadell at *Bourg*, they found that sorrow troubled his soule, to leaue a place, esteemed one of the strongest in *Europe*. Being arrived at *Bourg*, hee sent one post vnto the King, to thanke him for the honor he had receiued in his voyage, and for the good entertainment which *Pradin* had giuen him in *Champaigne*, and the Baron of *Lux* in *Bourgundy*. Hee writ by the same post to the Gouverneur of *Lions*, imparting vnto him the contentment which he receiued by the treatie of *Paris*, and that hee went to *Chambery*, and soone after the Feast into *Piedmont*, there to resolve what the King should expect of him.

The Duke going forth of Bourg had teares in his eyes.

But hee stayed not long before he gaue eare to their perswasions, who sought to deprive him of all happinesse, which hee might promise vnto himselfe by his voyage: assuring him that the coming of the Count de *Fuentes* would giue him meanes to free himselfe from the necessitie of the Exchange and Restitution. Hee dissimbled the discontent of his voyage with great arte, yet still hee did vent out some vapour which made the most iudicious to beleue, that he would be glad to preiudice the King in any thing with the hazard of his owne. We haue sayd before, that in the ende of the yeare the Arch-duke *Albert*, had retired his army out of the *Ile of Rommel*, where he had left a good garrison in the new fort of *Saint Andrews*, and in the fort of *Creue-cœur* which the Admirall had taken. This winter was sharpe and long, during the which the garrisons of the sayd forts of *Creue-cœur*, and *Saint Andrews* suffered much, having receiued no pay for many months that were due vnto them from the Arch-duke. This was the pretext of their mutiny, expelling all their Captaines and Officers, and committing all acts of hostility, as well vpon the Arch-dukes subjects as vpon the enemies Country, protesting notwithstanding to continue in the seruice & obedience of the King of *Spaine*, & of *Albert* Arch-duke of *Austria* his Brother in Law: demanding nothing but their pay, whereof the Arch-duke and the *Infants* shewed themselves some-what excheffe. Count *Maurice* (who was also retired) being loth to loose the opportunity of this mutiny, ment to make his profit of it: Winter being spent he appointed the *Rendez-vous* for his army about *Roterdsme* and *Willemstad* the 18. of March 1600. hee parted from *Hage* and came to *Dort*, where imbarcking two daies after with his army, hee mounted vp the riuer of *Meuse*, with 200. sayle vnto the fort of *Creue-cœur*. The 21. having landed his army and begun to plant his Cannon, hee summoned the place to yeeld. There were foure companies of *Wallons* in it, who remembering their mutiny (although all were pardoned, or at the least so promised them) and the small like-hood they had of any timely succors, and the great diligence the Prince vsed to force them, they yeelded to the Composition that was offered them, and the 24. day they yeelded the Fort: whereof two Companies (not trusting to the Arch-duke) did offer willingly to serue the States, and the other two retired to *Saint Andrews* Fort.

The fort of *Creue-cœur* beleagued and yeelded to Count *Maurice*.

S. Andrews fort beleagued.

Count *Maurice* seeing this happy beginning, entred with his army into the *Ile of Rommel*, to beleage *S. Andrews* fort, the which he did the 29. of the sayd moneth, notwithstanding the continuall raine and cold, his men beeing forced to lie disperfed in their ships vpon the riuer of *Meuse* and *Wahal*. Being before the Fort, he presently caused many Forts to be built to assure his Campe, and to keepe the *Spaniards* from succoring of the place, or so annoyning him by his courtes. The Prince being thus fortified within his Campe, the Arch-duke was out of all hope to succor it, all things falling out crossely, for the waters were so great, as the trenches of the Princes Campe were filled, and they Beseeged were forced to lodge like Conies in the Rampars, suffering much vpon hope to be Succored. Reconciled and Paied, and doing their endeuors to hinder the Princes approaches. The first of May the waters beeing shronke a little, the Prince commanded approaches to bee made in a darke night with good trenches, sent

A ding a trumpet to summon the Beseeged: who (although they were well resolved to hold the place for the Arch-duke) gaue eare and were willing to enter into parley with him.

The 4. and 5. of the sayd moneth *Wirtembrou* and *Vander Aa*, were sent vnto some that met the without the trenches of the halfe Moone, which they of *S. Andrews* Fort had built without their Counterscarpe. They giue the to vnderstand in this conference, what small means there was to succor them, the doubtfulness of their reconciliation, & the small likehood to be payd by the Arch-duke for their seruices, the which mounted to great summes of money, considering the great necessity of their affaires: wherevnto the Deputies answered: that there was due vnto them five hundred thousand Florins, that hetherto they had defended themselves, and endured almost impossible things, that they would neuer yeeld vp the place vntil they were payd their due, by whome soeuer. The Prince offered them a hundred thousand Florins, but vpon the refusall thereof, the parley brake off: The beseeged hauing discovered a signe made with Torch from *Bosledue*, which was but two Leagues off, aduertising them that they should be succored within foure daies.

The Beseeged being to much vnaccommodated, seeing the Princes soldiars aduance euen vnto the foot of their Counterscarpe, and that they appointed to make two Bridges to go vnto the assault, after a breach were made: the said foure daies of their hope being expired, & seeing no shew of succors about two of the clocke in the afternoone the same day, they demanded againe, if the Prince would harken to a composition. The Prince fearing (as it soone after fell out) an other overflowing of the Riuers, which would force him to abandon his Approches and Trenches, and to retire his Cannon with some difficultie: The Beseeged hauing sent eight Deputies vnto him, a composition was made, and a hundred and five and twentie thousand Florins promised them, with condition that they should continue still in the Fort vntill the money were payd. Promising and swearing vnto the Prince: that so long as they continued in the Fort, attending the money, they should keepe it faithfully for the States and Prince, and withall should obey such Captaines and Officers as should bee sent vnto them by him, renouncing and reuoking the oath which they had formerly made vnto the King of *Spaine*, or to *Albert* the Archduke of *Austria*. Whereupon Articles were drawne on both parts, which I omit for breuities sake, referring the Reader to the Originall. The eleuenth of the sayd Moneth they went out of the Fort, and were payed by the Commissaries of the States, by the Powle, being a thousand one hundred twenty and foure men by muster, the least of them receiuing a hundred and fixe Florins. They being gone forth, the Prince sent in foure of his companies, and then he entred with all the Noblemen of his army. After they had receiued their money, they were presently shipt, and sent away into Garrison into diuers Townes of those Prouinces.

S. Andrews Fort taken.

Behold the Fort which was held Impregnable, easily wonne by the States, and not onely the Place, Artillery, Munition, and prouisions of Warre and Victuals (which were more worth then 125000. Florins) but a troupe of as braue men as the Archduke had of long time in his army, choyle and old trayned souldiars. The Prince found in this Fort ninetie and fixe barrels of Poulder, eighteene peeces of Ordinance, with a great quantitie of Wheate, Rye, Malt, and other Graine, and Victuals. About this time *Monsieur d' Briauté* a yong French Gentleman, Capitaine of a companie of horse in the States pay, and exceeding valiant, beeing in garrison in the Towne of *Saint Gheertruidenbergh*, receiued some wordes of reproch, as well to his owne person, as to the French nation, ill reported, and lightly deliuered, by a souldiar which had runne away from the States seruice, his name was *Lekerbitken* (that is to say a daintie morcell,) for his courage, Lieutenant to *Grobendoncs* companie of Horse, who was Gouverneur of *Bosledue* in *Brabant*. *Briauté* wronging his degree and reputation to meddle with one which was not of his quality, for such light words which are ordinary among souldiars, sent him a challenge, desying him, bodie to bodie, sue to sue

1600. five, tenne to tenne, or twentie to twentie. This challenge was accepted by *Lekerbitken*. A
ken, of twentie against twentie, on horsebacke, with such armes as they did usually
 carrie at the Warre. The day and place was appointed, although Prince *Maurice* did
 dissuade and forbid him, alleading the frivolous occasion of the quarrell, and the
 inequality of his person to that of a Traitor and Renigadoe: But *Briante* hauing made
 choise of nineteene horsemen of his companie, (almost all *French*), in whom he trusted
 most, himselfe making the twentieth, hee went out of *Gheertruisdenberghe*, telling *Win-*
garde Gouernour of the place, that it was with the Princes consent, and hauing giuen
 him, (if he died in the Combate) his best armes (the which were as faire, as rich, and as
 curiously wrought, as any Prince could weare) hee went to the place appointed for the
 Combat, midway betwixt *Bosledue* and *Gheertruisdenberghe*.

Briante finding not his enemye advanced further then hee ought, meeting halfe a
 League from *Bosledue*, vpon their approach they charged equally: *Briante* and his com-
 panie with long Pistolls onely, and *Lekerbitken* with Carabin and Petronell.
 The two Commanders had before giuen a signe to know one another: *Briante* who
 had a great white feather, made choise of *Lekerbitken* who had a red, and charged
 him with such great furie, as hee slue him, shooting him in at the sight of his caske;
 at this charge there were five of them of *Bosledue* slaine, whereof the Brother of *Le-*
kerbitken was one: It seemed *Briante* should vanquish, but they of *Bosledue* reluming
 courage to renenge the death of their leader, returned more furiously then before to
 the charge, the which stocke a terror into *Briantes* companie, who flying away, left
 their Captaine in danger, who was taken Prisoner with a Cosin of his, and was carried
 with three of the companie to *Bosledue*, *Grobendonc* being before the port, expecting the
 returne of *Lekerbitken*, and to learne with the first how the combat succeeded, seeing
 not his Lieutenant, he demanded where he was: they answered that he was slaine, and
 his Brother with him, hee replied, and why haue ye not then slaine these? at which
 wordes his men fell vpon *Briante* and his Cosine, & murdered them in cold blood.

This yeare the Emperour made the Duke of *Mercurie* Lieutenant General of his army
 in *Hungarie*, sending him his Commission, the which he would not accept without the
 Kings commandement, esteeming no honor nor greatnes in the world, to bee desired
 or accepted of a Subject, without the permission of his Prince. The King liked well
 of it. This was his second voyage into *Hungarie*: who after that hee had received the
 Emperours commandement at *Vienna*, he went directly to *Luarin*, where hee was
 acknowledged Lieutenant General to the Emperour in his army: the which was ver-
 y small in number, but very great in courage and resolution to doe well. Wee haue
 shewed before how that *Michael Palatin* of *Valachia*, vanquished Cardinall *Batory*, and
 the *Transiluanians*, and how hee became Master of *Clausembourg*, in the Emperours
 name. Let vs now see how ambition blinded him, and how hee lost *Valachia*, and was
 forced to liue at *Vienna*, a pensioner to the Emperour.

In the beginning of this yeare, a second Ambassador came from the *Turke*, vnto the
Palatin of *Valachia*, to draw him from the Emperours alliance, & to inuite him to haue
 intelligence with the *Turke*. The *Palatin* went to meet this Ambassador with a
 great traine and wel appointed. His name was *Haraiam*, an old Captaine, and of a reuer-
 ent aspect. Coming neere together, both of them lighted, and hauing embraced one
 another, the *Aga* took off the *Palatins* sword, and girt him after the manner of great
 men in *Turky*, with a *Perisun* Cimeter, all glistering with gold and precious stones, with
 many other presents, among the which were fethers of Heames, and Cranes all black,
 the which are excellent among them: there were also two red Enseigns, 7 Horses, &
 a braue Falcon exquisitely fet out: which presents were after their manner carried a-
 loft before the sayd *Palatin*: Hee holding the right hand as Lord, and the Ambassador
 the left, they entred into *Cronstat*, the souldiars standing of either side, whilst the Can-
 non shot off, in signe of ioy. The Emperours Agents were there, and beheld all this:
 the *Palatin* doubing they would enter into some icalousie, called them, & wished them
 not to bee moued for all this, nor to thinke that hee would incline to the *Turkes* friend-
 ship

A ship, and that he would alwayes doe what should be reason: but that hee could doe no
 lesse then intreat this Ambassador ciuilly and honorably, if hee would not be reputed
 discourteous: Notwithstanding he intreated them to cause *George Basta* to retyre, for
 some priuat respects that were betwixt them, and that they should cause some other to
 come. The Emperours Agents made shewe to beleene him, and presented him with
 thirtie thousand Crownes in the Emperours name, wherwith he was not very well plea-
 sed. This *George Basta* had bene Lieutenant of the Emperours army in *Transilvania*,
 since that *Sigismond Batorie* would haue yielded it to the Emperour, and afterwards
 repented him, giuing it to Cardinall *Andrew* his Kinsman. The *Palatins* harred against
Basta was, for that he had discouraged the Intelligences that he had with the *Turke*,
 and aduertised the Emperour thereof. In the meane time the *Valachian* blinded with
 this great victorie against *Batorie*, treated with the Emperours Agents by Articles.

First he would that *Transilvania* (the which he sayd belonged to him, and to his Son,
 by hereditarie right) should remaine vnto him, demanding moreouer *Varadin*, *Hust*,
Nagban, and the confines of *Hungary*. Secondly hee would haue the same pensions that
Sigismond Batory had, & where-withall to maintaine an army continually on foot, Thirdly
 that the Emperour, and other Christian Princes should promise to reduce him, in case
 he were taken prisoner by the *Turke*: And moreouer if he should be expelled *Vala-*
chia, and *Transilvania*, that they should giue him a hundred thousand Crownes yeare-
 ly, to maintaine him like a Prince: and vpon these conditions he would stand firme to
 the Christian party, and would undertake to bring in subiection vnto the Emperour,
 all the Country lying from the Ponticke Sea, vnto *Buda*, *Alba regalis* and *Solnoc*: so as
 he might be Lord of the Riuier of *Tibische*. These insolent demands did offend the
 Emperours Agents, and were the cause of the *Valachians* ruine. In the meane time *Si-*
gismond Batory hauing taken armes againe, and ioyned with *Jerome Vauoide* of *Molda-*
uia, made a Campe volant, of meane forces, consisting of *Moldauians*, *Polonians*, *Turks*
 and *Tartarians*.

The *Valachian*, goes to encounter *Batorie* with fiftie thousand men, the which
 hee ledde through the Mountaines, where for want of victualls they were forced
 to eate leaues of trees. Notwithstanding *Batory* and *Jerome* beeing terrified, fled into
D Poland. The *Palatin* seizeth vpon *Moldauia*, where *Jerome* was much hated for his ex-
 actions: He made them to take an oath as well to the Emperour, as to himselfe and his
 Sonne. Then hee seekes for his enemy, who was towards the Riuier of *Danuby*,
 with thirty thousand men, at a strong Castle called *Ortan*: He gaue him battell and
 wonne it with the losse of twoe thousand men, but the *Moldauian* lost eight
 thousand men. The *Valachian* after he had settled his Sonne in *Moldauia*, retired him-
 selfe into *Transilvania*.

At that time *Zamoscki* the great Chancellor of *Poland*, leured a newe army, to
 reduce *Moldauia* to the ancient Gouernment of the *Polonians*: This Army recovered
Moldauia and conquered almost all *Valachia*. The *Valachian* aduertised the Lieutenant
 of the Emperours Armye in high *Hungary*, to be ready in case of necessity, and the
 Emperour himselfe, whom he promised by his letters to serue very faithfully, so as he
 would call *Basta* out of *Transilvania*: but it fell out contrary, for Doctor *Petzen* the
 Emperours Ambassador commanded him to obey *Basta*: the which did so transport
 him with rage, as he vsed all cruelty against the Noblest Houses of *Transilvania*, tor-
 menting some, and putting others to death, the which purchased him the hatred of
 all men, and his friends forooke him, euen *Moyes Secala*, who had before assisted him
 more then any other, abandoned him: so as he lyued in feare on all sides, of the
Turkes, the *Tartars*, the *Polonians*, *Moldauians* and *Transiluanians*. *Basta* vpon this oc-
 casion of hatred, drew the *Transiluanians* vnto him by loue, and taking *Clausembourg*,
 the chiefe towne, all the Estates of *Transilvania* came vnto him, & receiued him for
 their *Vauoide*, in the Emperours name.

The *Valachian* remained at *Visbourg* with an army of 18000. men, being resolved to
 attend

George Basta
 & the *Palatin*
 of *Valachia*
 hate one ano-
 ther.

The *Valachian*
 demands
 of the Em-
 perour.

The *Moldauian*
 & *Batory*
 defeated.

The *Valachian*
 abandon'd by
 his friends for
 his cruelty.

Basta receiued
 the *Transiluanians*
 for the Empe-
 rour.

1600. attend his enemy, but *George Basta* surprised and defeated him, having lost 4000 men. A
The *Valachi* retired himself into the Mountaines, which deuides *Valachia* from *Trans-*
an delected. *siluania*, but being there, the *Moldauian* and *Batory* charge him, and bring him to an
extremity, as he was forced to submit himselfe with all humilitie to the Emperour, deli-
uering into his hands his Treasor, Wife and Children for Hostages: And to the *Valachi*
came to *Vienna*, where hee was honorably receiued by the Archduke *Matthias*,
and stayed there by commandement, vntill that that the Emperour came to *Bo-*
gue. In the meane time the *Transiluanians* mutyned, and threatened to yeeld them-
selues vnto the *Turke*, if they would not grant them certaine conditions: so as the Em-
perour would haue sent his Brother *Maximilian*, the Archduke vnto them, to gouerne
them, but he excused himselfe. And the *Valachians* being oppressed by the *Polonois*,
Polonois, demanded *Michel* their *Palatin*, or *Despot*, or some other, for that they
would not obey the *Moldauians* Brother, whome the *Polonois* had giuen them for their
Despot: wherewith the Emperour was much troubled, as you shall heare hereafter.
About this time, there were 2000. souldiars, most of them *Walouns* and *French*, which
were mutined in *Pappa* (a fort of importance) for that their pay stayed too long, making a
cruell reuolt, whereof sixe among them were the cheefe Authors. First they elected
one called *La Mot* for their Cheefe, and forced the rest to consent, else they would kill
them: Their conspiracie was to yeeld vnto the *Turke*, and to that end they had taken
Michael Marot their *Gouernour* prisoner, and others that commanded in the fort, to de-
liuer them vnto the *Turkes*: They set all the *Turkish* prisoners at libertie, and sent them
to *Alba regalis*, promising the *Turkes* to deliuer them *Schwartzbouurg*: or if he would not
trust them, they would shew them the meanes to take him in *Kolnock*, whether hee
should come to bring their money. *Schwartzbouurg* had intelligence thereof, yet some
of the Traitors inuited him by their letters to come, promising to open him the gates:
being come, the kept him, and fought to surprise him: so as hee was forced to send
Captaine *Scharpfenfein* with the Cannon, to force them the 22. of Iune. The Traitors
receiued carts laden with prouision from the *Turkes*, and deliuered them Christian
prisoners, which they carried away to *Vesprin* and *Alba regalis* with great treacherie &
cruelty, euery one deliuering vp his Host.

The reuolt and
treason of two
hundred souldi-
ars in Pappa
and their pun-
ishment.

S. Schwartzbou-
urg
slaine before
Pappa.

In the meane time *Michael Marot*, aduertised *Schwartzbouurg* to come himselfe to be-
seege *Pappa*, for that the Traitors were at diuision among themselves, killing one ano-
ther: *Schwartzbouurg* goes & takes one of these trecherous Captaines at a fallie, causing
him to bee head aliue, and his head to be set on the end of a Pike, to strike terror into
the rest: They also take a Bastion from them by force, by the which they might let in
Turkish iectors, who did all they could to succour them, the which they could not ef-
fect, by reason of the great floods, and the resistance of the Christians. The Traitors
being famished, and in great want of all things, grew desperate, desiring rather to die
then to yeeld and be executed. Among others they make one fallie in the night, the
last of Iuly, and charge *Marsbourgs* quarter, where finding the souldiars dronke, they
defeated many, and put the whole Campe in armes. *Schwartzbouurg* (a braue and valiant
Captaine) going to giue order for this tumult, was slaine with a shot, to the great grief
of all the Christians. Notwithstanding his death, the seege was continued, & the Trai-
tors defended themselves desperately, making a fallie the next day, carrying many pri-
soners into the Towne, with some Captaines, and slue three hundred: And being per-
suaded to yeeld, they answered, that when all their victualls were spent, they would
eate their prisoners, yea and *Michael Marot* the *Gouernour*.

The Emperour giue the charge of this army to *Melchior Reder*, who had brauely de-
fended *Paradin*. The Traitors seeing they could hold no longer, fore-cast how they
might fle and the 30. of August they dried vp a poole, which did enuiron *Pappa* of
one side, and for that the bottome did sinke, they did cast Hardles, Strawe, and other
baggage into it. *Reder* aduertised hereof, sends *Nadasse*, the Count *Thurin*, and *Colonitz*
to surprise them. The Traitors flying, had already gotten vnto a wood at the end of
the Poole, where they ouertooke them, and refusing to yeeld, some of them were cut
in

A in peeces: And among others, *la Motte* their Captaine with a hundred more were
slaine: Their Mediator with the *Turkes* was taken, with many of the chiefe of the
Treason. In the meane time *Marot* the *Gouernour*, whom the Traitors had put in pri-
son, being freed from his bonds, gets forth with others and comes to the Campe.
Reder by this meanes enters into *Pappa*, and deliuers the other prisoners. At this entry
many of the Traytors were slaine, some were referued for execution, and were
sent to other Garrisons, to serue for an example. Some were Impaled, others broken
vpon the Wheele, and scorched with a small fire, and basted with Lard, some had
their Bowells pulled out off their Bellies and burnt before their faces, and their
thighes, shoulders and other parts of their Bodies scorched: some had their Hearts
pulled out aliue; others had their throats filled with Sulpher and Pouder, and set on
fire: some were buried aliue, vp to the chinne, and ther heads broken with Bullets,
euery one by order of Martiall Lawe, to make them apprehend by the severity of
their deaths, the foulness of their treason. Which diuersity of seuer punishments (see-
ming to tend to cruelty) was very necessary, to make all Christians abhorre treason.

Diners pun-
ishments of
Tr. yers.

The Lords of *Sillery* and *Alinecourt* by the Popes aduice, and the Kings comman-
dement, went from *Rome* to *Florence*, to treat a marriage betwixt the King and the
Noble Princeesse *Mary* of *Medeis*, the which had bene prebanded before. This
demand was so pleasing vnto the great Duke, as he made no difficulty. Her Portion
was six hundred thousand Crowns (comprehending that which the Great Duke had
lent the King, of the which he paid himselfe) with Jewells and other precious moue-
ables. The Contract was past in the Pallace of Pitty, the 25. day of Aprill, in the pre-
sence of *Charles Anthony Putei* Archbishop of *Pisa*, and *Virginio* Duke of *Bracciano*. All
Florence shewed great ioy thereat, and the Princeesse was presently declared Queene
of *France*. She dyed publicly vnder a cloth of Estate, the great Duke sitting farre
beneath her. The Duke of *Bracciano* gaue her Water, and *Sillery* the Kings Am-
bassador the Towell. The rest of the day was spent in all kind of sports. Soone
after *Monsieur Alinecourt* went to carry these good newes vnto the King, with the
Queenes picture, which the great Duchesse sent him. The King sent *Frontenac*, to
serue the Queene as her cheefe Steward, who presented vnto her his Maiesties
first Letter, and withall he sent his Portrait to the great Duke. The King resolved
to effect the promises of Marriage, as soone as the Duke of *Sauoy* had performed
his, touching the Restitution or the Exchange of the Marquisate of *Salusses*, and
to go to *Auznon* to receiue the Queene: but the Duke was much perplexed
what hee should doe.

A Treatie of
the Kings
marriage.

The Queenes
Picture sent
to the King.

After the Duke of *Sauoyes* departure the King went to passe the Lent at *Fontain-
bleau*, where there was a great Conference betwixt the Bishop of *Eureux* and
Philip de Mornay Lord of *Plessis Marly*, *Gouernour* of *Saumur*, Intendent of the house
and Crowne of *Nauarre*: in the presence of the King, Princes and Officers of his
Crowne, Councillors of State, Prelats and other Noblemen of marke. It was touch-
ing a booke which *Monsieur du Plessis* had published of the Institution of the Lords
Supper, and against the Masse, wherein the Bishop did taxe him to haue falsified ma-
ny Authorities. Wherevpon *du Plessis* presented a Petition vnto the King, that his Ma-
iesty would be pleased to appoint Commissioners to examine euery passage of Scrip-
ture cited in his booke. The King yeilded to this Conference, that the truth might
be made cleare against the darkness of slander, referring the care thereof to his Chan-
cellor. The Commissioners appointed for the Catholiks were *Augustin Thuanus* Pre-
sident of the Court Parliament at *Paris*: *Pithou*, Aduocate in the Court, and *Feuere*
Schoolemaister to the Prince of *Condé*, in whose absence came *Martin* the Kings Phi-
sition. And for the other, the President of *Calignon*, Chancellor of *Nauarre*, in whose
place entred *de Fresnes Gauaye*, President of the Chamber of *Languedoc*, and *Casabon*,
his Maiesties Reader for the *Greeke* tongue. All singular Men in learning and tonges.
This conference began the 4. of May, in the Hall at *Fontainbleau* in the midst whereof

A Confe-
rence at Pon-
tainbleau.

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was

1600. was a Table of a reasonable length. At the one end sat the King, on his right hand the Bishop of *Eureux*, and on the left, right against him *Du Plessis, Pasquier, L'Espine, Mercier*, Secretaries of the Conference were at the lower end of the same Table. Some what higher on the Kings right hand sat the Chancellor & the Comptroller. Behind the King stood the Archbishop of *Lions*, and the Bishops of *Nevers, Beauvais* and *Chastres*. On the Kings left hand, were the foure Secretaries of State. Behind them which conferred, were the Dukes of *Flandermont*, of *Normandie*, of *Alencon*, of *Mayenne*, of *Nevers*, of *Eibeuf*, of *Aiguillon* and of *Tonnelle*, the Officers of the Chamber, Councillors of State, and other Noblemen of quality. After that all were commanded to keepe silence, his Maiefty hauing said, that the Dispute was not betwixt party and party, but particular betwixt the two Conferences, not for any question of Right and Doctrine, but for the literall trueth of some passages: and that he desired they should Treat with al Mildnes and Moderation, without any bitterness or p. sion, but that of the truth. Declaring moreover that he did not meane that this dispute, should in any thing alter or disquiet the Peace of his Subjects, as the Chancellor did then declare vnto them at large by the Kings commandement.

After the first dayes Conference, *Monsieur du Plessis* fell very sicke, so as they could proceed no further. The King did write the same day, vnto the Duke of *Espernon*, that had past in this Conference, and shewed by his Letter what his iudgement was. *My friend, the Diocesse of Eureux hath vanquished that of Saumur.* Wherevith *Monsieur du Plessis* was discontented, so as in a discourse which he (or some of his friends) had put into one after, touching this Conference, he termed this Letter *A Sparke of fire*, and that the Bishop of *Eureux* Fly, was made an Elephant. The King had particular advice that the Duke of *Sauoy* was irrefolute what to do, and that he had sent vnto the Pope, and to diuers Princes and Common weales in *Italy*, to let them vnderstand that he had bene forced to the Treaty of *Paris*, and how much it did import them if this Treaty were effected: but he found not their intentions to iumpe with his, neither had he the answer which he expected. His Maiefty had also intelligence of his deepe displeasing, saying somtimes; *That he would not restore the Marquisate, but by force*; sometimes, *that he had rather deliuer Breffe then the Marquisate*; and most commonly hee would say, *that he would restore the Marquisate*; and that with a double dessein. The one was that the King (thinking he proceeded faithfully) would graunt him some delay for the restitution of the Marquisate, during the which, and before that the King should leaue an Army, Winter should come, the which would hinder the *French* from attempting of any thing against him this yeare. The other was, to the end that the King of *Spaine* and his Council (who apprehended about all, the Restitution of the Marquisate, for the neighebourhood of the *French*, to the Duchie of *Milun*) should grant vnto *Leij* the Dukes Chancellor and his Ambassador in *Spaine* (whiche he had sent him expressly to pacifie the *Spaniards*, who were offended with the Dukes voyage into *France*, treachors of Men, and money in case the King would force him: or else that hee might draw some recompence from the *Spaniard* for the exchange of *Bresse* with the Marquisate. *Bely* complaines to the Council of *Spaine*, of the little time which they remayned for the Restitution of the Marquisate to the *French*, to whom they answered, That armyes were not to loone leuiued in *France*; that hee should assure the Duke his Master, that the *Count de Fuentes* should be at *Milun* by August (whereas two millions of sold attended him) with so many men and other provision, as who soeuer should seeke to force him, should haue enough to do to defend himselfe.

The King being well aduertised of all these practises; The first of Iune beeing past, by the which the Duke according to the Treaty of *Paris* should restore the Marquisate, his Maiefty came to *Lions*; where the Duke intreated him by his Letters to giue him some dayes of respite, & that he would satisfie him by his Ambassadors. Wherevnto the King yeelded. The Archbishop of *Tarantaise*, the Marquis of *Lullins* and *Rencas* his Ambassadors came to *Lions*, the 16. of Iuly. Who sayd vnto the King.

The

A That the Duke their Maister did complaine of the treatie of *Paris*, that he durst not refuse any thing to his Maistie, when as he was in the chiefe City of his Realme; that he might be more blamed for holding of the accord then in breaking it, for the great interest of himselfe, his Children and his Countries; Norwithstanding he was ready to yeeld the Marquisate, but he beseeched his Maiefty to graunt him the Inuestiture of it for one of his Sonnes.

The King answered them. That the Duke had written many letters vnto him from *Chambery* and *Thurin*, aduertising him that he was very well pleased with the accord which he had made at *Paris*, promising to effect it, as he was bound to doe. As for his Demand of the Inuestiture of the Marquisate for one of his Sonnes, there was no likelihood he should vse any such Liberalitie, hauing so small cause. To conclude, he was much discontented with the difficulties which the Duke made vpon their accord, the which if he did not performe by the first day of August, he should prepare to defend himselfe. *Rencas* the Dukes confident seruant returns to his Highnes, to let him vnderstand the Kings discontent & resolution: but especially to giue him time to thinke of his affaires. At that time *Fosseuse* returning out of *Piedmont*, assured the King, that he had heard the Duke of *Sauoy* sweare, that he would neuer yeeld vp the Marquisate, and if the King did attempt to make warre against him, he would throw him sport for fortie yeares, with such like words which were vnpleasing to the King. *Rencas* returns speedily, bringing new that the Duke was content, seeing the King would haue it so, to restore the Marquisate of *Saluces*, according to the treatie of *Paris*. The King seemed well pleased with this resolution, giuing the charge to *Brulart* and *Janin* to treat with the Dukes Ambassadors, how the restitution of the Marquisate should be made. The articles were agreed vpon, and being readie to signe them, *Rencas* laide vnto the Ambassadors, that his master might take it ill, if they should signe them before hee had seene them: that there were diuers humors about his Highnes, & that it would be more easie for him to get him to approue the Articles when they were not signed, *Rencas* takes vpon him to carry the Articles, the King hauing liuen him heaue to goe, and knowe his Masters last resolution, shewing that he was determined not to suffer himselfe to be entertained any longer with words, but in steed of returning, he sent backe a letter whereby they found that the Duke did nothing but dessemble, and keepe the King occupide, vntill that the *Count de Fuentes* came out of *Spaine*, and that he had assembled his forces and provided for his safety.

But the Archebishop of *Tarantaise* and *Lullins* entering againe into conference with the said Presidents of *Sillery* and *Janin*, they propounded foure difficulties. 1. Vpon the restitution of places in the Marquisate, by the Duke, and of *Pont de vaux* in *Bresse* by the King, at the same time. 2. Vpon the restitution of the *Baillevicke* of *Gex*. 3. Vpon the restitution of the Artillerye and Munition that was within *Cormagnole*. 4. Vpon the nomination of a Gouvernor in the Marquisate. All which being reloued, the Dukes Ambassadors beseech the King to giue them time to aduertise their Master thereof, the King answered them that if by the sixteene of August all his places in the Marquisat were not restored vnto him, that he would seeke to recouer that by force which he could not haue by reason. Before the kings departure from *Paris*, the *Diuill* had perfwaded a wretched woman called *Nicole Mignon*, to poyson him, who had some means during the forepassed warres, she had had the fauour to talke priuately with the King who is as full of Bounty, as the Libertie of armes, in time of warre, giues such familiarities: & Princes some times frame themselves vnto it. Being kept back from the Kings presence, with whom she would needs speake in priuate, being full of indignation and hauing resolved this cruell attempt against the King, she adresteth her selfe to the *Count Soissons* a Prince of the bloud and Lord Steward of *France*, that he might giue her husband some place in the Kings Kitchin, and so in going to see her husband, she should haue meanes to effect her damnable enterprize. In the ende she had acceffe and said vnto him, that she was resolved to doe an act, which should make him the greatest Prince, and her the most contented woman in the world. He desired to vnderstand

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of

1600 of her the meanes in particular, whereat hee was much amazed. And for that it was a matter of importance hee wished her to come againe the next day, forthwith deferred to bee well considered of. The Count of Soissons goes presently vnto the King, and telles him what hee had heard of this Woman, beeching him to giue him some confident man, who beeing shut vp in his Cabinet might heare the same, when as shee should come at the time appointed. The King commanded *Lomenye* Secretaire of his Cabinet to goe. Shee returnes full of Courage and Resolution to effect this wicked deseing. She speaks more and protests to do worse then shee had done the day before. Hee prest her to tell who had councelled her, and while shee attempted so dangerous a thing. Hee could draw nothing from her but that it proceeded from the Devil, from whom comes all damnable inspirations, and whose actions are Murthers, Sacriledges and Impieties: When shee had all sayd, shee was apprehended by the Pronost, and led vnto the Court. Being examined, shee denied the accusation and reproched the accuser as audaciously, as shee had shewed her selfe furiously resolute to the execution. *Lomenye* was produced against her, and her conscience (although verie desperately wicked) could not deny that which hee had before time depofed, but confessed the truth, and was condemned to bee burned quicke.

she is burnt
aloue.

Four eener
prais against
the King.

It is miraculous what hath past in diuers conspiracies against the King, and howe Dammie God hath deliuered him. It was one of the causes, which made the Duke of *Sauoye* seeme so resolute to hold the accord which hee had made with the King at *Paris*, for the Marquise of *Saluces*, hauing vnderstood that the King had beene so often threatened by the attempts of such Murtherers, presuming that it was not possible but some one would hit: and about the same time there was one taken, come out of *Flamont* to kill the King, whereof their was great rumor and great suspicion. And three others which had vndertaken to kill the King, when as he was in *Sauoye*, whereof they had certaine intelligence, with their portraites, the which were well knowne. And as they would haue taken them, his Maiesty would not suffer them saying. *Let these wicked wretches alone, God will punish them without my doing.*

The Countesse
of Saluces
not to haue
in that way
of reward.

Countesse
of Saluces
not to haue
in that way
of reward.

Those of *Zeland* finding themselves much oppressed by the sixe Gallies which *Ieronimo Spinola* a Marchant of *Genoa* had obtayned of the King of *Spaine* (in satisfaction of money which hee had lent) and the which (notwithstanding the States Shippes of *Ware* which lay in the narrowe Seas) hee had brought into *Schuse*, to make *Ware* against them, besides the great losses they suffered daylie by them of *Dunkerke*, as well in their fishing for Herring, as in their trade of Marchandise, they intreate the Generall Estates of the United Provinces (seeing there was no more danger towards *Holland* nor *Guelderland* by the taking of the Forts of *Saint Andrewe* and *Crene-caur*) to helpe to free them from those Gallies and them of *Dunkerke*, and by that meanes to diuert the *Ware* from *Holland* and *Guelderland* into *Flanders*, to the Sea Townes of *Dunkerke*, *Nieuport* and *Schuse*. The Arch-dukes old regiments of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, were all mutined for their paie, which could not bee by some nor so easily pacified the arerages beeing to great, and therefore very likely if they entred into *Flanders* with all their Armie, there would not bee any to hinder their deffense: hoping they should get one of the sayd three Townes before that the Arch-dukes Armie should bee readie. All well debated, and the resolution taken, the Prince sent vnto the Sea Townes of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frisland* for as many Shippes as should serue to imbarke his Army, his Artillery, victuall and other munition for the *Ware*, assigning to euerie one his quarter, and time to come to the Generall *Rendez-vous*, to the number of two thousand and eight hundred sayle of all sorts, the like whereof hath not heerebefore beene seene in any expedition in the Lowe Countries.

All which Shoppes lying before the Caste'l of *Ramekens*, to attend a fit winde to carry them to *Ostende*, vpon the Coast of *Flanders*, which holds for the States, there to land,

A land, hauing nothing but a Northerly winde all the time of their anchoring there, 1600 with the which they could hardly reach to that Towne: The Prince fearing that their long stay there, might giue the Arch-duke *Albert* time to gather together his forces, before they should bee entred into *Flanders*, leauing *Zeland* heimbarked the 19. of Iune in his Pinasse. The same day hee caused about 1500. Shippes to set sayle, leauing the rest to attend a winde fit to carry them to *Ostende*. The same night hee anchored with his army before *Bieroliet*, the which is a small Iland vpon the coast of *Flanders*, not farre from *Sas* (which is the Schuse of *Gant* going to the Sea) from whence hee sent Count *Ernest* of *Nassau* his Cousin, with some Shippes and men, to land neere vnto the fort of *Philippine*, held by the *Spaniards*, to seize thereon, the which was presently yielded by composition, to depart with their Rapiers and Daggers by their sides, the which was done the same night. The Prince hauing landed with his army and vewed it, leauing the Forts of *Patience* and *Tsendike* neere vnto him, the 23. of the same month, hee marched from *Philippine* towards *Affencde*, where the Caste'l beeing sommoned yielded presently, the fouldiars departing with their armes and baggage. The foure and twentieth day the Prince came within a League of *Bruges*, and the same day the winde being good to go to *Ostend*, forty Shippes laden with baggage, remayning at *Rameken*, set saile being waited by three Shippes of *Ware*: but the Galleis of *Schuse* tooke eighteene or twenty of them, which the Shippes could not hinder, nor yet pursue them to recouer the losse.

The army
lands at the
fort of Phil-
pine in Fla-
nders.

The baggage
of the state
army taken.

C Prince *Maurice* marched in Battaile with his army through *Flanders*. The 26. hee passed neere vnto the ditches of *Bruges*, & the next day he came vnto *Oudenbourg*, the which was abandoned by the *Spaniard*, with the forts of *Snakerke*, *Bredene* and some other Skonces here and there, for that they were not to hold against so mighty an army. The 29. hee besieged the Fort of *Albert* neere to *Ostend*, the which was yielded vp: and from thence hee went presently to *Nieuport*, which he desired to take before the Arch-duke should haue meanes to hinder him. The Arch-duke hauing intelligence that the Prince was entred with his army into *Flanders*, sent post vpon post: writing to the *Spaniards* that were mutined, and to other troupes: Hee Praies, Intreats, Threatens, Promiseth, Exhorts, layes before them their Faith, and accuserh them, if they faile him at this neede, to be causers of his ruine & of their owne: so as in fewe daies they gather together an army of 12000. foote and about 3000. horse, with the which the Arch-duke marched to *Oudenbourg*, the which was yielded vp by Colonel *Piron*, who aduertised Count *Maurice* (lying before *Nieuport*) of the taking thereof, and that the Arch-duke was in person in his army, and ment to fight with him: wherevpon he sent the sayd Colonell *Piron* with his men, to ioyne with Count *Ernest* of *Nassau* & the *Scottishmen*, to keepe the *Spaniard* from passing of a bridge betwixt *Nieuport*, and *Ostend*, or at the least to stay him vntill the Prince might repasse the Hauens with his army and retire his Shippes as hee did. The Earle being vpon the way towards the bridge, with two peeces of Cannon, found that a part of the enemies army was past: against the which hee must fight, to stay them a while: but as the *Spaniards* increased, the Earle was forced to retire, hauing lost his two peeces of Canon, and about 800. men, most of them *Scottish*. The Captaines and fouldiars which were taken prisoners, were miserably slaine against the faith giuen. Count *Ernest*, Colonel *Edmond* and other Captaines, were pursued vnto *Albertus* fort, where they faued themselves.

Count Ernest
and his troupe
defeated.

The Arch-duke pursuing this victory, past his whole army at the bridge, causing it to march along the Sea sands, hauing eight peeces of Artillery, with nine companies of Lances, five cornets of Harguebuziers on horse-backe: five of *Curiaffes*, and 600. *Spanish* and *Italian* horses mutined at *Diesl*, three regiments of *Spanish* foote, two of *Italians*, five of *Wallons*: two of *Bourguignons*, foure of *Germaines*, and some companies of the regiment of Count *Frederic* of *Berghe*, they marched directly towards *Nieuport*, with an intent to charge the Prince and the States army, in their Campe and trenches, assuring themselves of a victory by the mornings good successe. But he found that the enemy had passed the Hauens, and that his army was in good disposition to attend him, who

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seeing

1600. (seeing the Archdukes countenance,) had without any amazement for his first loss, put his armie into battaile, according to his little leisure. Count *Lewis of Nassau* his Cousin, brother to Count *Erneste*, Lieutenant of the States Horse, had the leading of the Vantgard: Count *George Euerard of Solme* commanded the battaile, in the midst whereof was Count *Maurice*, who had an eye to all places, beeing accompanied by Count *Henry Frederic* his brother, a yong Prince of the age of sixteen or seuteene yeares. And the Reerward was led by *Oliuer de Timpel knight*, Lord of *Corbeke*. On the other side the Archdukes old and best experienced Capitaines, seeing the Princes resolute countenance, and the disposition of his army to be otherwise then they expected, standing in battaile, and their shippes in the midst of the Sea, they began to doubt, perfwading not to fight, for that their Souldiars began to bee weary, with five or sixe dayes long marches, and with the first fight before noon, but rather to seeke to recouer *Albertus* fort, and thereabouts to intrench all the armie, and to cut off the victuals from the Princes Campe, cooping him in betwixt *Nieuport*, their armie and the Sea: the which had bene the better Councell for them, and most prejudiciall for the Prince. But the Archduke and some other Commanders, putt vp with their first victorie, and burning with desire to fight, resolved to charge the Prince, at what price soeuer. The Prince after that hee had viewed the *Spaniards* countenance, did resolve with the aduise of his Commanders and Colonells, to aduance and charge the enemy. Having therefore incouraged his souldiars to shew their valour, and to reuenge the death of their Companions so cruely massacred, against the publike Law at armes, he commanded *Mortier* and *Fresnel*, two Commissaries of the Artillerie, to discharge sixe peeces, which were in the head of the Foreward, the which past through the *Spanish* horse, and at the same instant, the Archdukes Cannon playd through the *English* troups. In the end, after a long and doubtful fight, the *Spaniards* were defeated, and euery man sought to saue himselfe, some towards *Nieuport*, and others to other places, whereas they found easiest access. The Archduke seeing this disorder, fled to *Bruges*. The States had an absolute victorie, and the slaughter of the vanquished was great, especially of the mutined *Spaniards* which fought obstinately, so as few escaped: yea some prisoners were massacred in their armes that had taken them, who would gladly haue saued them: for there was no mercie in the *Scottishmen*, who slue all they met, for an expiation of the death of their Companions, murdered in the morning in cold blood: so as they said that the Archduke lost about sixe thousand men, and seven or eight hundred prisoners, whose liues were saued with great difficultie: yea the Admirall of *Arragon* being led prisoner towards the Prince, had bene in great danger of his life, entring into *Ostende*, if hee had not bene neere the Prince.

The States, as well in the encounter in the morning, as in the battell, lost about two thousand men, amongst the which were three Capitaines of Horse, & twenty of Foot, but not any Nobleman of accopt. On the Archdukes side died the Count de *Saume*, the Seneschall of *Montlimar*, who being prisoner and sore wounded, died soone after his taking at *Ostend*, the Barron of *Pimereul* Sonne to the Treasurer *Chassey*, the Seigneur of *Ottigny* Sonne to the President *Richardot*, *Don Gaspar de Sapena* a Colonell, who died in *Ostend*. *Don Diego de Torres*, *Don Gaspar de Loyaza*, *Don Gonzalo Spinola*, *Don Ioan de Pardo*, *Don Garcia de Toledo*, *Don Lopes de Capata*, *Don Alonso de Carcano*, *Don Louys Eacardo*, *Sebastian Velasco*, *Sebastian Doteloa*, *Christouall Verdugues*, *Matheo d'Otenil*, *Ioannetin de Casa noua*, the Contador d' *Alimes* and many others. There were taken prisoners *Don Francisco de Mendoza* Marquis of *Guadaleste*, Great Admirall of *Arragon*, and the Archdukes Lieutenant Generall, *Don Baptista de Villa noua*, who were led to *Horne* in *Holand*. *Don Alonso Requell* to *Delfe*, *Don Gonzalo Hernandez de Spinosato* to *Vtrecht*, *Don Pedro de Montenegro*, and *Don Philip de Tuffis* to the *Hage*, *Don Pedro de Velasco*, to *Bergh*, *Don Pedro de Lenjinato Encusen*, *Don Anthony de Mendoza*, and *Don Francisco de Torres* to *Bergh*. Of the Archdukes household

A household were taken, the Count *Carlo Rezi*, *Don Diego De Gusman* and *Mortier*, all three being his pages, and *Don Pedro de Montemaior*, his Gentlemen Caruer, his Philition, Surgian, Harbinger, Rider, Cooke, Porter, and Groome of his Chamber, some of his Gardes &c. fortie seauen Ancients, and thertie seauen appointed and reformed Sargents. The Archduke lost sixe peeces of Artillery, and with the two which they had taken in the morning a hundred and sixe Enseignes, and sixe Cornets, comprehending the munniers Standard, & the Colours which were lost that day were also recovered. Five daies after this Battaille, the Prince returns againe to the seege of *Nieuport*, having passed the *Hauen* againe, hee caused his Shippes to returne; intrenched his Campe, vnshipps his Cannon, and prepared his Batteries: but the same night there entred three Regiments into the Towne, the which they could not preuent, besides sixe Companies which were there in Garrison before, so as the Prince finding it very difficult to take the Towne by assault, without greater forces and a long seege, considering the number of their men, the which might greatly preiudice his affaires and little aduantage him by the taking thereof, beeing in danger vpon his departure to be taken againe, hee raised his Campe and imbarked his Cannon with all the Baggage Tentes, and Paultions, commanding the Shippes to returne towards *Ostend*, having resolved to attempt the Ports of *Isabella*, *Saint Clara*, and *Grotendorst*: so as the next day having past the *Hauen* of *Nieuport* hee went to beleege the Fort of *Isabella*, neere to that of *Albertus* which hee had taken at his coming to *Ostend*, but the one and twentieth day of the month, at the breake of day, the Archdukes army beeing newe supplied, appeered and set downe neere vnto the Fort of *Clara* without any opposition: so as the Archduke sent to refresh the sayd Forts both with Men and Munition, the which the Prince could not hinder by reason of the great dirches which were in the Meadows: so as the Prince (finding that he was to fight with two enemies if he should assaile the Fort) made his retreat, contenting himselfe for that yeare with the victory of *Nieuport*, so as hee was blamed of many for that hee could not make vse of so great a victory.

Count *Maurice* and the States having demanteled *Albertus* Forte, as much as they thought good, and raised the seege from that of *Isabella* they returned with their Armie into the vnited Prouinces, putting them into Garrisons, and the Archduke retired the Boeie of his Army out of *Flanders*, except some Companies which hee left within the Forts, repaying that of *Albertus* againe in the same manner, as it had bin before. *Wakenoe* the Archdukes Vice-admirall, (remayning commonly in the Towne of *Dunkerke*) to reuenge the losse at the Battaille of *Nieuport*, goes himselfe to Sea with seauen or eight Shippes of Warre, and falls vpon a peece of the Fleete of *Holland* and *Zeeland* which went to fish for Herrings; the which although they had some Shippes for their gard disperfed heere and there, yet not beeing able to defend alike, some lying farre of, the Vice-admirall tooke some of them, and hauing taken out the Pilotes and Masters of the Shippes, hee nayled the Mariners and Fishermen vnder the Hatches, in fiftene or sixteene of the aforesayd Shippes, the which hee perced beneath in the Keeles, so as they sunke to the bottom of the Sea, with all those poore distressed wretches, which could no way saue or helpe themselves: a poore reueng, and a pittifull thing to see and heare the lamentable cries of those which were so miserably drowned.

This Sommer the States of the Lowe Countries caused a great Galley to bee Built in the Towne of *Dordrecht* in *Hollande*, to stoppe the Passages and courses of them of *Seluse*, this beeing called the blacke Galley of *Dordrecht*, hauing ten or twelue peeces of Artillery: whereof there were two Cannons in the Poop and two in the Prowe, it was no sooner finished & manned, but she was sent from *Flessingh* in *Zeeland*, to drawe forth the enemies Galleies: whilest she lay at an Anchor, the Capitaine hauing discovered, three Galleies of *Seluse* which had taken a Marchants Shippe of *Zeelande*, pursued them, and at the first charged one of the three so furiously, as

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after

1600. after great harme done her, she was forced to retire, which done, the Captaine went to the other two who had seized on the ship, the which he tooke from them, and forced them to retire to *Seluse*; with no lesse losse then the first. And afterwards the night of the 29. day of Nouember, this Captaine with his Galley and foure thalops well manned, set vpon the Admiralls ship of *Andwerp*, in the midst of the Riuer of *Escault*, before the said Towne, the which was one of the goodliest shippes belonging to *Andwerp*, being of the burthen of foure score Tunnes, the which hee did assaile so furiously, as some he cut in peeces, others leaping ouer-board were drowned in the darkenesse of the night. Then he tooke the Marchants shippes of *Bruxelles* & *Mecklin*, and fise other shippes (which they call Hoyes) the which did serue to conuoy victualls & munition which went to *Seluse*, and to the forts which the *Spaniards* hold vpon the Riuers, euery ship hauing foure peeces of Ordinance: all which shippes with the Prisoners which he retayned, he brought to *Flessingue*, passing at the mercy of the *Spaniards* Canon before *Ordam* & other forts, vpon the Riuer of *Escault*. The which did much terrifie the Towne of *Andwerp*, it being kept shut two daies, fearing some treason. *Don Francisco de Mendoza*, Admirall of *Arragon*, being taken Prisoner at the battell of *Nieuport*, and led into *Holland*, remained in the Castle of *Woerden*, & could not purchase his liberty for any money, but vpon condition; That in exchange, & in steed of a Ransome, all their Subiects & seruants, that were prisoners in *Spaine*, *Italy*, and else where, should be set at liberty. The Admirall seeing that there was no other meanes of his deliuey, but that he was in danger to end his dayes there, preuailed so much with the King of *Spaine* and *Albertus* the Archduke, as he obtained a promise, that for him all the prisoners of the vnited Prouinces, or which had bin taken in their seruice, being at that time deteyned, either in the Gallies, in prison or otherwise, should be deliuered without ransome, the which hee should present vnto the States before his full liberty. By reason whereof the States did write vnto all the Townes of the said Prouinces, to deliuer in writing vnto the Comissaries appointed to that end, the names of such as they knew to be detained as well in *Spaine* by the Inquisition, at the Ilands and Indies, as also in the Low Countries, at *Seluse*, *Dunckerke*, & else where, the which was done, and the prisoners being all returned, the Admirall was set at liberty.

The Admirall of *Arragon* set at liberty in the year 1600.

Earle *Gouries* a tempt to kill the King of *Scotland*.

The Duke refused to signe the Articles agreed vpon by his Ambassadors.

The Kings declaration vpon the beginning of the War, against the Duke of *Sauoy*.

This year the fift of August, was that detestable Conspiracie of the Earle of *D* *Goury* and his yonger brother, to murder the King of *Scotland*: *Alexander Ruthen* the yonger brother perswaded the King to go vnto the Earles house, where hee would shew him a hidden treasure, but their intent was to murder him most inhumanely; if GOD had not preferred him most miraculously beyond all expectation of man, as you may read at large in the History. But let vs returne to *Sauoy*. The 7. of August the King was aduertised, that the Duke had refused the last conditions agreed vpon by his Ambassadors, wherevpon he countermanded the *Count Passage*, whom he had sent with 500. men to command in the Marquise of *Salusses*, and to enter the Towne and Castle of *Carmagnoles*, which the Duke should yeeld vp the 16. of August, according to the last accord. And withall the eleuenth of that month he published a declaration how he was forced to take armes against the Duke of *Sauoy*, to haue reason for the Marquise of *Salusses*, taken by him, and vsurped vpon the Crowne of *France*, in a time of Peace, during the life of the deceased King, *Henry* the 3. Predecessor to his Maiesty, & a Benefactor to the said Dukes Father: Giuing all me to vnderstand, that he was vnwillingly drawne to this remedy, for the singurall desire he had to raigne in Peace, and to liue in Loue & friendship with all his neighbours, hauing done as much to auoide it, as his honour, and the duty of a Prince which loues the publike quiet, and the good of his Estate, did require: taking into his protection & defence, all Clergy men & places, which shou'd not fauour, nor serue for a retreat or assistance vnto the said Dukes armies: & all Inhabitants of Townes, which should open their gates vnto his Maiesty and to his seruants: Meaning, that no actes of Hostility should be vsed, but against such as should carry armes, & fauour the said Duke of *Sauoy* and his adherents. Forbidding all Sacriledge, Rauishing of Women and Maides, and burning

A burning of Houses, Places and Castles vpon paine of death. Commanding al *Frenchmen* his subiects, being in seruice with the said Duke, to retire themselves and returne into his Realme within fiftene dayes after this Proclamation made in his armies, vpon paine to be declared and punished as guilty of heigh Treason. The King finding that all the Dukes temporisings and delayes proceeded from a bad intent, was forced at one and the same instant, against the Precept of Warre, to proclaime Warre, and to prepare for meanes to make it. He gaue out Commissions for the leuying of foot in the neighbour Prouinces. He sent the Duke of *Guise* into *Prance*, to looke to his Government, hauing intelligence that the Duke practised some surpris. The Marshall *Biron* had charge to drawe downe all his forces out of *Burgundy*, he caused bullets to be made in *Niurnois*, *Dauphiné* and *Burgundy*, and sent out Commissions for to leay Pioners. The Marquis of *Kosny* great Master of the Artillery, was sent to *Paris*, who returned within fiftene dayes to his Maiesty, with incredible speede, to as in lesse then three weekes, the King had Men, Money, Canon and Munition. He sent Monsieur *d'Ichis* Ambassador speedily into *Suisse* with money, to preuent and disaptent the Dukes practises, and to assure a leny of *Suisse* at neede.

The Kings Preparations for Warre.

The King who knows that in Warre, nothing doth so much aduance the execution as the presence of the Head: being resolute to assaile the Duke on two parts, by *Bresse* and *Sauoy*, he parted from *Lions* the same day that he proclaime Warre, and came to *Grenoble* to go to the Enterprize of *Montmelian* in *Sauoy*, and to be perfect at all occasions. The Marshall *Biron* undertooke the Surprize and Taking of *Fourg* in *Bresse*, the which was as soone knowne as conceived. The Marquis of *Lullins* the Dukes Ambassador being at *Lions*, aduertised the Count of *Mont-maior* Governor of *Bresse*, and *Bonnens*, Captaine of the Cittadell of *Beurg* of the Enterprize, and that they should stand vpon their Gards. A Gentleman of *Bresse* which had bene among the Marshall *Birons* Troupes, seene the Petards, and numbered the Souldiers in passing the Bridge at *Maicon*, went before, to giue notice to *Bonnens* Captaine of the Cittadell, that the Marshall was within a league of him. But neglecting all these aduertisements, and trusting to the force of their Walles and Gates, they found, that the Marshall *Biron* with 1200. men onely and two Petards, forced the first and second Port of the Towne, and entred it without any Resistance, or the losse of one Souldiar. The troupes entred without disorder, and marched directly to the place before the Cittadell, and came not away, til ten of the clock, whilst that they did capitulate with 200. *Suisse*, which had shut themselves into a Bastion, whom they suffered to depart free with what was theirs: and also to attend if *Bonnens* would fall out off the Cittadell, as he made shewe. The Marshall *Biron* left the Barron of *Lux* at *Fourg*, and went with fise Canons to finish the conquest of all that which lyes on this side the Riuer of *Kosne*, taking at the same time *Pont d'In*, *Poncin*, *S. Denis*, *S. Rumbert*, *Beley* and *Pierre Chastel*. Some yelded at the reputation of his presence, others would see the Canon. There was no Garrison in all the Country, but at *Seizel*. A strange humour of an enemy, not onely to make Warre vpon bad grounds, and to imbarle himselfe in a rotten Shippe, but also to refuse Peace, and yet to haue no man in his Country to make Warre. Those which made any resistance, shewed themselves in the end more valiant in Tongue then with the Sword. So as the King being at *Grenoble*, receiued in one day and in lesse then fixe houres, newes of two memorable exploits: the taking of *Bourg* with seuen Ensignes, and one Cornet which the Marshall sent him, and the taking of the Towne of *Montmelian* by les *Diguies*. *Cregny* offered a Scalado to the Curtaine of the Towne of *Montmelian*, towards the Castell, and the Petard to the Port of *Arban* with such a fury, as the Souldiers retired themselves into the Church, and the Inhabitants into the Cittadell, leaving their houses to the discretion of all that Warre allowes in a Towne that is either forced, or surprisid. The King commanded *Grillon* to lodge with the Regiment of his Gardes in the suburbs of *Chambery*, all which was done, without any great resistance.

The

The soldiars did not defend themselves without feare and amazement, and the people were so lulled a sleepe with this opinion of Peace, as nothing was more hatefull vnto them then the remembrance of Warre, holding all care of armes to be vaine and vnprofitable. The Duke being aduertised that the King was in armes, his Country in prey, the meanes to defend himselfe farre off, the danger at hand, and *Hannibal* at the foote of the *Alpes*, found no fitter instrument to repaire his affaires then the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, who since his returne from *Paris* had remained at *Thurin* in the Couent of the *Franciscans*. The Duke had bin iealous of him at the Treaty at *Paris*, and seeing that by the Popes commandement, he would not depart before it were effected: he thought that it was but to spie his intentions, and to presse him to do that in effect, which hee would not do but in wordes. Hee therefore shewed him no such good countenance as hee had done when hee past first for the Treaty of *Vernins*. His friends, which did visit him were not held good seruants to the Duke: hee discomfited well this contempt, but hee dissembled the feeling of it. The Duke who had offended him, gaue him a good meanes to be reuenged. Hee intreats and coniures him to go vnto the King. They say that (in despite of the bad recepcion hee had had at *Thurin*, or well acquainted with the Dukes intentions) he sent a small noate vnto the King, aduising him to continue the course of his armes, and not to desist for any propositions or offers made by the Duke, who sought but to deceiue him, and withall hee accepted of the charge.

The Patriarke came vnto *Grenoble* the 15. of August, & spake vnto the King coming from *Euenfong*. He giues him to vnderstand how much the Pope would be discontented with this Warre: hee coniures him in his name to resolue to a Peace, and to turne for that effect to the Treaty of *Paris*: for that in demanding his owne, both the Pope and all the Potentates would fauour his demand: but in seeking to retaine the ancient inheritance of the Duke of *Sauoye*, hee had no reason to hope for any fauour. The King answered him, that hee was infinitely greeued the Pope should bee any way discontented with his taking of armes, the which hee did not vndertake vntill it was apparent to all the world, that the Duke deluded him. That being the person whom his Maiesty did most Honor, and to whom he acknowledged himselfe so much bound, as he could not deny him any thing, yet hee held him so full of Iustice, as he would neuer aduise him to any thing that should be against reason & the dignity of his Crowne. That the Duke hauing refused to performe the Articles of the Treaty at *Paris*, he was not bound to obserue them. The Patriarke layed before him the miseries which this Warre would bring, the ruine and desolation of the people, and the aduantage which the common enemy of Christendome should get by it. The King answered him in this manner. You exhort mee like vnto a great Diuine and one of the chiefe Prelats of the Church, to desist from this Warre, to auoide the mischife that may fall vpon Christendome. I knowe not so much Diuinity as you do, yet am I not ignorant, that I haue a Soule to saue, and that one day I must giue an account of my actions, and that God will impute the miseries that shall happen by this Warre, vnto him that giues the occasion. Let the Duke of *Sauoye* lay his hand vpon his heart, and iudge if it bee not his obstinacy and couetousnes to hold that which belongs to another, which is the cause of all the oppression which his poore Subiects do now suffer. Hee hath presumed with two great contempt of me, to hold that which is mine by cunning, against my will. Hee that detaynes an other mans vniustly, may iustly be deprived of his owne. Hee that denies vnto the stronger that which belongs vnto him, abandons vnto him by the same meanes all that he hath: as it is no Honour for him to bee obstinate to Warre, for the desire hee hath to hold an other mans estate, so shall hee reape no other profit then the ruine of his owne. I cannot conceale it, Reuerend Patriarke, that although I haue euer found all integrity in your Negotiations, yet am I troubled howe I shall carry my selfe with you, touching that which you propounde, for in truth I hold you for a very good man, a most vertuous Prelate, and a Wise Negotiator.

On

For the other side I can let you see in writing how the sayd Duke hath giuen authority to *Jacob* and the President *Rochette* to treat with mee, with a declaration that neither you nor his Ambassadors, that are within my Realme, are priue to his intentions. Hee hath made them propound, that I should moue the Pope to depute two Legats, one of them should cause restitution to be made of that which I hold on this side the mountaines, and the other should make him restore that which hee detaynes from mee on that side the *Alpes*. I find his manner of proceeding to bee very bad. To conclude reuerend Patriarke, I will beseech the Pope to take my answer in good part, who holds that I cannot bee voyged by any reason to lay aside those armes which the Duke hath forced me to take, making run headlong without any necessitie into this warre, in the which I am engage against my will. I meane not to bee irreconcilable to him, but I will tell you that hee hath carried himselfe in such sort towards me, as I will no more relie vpon his wordes. After so many breaches, he must finde some other meanes to warrant that hee hath, or some others then my selfe to beleue him. His former carriage makes me iudge what the future may be. It is euident that in a full peace, hee vnrped the Marquisate of *Saluces*, of the deceased King his benefactor, alleadging no other reason, but that he would keepe it more safely for him, then the *Huguenots*, who would vnrpe it, promising to doe as hee pleased. I can shew his letter written vnto the King. But when there is any question to keepe his promise, hee then no more remembers it. Iudge also how I can bee assured of the loue of this Prince, who during the miseries of *France*, sought to vnrpe *Dauphiné* and *Prouence*, where with his friends he hath caused infinite ruines, and where hee pretended no other right but neigbourhood and conueniencie, and to make himselfe great with his neighbours losse, so as his Ambassador in *Switzerland* in an open diet at *Basel* (excusing his matters couetousnes to the thirteene Cantons) sayd that his children which were many, were issued from Kings and Emperours, and that it was naturall for Fathers to seeke all meanes to make their children great, and to thinke of it in time, seeing that no man knowes what time he hath to thinke of it. The which should giue occasion to al his neighbours, to forecath how they shall keepe their estates vntill his children bee provided for. The warre which I make shall not trouble the quiet of Christendome, I am readie to desist, when hee shall doe mee right, for many iust pretensions which I haue vpon his Estates and Countries, the which he deteines from me, to the preiudice of my Crowne. Let no man doubt of my resolution to obserue the treatie of *Vernins*, but it doth not binde mee to quit mine owne. The Patriarke seeing that hee would allow no other reasons then his owne, beseeched the King to grant a cessation of armes, but his request was not granted, the King being vnwilling his army should rest, vntill it had taken *Montmelian* and *Bourg*, being dangerous to remaine in an enemies Countrey, and not to bee assured of the cheefe places of strength, the losse whereof strikes terror vnto the rest. The King sent the Patriarke to *Lions*, to treat with his Councell more amply of his proposition.

The Spanish Ambassador considered the course of this warre, yet he made no shew that the King his master desired for all this to alter the publike peace, notwithstanding hee could not forbear to say, that besides the naturall affection which hee bare to the Duke of *Sauoy* and to his children: hee held it the dutie of a mightie Prince, to lend his helping hand to them that were vniustly oppressed, yet he made no protestation which might make them doubt of the obseruation of the Treatie. The King also sayd that he would cherish the loue of the King of *Spain*, so long as hee should make account of his, but hee would neuer trouble himselfe with to difficult a thing as to keepe a friend by force. He commanded the Marquis of *Lullins* to retyre, for if an Ambassador be alwaies suspected during an assured peace, there is no reason to trust him in time of war.

The King being resolute not to lose any time in a season which was so precious, parted from *Grenoble*, dynd at *Barant*, visited his troupes which were at *Montmelian*, and from thence went to the Marches, vewed *Chambery*, and being come vnto the suburbs, he commanded *Villeroy*, to speake vnto *Jacob*, who commanded in the Towne, & to lay

The Duke tends the Patriarke of Constantinople to the King.

The King answers to the Patriarke.

The Duke demands two Legats

The Duke's letter to the deceased King

Heaven's rebuke the taking of the Marquisate

lay before him the danger whereinto he thrust himselfe with all the Inhabitants, if they attended force in so weake a place. That the King desirous to prevent the ruine of so many poore innocent Creatures, offered mercy, & sought to vanquish them by mildnesse, before hee employed any other meanes. *Jacob*, accompanied with the President *Rochette*, thanked the King, and beseeched his Maiestie to suffer them to aduertise his Highnes in what Estate they were. The King granted them three dayes to resolve and to send to the Duke, but the people not attending his resolution, being desirous to free themselves from the apprehensions of the misery which follows them that are beset, forced him to enter into parlie, so as the Towne was yeelded to the Kings obedience. Those within the Castell promised to yeeld within 6. daies, if they were not succored with sufficient forces to raise the sege. The King left *la Buisse* a gentleman of *Daulphiné* there for Gouvernor. Having effected so great a matter with so small forces, hee was well pleased to see his army augmented, by the troupes which *La Guiche* Gouverneur of *Lions* brought vnto him, being about 300. horse, of the Nobility of his government, and of his companie of men at armes. Being master of the field, hee resolved to haue the cheefe Fort. hee seized vpon the two approaches of *Tarentaise* and *Morieune*. He parted from *Chambery* the 26. of August, lodged at *Saint Peter d' Albigny*, and the next day came to *Conflans*, where hee found that *Les Diguieres* had by maine force drawne two Cannons to the top of a mountaine, battred a pavillion, and made a small breach in a curtine. The place was sufficient to haue assured Women, but they that were within it shewed not themselves Men, being one thousand five hundred in number, among the which there were a hundred all armed, and three hundred more which carried Cuirasses. They had scarce made fittie shott but they yeelded through feare, and demanded no other composition but their liues, thinking themselves very happy to redeeme their liues with the losse of their Armes, Horses and Baggage, the which the King gaue them out of his bountie, well satisfied with the place, their ensignes, and the promise which they made him not to carrie armes for twelue dayes. As *Conflans* commands the passage of *Tarentaise*, so *Charbonieres* holds that of *Morieune*, being seated at the entrie of the mountaines, which makes the valley ioyning to *Mont Cenis*. This place stands vpon a rocke, at the foot whereof runnes the riuer of *Are*, inaccessible of all sides, but onely a narrow way to goe vnto the Port; this place is held to be the first mansion of the Dukes of *Sauoy*. The Towne of *Aiguebelle* is at the foot of this rocke, the King caused it to be surprisid by the *Seigneurs* of *Crequy* and *Morges*, not giuen them of the Castell, any leysure to burne it.

His Maiestie knowing that this place was well furnished to resist an army, caused his troupes to march, and then hee battred the Tower with nine Cannons, and two small peeces, from the breake of day vntill noone. The besieged (hauing endured 637. Cannon shot, without any hope of succors,) did capitulate the tenth of September, to depart with their baggage, & their matches out: the King sent their ensignes to the Marquisse of *Vernueil* being there at *Lions*, the which are now in the great Church of *S. Iohn*, and so they departed to the number of two hundred. The King returned to *Grenoble*, to purge himselfe by the aduice of his Phisitions, commanding *Les Diguieres* to passe with the army into *Tarentaise*, the which he did, the enemies quitting the passage of *Briancon*, retrying themselves into a rocke which was inaccessible of all parts, the which did so bridle the passage, as it might stay any force: *Les Diguieres* hauing intelligence that the port being but two foot wide, was not well rampared, & that the place was better furnished with Peasants then with Souldiars, he planted two Canons against it, the which in 6 volles made a breach, the souldiars graped vp courageously to the top of the mountaine, to enter in at this hole, the Captaine within it was hurt with a shott, & all the rest were taken prisoners. The armie lodged at *Monliers* the Metropolitaine of the whole Countrie, hauing conquered the vallies and mountaines of *Morieune* and *Tarentaise*, where they found nothing so difficult, as the season, being more troubled with the weather, then with men: onely *Montmelian* remayned, which was held impregnable. The King desirous to haue the causes of this warre knowne to all the world; commanded

Amanded his Ambassadors to aduertise his friends thereof. The *Spanish* Ambassador in *Switzerland* was not mute in this occasion which ministred matter for althe world to talke of. His discours was, that the King of *France* (hauing taken armes when as euery one thought to enioye the sweetnes of peace,) put all the world in ieaiousie, bound those that were neerest to runne to quench this fire, and in opoling themselves to the oppression of the Duke, prevent the desseigns of the seruitude of *Italy*. That to this end the *Cont de suentes*, had comandment from the King of *spaine* his Master, to leuie men to assuer the Duchie of *Milan*, and to intreat that valiant nation of the *Swisses* to grant him a leuie of six thousand men. *Monsieur de uie* the Kings Ambassador, made it known in an open Assembly of all the Cantons, that the King had had more patience, then the iniurie done vnto his Crowne did permit, being vnwilling to take armes vntill that all *Europe* had iudged, that the Duke of *Sauoy* proceeded not sincerely, and that he vttered his Maiestie to repel by force the iniury of the detention of the Marquillat of *Saluces*, yet could he not keepe the petite Cantons from granting a leuie vnto the Duke, the which notwithstanding was by him made vnprofitable. Wee may not heere omit a particular accident. Among the cheefe gentlemen which *la Guiche* Gouvernor of *Lions* had drawne out of his government to serue the king in his armie of *Sauoy*, were *Chazeul* and *du Bourg* both well knowne for their valour and experience in armes. The King made good esteeme of them, and gaue a Commission to the last, to raise a regiment of a thousand men. Being gone to make this leuie, Enuie which doth alwaies oppose it selfe to the merits of Vertue, & which is ineuitable in the beginning of prosperitie, was greued that a gentleman, which had followed the League, should be chosen among so many others to serue the King in this war, and forged an imposture sufficient to ruine, if it had incountred a Prince as apt to choller as he is to Justice and Clemencie. They cast abroad tickets in the Kings chamber & withdrawing chamber, that these two gentlemen hauing failed an enterprise vpon his Maiesties person at the passage of the *Ruer* neer vnto *Chamouisset*, had referred the execution thereof to *Monliers*, & that his Maiestie should remeber that vpon the way to *Chamouisset*, one of them (his courage fainting) drew backe from the King to talke with a knight which marched on the one side. This was enough to kindle the Kings choller, & to make it passe like vnto a thunder-bolt, which D breakes and wounds before wee see the lightning or heare the cracke. But this Prince who all his life had followed the Precept, which the Emperor *Basilus* gaue vnto his son, not to giue eare to slanderous & enuious reports, found that this billet proceeded from a wicked and vnkind passion, for that he remembered well that to speake with *du Bourg*, he had caused *Chazeul* to change his place, where mention was made in biller. He shewed it to *la Guiche* gouernour of *Lions*, who presently conceyued that it was an imposture: He called *Chazeul* vnto him, more to confirme the good opinion he had of his Loyalty, then to shewe him that this more were able to giue him any signe of ieaiousie or distrust. And for that the bruite of this trecherie could not be kept secret, he caused a letter to be written to *du Bourg*, commanding him not to discontinue the leuie of his regiment, for any thing he should heare spoken against his loyaltie, whereof he would haue no other proofe but his courage, and the execution of that which he commanded him. *Du Bourg* being at *Lions*, and hearing there were things spoken of him which he neuer thought, he takes post and comes to the King as he rose from Dinner, being enuironed by all the chiefe Noble men of his Court. As Soone as he perceyued him he asked whie he was come. *Sir* answered *du Bourg*, it is said at *Lions* that *Espinasse* would kill you: *Du Bourg* brings you his Head. The King replied that he held him to honest a man to haue such a thought, and that such as had giuen this intelligence were wicked impostors. They did see that I ment to imploye you, as I will alwayes when any occasion is offered for my seruice. They could produce no other effects of their enuie but in writing of this billet, but they haue not found me so tractable and credulous as they thought. Princes Courts were neuer without them, but he hath fewest that doth least beleue them, I doe not as Kings my Predecessors, who kept in mind, while they liued what two or three had tould them. No man knowes my realme better then

1601. my selfe. I haue found three factions. That of the deceased King hath troubled me. A
 Of three I haue made one: there is no more any distinction. I am King of the one as well
 as of the other, and hold them all for my subiects. I make no difference among them
 for their affection to my seruice, but I know how to make chiose of them that are Ca-
 pable of charges, & for your regard you shall neuer bee forgotten when any is offered.
Du Bourg hauing thanked the King for the confidence it pleased him to haue of his loy-
 alty, seemed notwithstanding much afflicted for this slander. The King sayd vnto him,
 that hee had already told *Chazent* that 't pittied him to see him afflicted for a thing
 which he had neuer beleueed, & which he held incredible. he asked him if he suspected
 any one, assuring him that if he did name him, he wold of his absolute power put him to
 the Racke, & if any one should accuse the, he wold alwaies hold the accusation scand- B
 alous, being far from the thought of gentlemen of their force: and if he should beleue
 billers; there were no safety for good men in his Court. But the King adds (to increafe
 the hearts of these spightfull spirits) go and raise your Regiment, and beleue mee that
 if you bring speedily the number of men which you haue promised, you shall punish
 the more rigorously then Iustice wold, if they were known: for there is no such tormēt
 to an enemy as to do well. That which was sayd of these two was very false, but that
 which was sayd of two others was very true. The King had intelligence that two dispe-
 rate men, by one motion & diuers meanes had an enterprife vpon his person.

Two despe-
rate men seet
to kill the
King.

One aduise was accompanied with a Description and the Portraits of these wretches.
 One of them was knowne, and seene two or three times neere vnto the King. One to
 whom *Villeroy* had giuen a copy of the Portraits, to watch & obserue this villainy, see- C
 ing him one day neerer vnto the King then hee should bee, wished his Maiesty to
 take heed. He contented this aduise, saying that his life depended of God, and not
 of the practises of his enemies. Hee would not suffer them to apprehend him, saying
*Let him alone he is a wicked man. Such wills shall not go unpunished. God will punish this
 without my doing.* The Castell of *Montmelian* was held one of the strongest places
 in Christendome, and those which haue seene the Portrait, with the order of the Kings
 Campe and the forme of his Battery, haue wondered that it did so sodenly yeeld. The
 King himselfe sayd it was impregnable. It is seate vpon the toppe of a Mountaine,
 the Ditches bee Precipices on euery side, the defences five great Bastions well flanked D
 : there is but one passage to it from the Towne, but so vn easie as it is not to bee
 wonne; being Ditcht, Retrencht and Flanked with aduantage: but there is no For-
 tresse that can bee termed stronge if it bee not assayed, and they measure the
 strength or weaknesse of a place more by the quality of him that doth besiege it
 then by her owne forces. The King (whose reputation assured a happy ende)
 resoluēd to besiege it, being informed of the Estate of the place, and confirmed
 in his resolution by *l'Escliqueres*, who sayd these wordes vnto him. *That hee wold
 submit himselfe to paie the Charges of the Army if that Fort were not taken within
 one moneth.*

The siege of
the Castell of
Montmelian.

The Castell
summoned to
yeeld.

The Earle of
Brandis
liue.

The French Army marched to besiege the Castell of *Montmelian*, which the Lord
 of *Créquy* (commanding in the Towne since the taking thereof,) had blockt vp as
 well as hee could. His Maiesty being arriued, he summoned the Count of *Brandis* to
 yeeld, and to receiue his commandements, threatening him with the fury of fortie
 Cannons: the Earle answered, *That hee would neuer yeeld the place but to his Souer-
 aign: Lord the Duke of Sauoye, and if they did besiege him, Montmelian should bee the
 Captiuitie of the French.* Some thinke that this intolent answere proceeded onely
 from feare. In the meane time the Marquise *Rosny*, great Master of the Artillery, lost
 no time to plant his Batteries, drawing vp seauen Cannons by the force of Mens
 hands to command the Castell, and to batter it at random: then in the same plaine, at the
 foote of the hill he caused two batteries to be made by *de Bordes* (Lieutenant generall of
 the artillery) as well against the Bastion of *Maruosijs*, as other places which they held
 easiest to bee battered, especially that which was before the Bastion *Bouillars*, the
 which might also Batter an olde Tower or Dongeon, being foure square, and almost
 ruined

A ruined, hauing beene battered in former time by the Army of King *Francis* the first. 1600
 The two batteries on the other side of the Water played vpon the bast fort, and
 into the portall of the Dongeon at random, vpon those that should issue forth, or offer
 themselves to defend the breach, the which did more amaze the beleeged then any
 thing else, who being well furnished with artillery and other munition, spared not their
 shot, the which notwithstanding could not hinder the lodging of the Kings Artillery.
 Whilēt they planted the Cannon, the King went to viewe the passages of the Mount-
 aines by the which the Duke of *Sauoy* might enter on this side. He was then at *Thurin*
 and did not bouge, seeming carelesse of the ruine of his Estates: yet some times some of
 his most trusty seruants would say. *The King of France takes Townes in Sauoy, but patience.
 His Highnes will take as many in France, and better:* these words being reported, made
 the King to suspect some bad desseigne, considering the aduertisement they had of three
 Murderers, whereof one was come expressly out of *Piedmont* to Murder the King:
 yet he feared not them but rather *la Fin*, who was very inward with the Marshall *Biron*,
 and that they would seeke to effect the desseigns which they had plotted at *Paris*, when
 as the Duke of *Sauoy* was there, whereof the King had had some intelligence, but hee
 could not beleuee it. His Maiesty who loued the Marshall *Biron* well, wished him to
 dimisse *la Fin*, that his company was dangerous, and in the end he would deceiue him.
 But the Marshall was no more capable of Councell: two great & violent passions, am-
 bition & reuenge had so dispeered his iudgement, as he was no more himselfe, the which
 grew vpon occasions which fell out in this War of *Sauoy*. The first was despight and
 ialousie, to see all the authority of command, all the honor of enterprises, all the con-
 duct of executions giuen to *l'Escliqueres*, for that he knew the Country & knew the enemies
 forces better then any other. Hee was discontented for that he was not at the siege of
Montmelian, as hee had beene at the siege of *Amiens*. The other was the reuill which
 the King made vnto him, to dispose of the Cittadell of *Bourg*, when it should be taken,
 which refusal was grounded vpon great considerations. The first that it was not reason-
 able to trust a place of that importance to him that was suspected to haue intelligence
 with his enemy. The second, that Gouvernors of Prouinces which command in Chiefe,
 ought not to haue the gard of Places & Forteresses. The third was, that the King meēt
 to commit that place (as one of the Keies of his Realme towards *Italie*) to one that de-
 pended immediatly on his Maiesty. But we must ioyne this discourse to his processe & to the
 discouery of his conspiracies, the which he thought to be very secret, for that they were
 not knowne nor diuulged. All *Italy* being amazed to see the King at the foote of the
 Alpes, & the three fortresses which remained in *Bresse* & *Sauoy* so straightly beleeged,
 as they must needs fall into the power of the victorious French, sayd, *That the Marquisate
 was the pretext, but Naples & Milan was the cause of the war.* The Duke of *Sessa* the King
 of *Spains* Ambassador at *Rome*, represented vnto the Pope, the infinite ruines & detolara-
 tions which would follow by the continuance of this Warre, and the victorious suc-
 cesse which the Turke had vpon the frontiers of *Austria*, being ready to make a great
 breach vpon the Christians, whilēt the Princes which he feared most were at Warre,
 and the most warlike people of Europe killed one another. Hee therefore beleecheth
 him to send his Nephew vnto the King, to stay the course of his Armes, and to resume
 againe the execution of the treaty of *Paris*. The Pope (to whom the diuifion of Christian
 Princes hath alwaies bin displeasing, desiring more then any of his Predecessors to as-
 sure the publicke quiet) grāts this great & famous Ambassage of Cardinal *Aldobridino*
 his Nephew, who yong of age, but not of wisdom and iudgement, wold not depart out
 of *Rome* before the Duke of *Sessa* had giuen his word vnto the Pope, that hee wold
 cause the King of *Spaine* to approue, & the Duke to obserue whatsoeuer he should treat
 with this assurance he past to *Milan*, getting the like promise frō the Count of *Fuente*
 vnder his hand, being there ready with the King of *Spains* forces to succor the Duke of
Sauoy: to whom he sayd. That hee made this voiage for the only respect of the King of
Spaine, & if the Duke of *Sauoy* only had bin interested, he wold not haue absented him-
 selfe so long from the Consistory, he was not therefore resoluēd to proceed any farther,

The wanting
of the *Sauoy*
side.

The causes of
the Marshall
Biron's out-
content.

Reasons in *Italy*.

The Duke of
Sessa request
vnto the
Pope.

Cardinal *Aldobridino*
sent Legat to
the French
King.

1600. if hee did not assure him to make the Duke obserue all that he desired, and to retire A his forces if he made any difficultie. The Count who sought but to see that which was on the other side of the Alpes, to serue as a rampier for *Milan*, promised him, *that a passage might be referred for the Spaniards to goe into Flanders*. It was a great wisdom in this young Cardinal not to treat of so important a business, but vpon good cautions. The Cardinal being thus assured, leaves his traine at *Alexandria*, & comes to *Turin*, leaving his intention to be, to finish his pilgrimage to our Ladie of *Mont Penus*, and to see a passing. The Duke enters into complaint of the losse of his Estates, and sweares to strike all means to haue his reuenge. The Legat seemes cold, he represents vnto him the necessitie of peace, and the good of Concord, and he lets him know that he should desire to keepe his friends which are the true Scepters of Princes. He adds more ouer B that hee was sorrie for the bad estate of his affaires, the which if hee might repaire, hee would willingly goe to *Chambery*. The Duke intreats him to take the paine, gives him a blanke, & assures him that he will neuer haue any will nor resolution to contradict that which he should conclude in this negotiation, with this promise and an assurance that he should not attempt any thing more then the succoring of *Montmelian* he passed the Alpes. And for that he feared that the King in his great aduantage, would not haik to a peace, and much lesse grant any truce, and that this inequality would make all reasons vnequall, he would not aduise the Duke to send his Ambassadors, vntill hee first knew the Kings minde. He therefore commands *Hermio* his Secretarie to aduertise him of his coming, and of the desire he had to serue his Maestie, not for the continuance of the C War, but for a confirmation of Peace. The King vpon this aduise stays at *Annessy*, to giue audience to *Hermio*, who was presented vnto him by the Patriarke, who said vnto him that the Legat his Master was sent by the Pope, to quench the fire of warre. The King excused himselfe, vpon the diaduantage hee should receiue, and the prejudice it would bring to his affaires, in retreating when he should aduance, and to contemne the commodities and occasions which were offered vnto him in this enterprife by the consideration of Time & Place. But he assured him that the Cardinall should be very welcome for the respect of his Holines, for the particular of his person, and for the subiect D of his Legation. although his enemies had giuen it out, that it was made in the Dukes fauour, that he did attribute al to Pietie, Wisedome, and a Fatherly care, in his Holines: who should alwaies find as much will in him to maintaine peace, as he had bene greened to come to armes, refusing neuer any treatie, so as it might be with honor and safetie, being resolute neuer to indure any iniurie from the Duke of *Sauoy* nor his adherents. *Hermio* made some other propositions, the answer wherof, the King referred to *Chambery*, whether the King appointed to come within foure or five daies. The King went from *Annessy* to *Beaufort* to view the passages of the mountaine, by the which the Duke might come, hee sent the Duke *Biron* to discover that of our Ladie of *Gorge*, and others altogether inaccessible, but onely for Beares, and Camels. The King went vp the mountaine, as far as the pace of Cornet, where he dined vnder a rocke, to defend himselfe from snow: after he had viewed the passage which may serue the enemy, hee parted from *Beaufort*, & took his lodging at *Gilly* neere to *Corinsins*, where he was informed of the true Estate of the beleeged, who had no hope but in themselves, being impossible for the Duke of *Sauoy* to succor them. But what doth the Duke whilst the King rules in his Countie, & that *L'Escligueres* spoyle all the vallies of *Morieune* and *Tarentaise*? He which had bin the Kings Agent with the Duke, hauing taken his leaue, came to his Maestie at *Grenoble*, telling him that the Duke talked of nothing but fighting, he answered that hee should find him readie to shew him sport. The Spaniards who would make him appeare their voyage of *Paris*, sayd that they might not breake the body of the troups, nor diuide their forces, appointed for the defence of *Piedmont*. The Duke would haue sent 3000. Spaniards to defend the valley of *Tarentaise*, but they would not march, not for feare, but by order of their Commander, which kept them backe. D'Albign had much adoe to make them stay at the Fort of little *Saint Bernard*, on that side of the valley of *Aost*, which if they had done, the Duke might haue accepted some thing in *Freuence* and *Daulphiné* to haue diuerted the Kings forces. But

He came to Turin in September and returned by the Duke.

The Cardinal told the King that hee remembered the King.

The King paid the price of Cornet in the 12. of October.

The Duke returned to light

A But it hath bin alwaies obserued that such as haue trusted to the succors of *Spain*, haue tried to their greefe that they desire rather to entertaine the D seale then to aduance the Cure. It is a Military Maxime among them to make one Boby of an army, but especially not to do any thing without direction, so as oftentimes great opportunities are lost in attending, for if the Councill be far off, they come alwaies after the effect. The King hauing provided for the passages returns to *Montmelian*, hee sent word to the Earle of *Brandis*, that if he would forbear to shoote that day, he would also cause his battery to cease. They told the King that the Earle granted it as willingly, as if hee had no resolution to refuse any thing to so great a Prince. The King was not ignorant of B the Estate of the beleeged, for besides that at the taking of the Towne, hee had taken Notes and Inuentories of the munition that was in the Castell, their alwaies escaped some one ouer the Wall which brought newes, and described the place in as miserable an Estate, as they could, as well to excuse their flight as to tell the truth. A Cannon shot from one of the Kings Batteries, perced the Wall within a foote of the Caue, whereas all their Powder and Munition of Warre did lie, the which had ended the Battery, if it had gon a little further. The Earle of *Brandis* seeing that nothing came from without that might entertaine hope, and iudging that nothing was lesse becoming a Captaine then rashnes, did not contemne the perswasions which necessity and the aduice of his friends gaue him to thinke of the soldiars health, seeing that of the place was desperate. The King summons him againe, not to be obstinate: they found him so C well disposed there vnto as presently they did iudge wherevnto things would tend. The Earle calls together the Captaines & gentlemen that were with him, to determine of some holdsome expedient, not to offend the seruice of their Prince, nor to incense the power of a great King, and to provide for the common health of them all, he presents vnto them the Estate and extremities, where vnto the place was reduced, and coniures them by the faith which they owe vnto his Highnesse, to tell him their opinions vpon their Consciences for the Election of two things. The one. To endure the attempts of the French forces, and die in loosing of the place, or els. To capitulate and take the longest time they could, to giue his Highnesse leisure to succor them. Their propositions did not incounter one and the same aduice, Some sayd. That seeing his Highnesse honored them with the gard of the onely Bulwarke of his Estates: they should rather all die therein then yeeld the place to the King of France, and that the apparent danger might be avoided by some favorable accident. Others of the contrary side maintayned. That accidents were doubtfull, & that it were better according to the time to take an assured and easie party. That euery one knewe that the most Christian King was wel informed of the Estate of that place. That they had suffered to the extremity. That they were battred with 40. Cannons: That they had receiued many disgraces and losse of men burnt by fire which had taken their Powder. That since two monethes they had receiued no newes from his Highnesse. That they wanted all kind of victuell but Corne, which with good but bandry could not last to the end of Nouember: That it were better to enter into composition & seeing the King offered it, and take a reasonable terme to yeeld vp the place, whilest that his Highnesse should giue order to succor them, or to treat of a Peace. The most resolute were shaken at these wordes, and in the end all concluded to make their Peace in time, wherevnto in the end they had bene forced. The Earle made an Act, the which was signed by all the Captaines and Officers of the Garrison, by the which he demanded a truce of the King for fixe daies, at the end wherof he did Capitulate to depart he & his company with Lienes and Goods, Enseignes displayed, Drums sounding, Boullers in the mouth, Harguebaze charged, their matches light, & furnished with what munition of Warre they could carry, without serch, if the Duke did not succor them within one month, the which was granted, & moreover they had leaue to send a Captaine to the Duke, to aduertise him thereof. The Cheualier *Bricher* had the charge to carry these newes vnto the Duke, the which he receiued with great discontent. The same day the Capitulation of *Montmelian* was made, the King sent the Secretary *Hermio* to go & meet the Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his Master, with charge to assure him of his Maesties willingnes

1600. A Maxime of the Spaniards.

The King returns to Montmelian.

The Earle of Brandis proposed to the Captaine.

The capitulation of the Castell of Montmelian.

Bricher was sent to aduertise the Duke.

1600. willingnes to peace, and of the desire hee had to see him, to open his heart, and to present vnto him the Iustice of his armes, and to let him know that hee had not undertaken them to trouble *Italy* or *Christendome*, as his enemies had maliciously given out, after that they had forced him to protract his marriage, and to take the way of *Sauoy*, the which was not greatly pleasing vnto him in this season, intreating him to take in good part, if he did not answer to the particular propositions propounded vnto him by *Hermio* vntill his annuall, assuring himselfe that hee would come with sufficient power, to conclude a good accord, without any more trouble of doing it twice. But his Maiesie excused himselfe from any surceasing of armes. It being vnrasonable to lie idly in a enemies Countrey, whereas the entertainment of his army, cost him two hundred thousand Crownes a moneth, and that hee should attend the winter, and give the enemy leisure to prepare himselfe. The Duke held this treatie to bee sodaine and rash: some braue spirits about him imputed it to cowardlines, rather then to treason. He made answer by *Bricherias* and assured the beleeged to succor them: and presently after he sent another letter in these termes: *Mons de Brandis*, for the execution of that which I haue signified vnto you, by the Chenalier *Bricherias*, behold I am on Horse-backe ready to passe the *Alpes* with so mightie an army, as if you will giue me some little time, more then is specified in the Capitulation, you shall see the sport, and bind me, mine and all *Sauoy*, for euer to acknowledge you for the most faithful, the most profitable, and the worthiest Subiect in my Estates, you shall be noted throughout all *Christendome*, which now attends your resolution, and you shall free your selfe from the ignominie and reproch which you should incur by your Capitulation. Shew your selfe I pray you a knight worthe of the house from whence you are descended, and of the loue I haue borne you: regard herein your honour cheefly, and the consequence which shall grow by your resolution, it is but for a few dayes, if I come not by the tyme limited, and the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* who is gone thitherward, effects not what he doth expect, you must not respect your hostages, it is not likely they shall miserie, and if the worst happen, they cannot import so much as the losse of that place. Write vnto mee if it bee possible. In my hope from you, depends all that I am to doe with such goodly forces. If I were not assured to succour you speedily, I would not perswade you to breake the Capitulation. But this assurance makes mee say vnto you, that you ought not to doubt, for these reasons & infinite others which you should lay before you. The Duke had added in the end of his letter, these words with his owne hand. *I thinke that Bricherias is already come vnto you shew me now the prooffe of so many promises which you haue made mee, and giue mee the tyme that I haue set downe, and you shall see the sport where you are.* By this letter it seemed the Duke cared not much for the life of his hostages: The Duke of *Espernon* by the Kings commandement, acquainted the Earle of *Brandis* with this letter, who answered, *you may say vnto his Maiesie, that I will keepe my word, in the assurance whereof I hold my life and honour.* The King tooke a new assurance in writing, signed by him and the other Captaines which had signed the Capitulation. Five dayes after this confirmation, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* past by *Montmelian*, the army standing in battayle, where he was saluted by the Kings artillerie, and that of the Castel. The Duke *Espernon* met him first vpon the bridge of *Montmelian*, and then all the Princes and Noblemen incountred him vpon the way, and accompanied him to *Chambery*, whereas the King receiued him with good honor, and in his first audience at the Capuchins, he said vnto him. That he doubted not of the Iustice of his armes, & of the advantage which his valour had gotten him ouer the Duke of *Sauoy*, but hee held him for a Prince so full of affect on, to the good and quiet of *Christendome*, as hee would neuer use the frute of his victory, to the ruine of the Peace, and publike tranquillitie, but would suffer the Popes earnest motion vnto him to desire peace, to be of more force then the perswasions of such as moued him to continue this warre, a warre which was neither worthe the greatnesse of his courage, nor the fruits of his armes, for it it were made to enlarge his Empire, the Estate of *Sauoy* is a small thing, and if it were for the reuenge of some wrong, he should consider that the reuenge which is not betwixt equall

The Duke's letter to the Earle of Brandis the 30. of Oct. 1600.

The Duke of Espernon promised to keep his word.

The Legats, the Duke and the King.

A equal parties, is alwaies vnjust, & hath no sparke of generosity in it. That War is vnconstant, and the ende is not alwaies answerable to the beginning, and there was no Prince that for the most assured opinions of Victory, was to bee commended in refusing the conditions of an Honorable Peace. A Peace which the Pope desired for the Good of all *Christendome*: for the consolation of those which trembled at the Turkes approaches: who feared that this diuision would ingage *France* in the forepassed miseries. A Peace which the Duke of *Sauoy* desired, and for the which hee promised to yeeld himselfe more tractable then euer hee had beene. A Peace which would bring forth meanes to succor the Christians affaires in *Hungary*, to roote the memory of the Turke out of the world, & free Europe from his fury. The King answered him. That hee had alwaies held it for a rule of Conscience to content himselfe with his owne, as well as not to suffer an vsurpation. But he could not hope for any reason from the Duke of *Sauoy* but by armes, the which he was forced to vse to reuenge the vsurpation of his Marquis, seeing neither the feeling of his own Conscience, nor the iudgement of his Holmes, nor the assurance of his promises made at *Paris*, could moue him to do that which he ought. That if his army did passe the *Alpes*, he should finde good Seruants in *Piedmont*, and that the soile was as Fertill as euer it was to plant the flower de Luce there, and make it flourish, but when he should haue gotten all that the Duke holds on this and the other side of the Mountaines, he would alwaies leane it in yeelding vp his Marquisate. The effect of this Ambassage was, that *Hermio* went to informe the Duke that the Cardinall his Master had disposed the King to a Peace, the Duke receiued these newes with ioye, and made choise of the Count *d'Arconas* and the Seigneur *d'Almes* for this negotiation, commanding them to doe all the Legat should command touching the Peace. The King notwithstanding, said that hee would not thinke of any Peace vntill that *Montmelian* were yeelded. And that his Councell was not neere him, the Constable and Chancellor being sent to *Marseilles* to receiue the Queene. And the Duke was not so much inclined to a Peace, but hee did his indeauor to succor *Montmelian*; The 12. of Nouember he came to the valley of *Aost*, with ten thousand foote, foure thousand Harguebuziers on horse-backe and 800. Men at Armes: hauing past the Mount lodged at *Ema* being himselfe in person. The King commanded the Count *Soiffens* to go to *Mouliers*, whereas *L'Esdiuieres* attended the enemy, and his Maiesie went from *Chambery* to *Montmelian*, to expect the yeelding vp of the place, the which was deliuered vp the sixteenth of Nouember according to the capitulation by the Count *Brandis*, with great store of Artillery, Bullets and Powder to shooe about 20000. Cannon shot; the Marquis *Rhosny* and *Creguy* (who was appointed Gouverneur by the King) entred into it with 500. men. His Maiesie hauing given order for *Montmelian*, departed the next day (without entring into the Castell) to visite his Army, the which finding as resolute as hee desired, hee had no other desaigne but to seeke all meanes to approach neere in viewe of his enemy, by diuers discoueries which he sent to make in diuers places: but all was so couered with deepe snowe, as it was impossible to doe any thing, but to greue at the discomfort and in the meane tyme to keepe the soldiers in breath, in attempting of some places, among others the Tower of *Alate*, and some Corps de garde placed at the entry of the next Mountaines, the which the Regiment of *Nauarre* did soone breake. The King being aduertised by his good intelligence, that the Duke (stayed by the like discomfort of the wether and place) must needs retire or at the least much inaccomodate his own Countrey, his subsidies and Army, hee left *L'Esdiuieres* at *Mouliers* with his troups, to command in the Countrey of *Tarentaise*, and to attempt as occasion should serue vntill the Duke were retired. His Maiesie came to *Chambery*, whereas the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* presented vnto him *Arconas* & *d'Almes*, the Dukes Deputies for the Peace, to whom he said. *Your Master hath nothing but words and I shew the effect: I sayd vnto you at Paris (speaking to Almes) that you were welcome, so I say now, but I meane not to treat but with this Reuerend personage speaking of the Legat.* The Duke presented to the King.

1600.

The King answered.

The Dukes Ambassadors.

The Duke's army.

The Dukes Ambassadors presented to the King.

1600. the treatie of peace to the returne of his Chancellor and Councell from *Marfellies* and went with the rest of his army to assure *Saint Katherins* Fort, whether in the beginning he had sent the Lord of *Saucy*, to raise a regiment of foot in the Countie, to keepe in the garrison of the Fort, and afterwards *Monsieur d'Uiry* with the Regiments of the Cheualier of *Montmorency*, *Cordes* and other troupes. *Saint Katherins* Fort is built vpon an high hill, which ouerlooks all the Countie, it consists of five bastions which are not walled, yet it is ditcht and furnished with all things necessarie: It lies two Leagues from *Genoa*, defended by six hundred men, whereof two parts were *Swisses*. Some few dayes before the Kings arriuall, one of the Capitaines of the beleeged, went forth with his Maiesties leaue to the Duke of *Nemours*, who with the Kings good leaue was retired to his house of *Anisy*, that he might be freed from this warre, and not hurt or preiudice his Cousin the Duke of *Saucy*, the King sent presently one of his gards to bring him to *Zelusel* where hee was lodged, a quarter of a League from the Fort: hauing let him vnderstand the resolution of his dessein, the greateste of his forces, & the small hope they should haue of the Duke: hee preuailed so as soon after his returne to his Companions they did capitulate to depart with their baggage and armes, their Drummes sounding, and Enseignes displayed, carrying away with them a third part of the artillerie, if they were not succoured within tenne dayes. The King left the Count *Saissions* to attend the effect of this capitulation, and went to *Lions* to meet the Queene, as wee shall shew hereafter.

The Duke of *Saucy* hauing failed at *Montmelian*, gaue it out that he would succor *Saint Katherins* Fort. He had a goodly army, and those that were about him thought there were but too many to chate the *French* out of *Saucy*. Moreouer hee thought to haue a passage by *Valais*, either willingly or by force: he had also good friends among the pettie Cantons of the *Swisses*, being distastd with the seruice of this Crowne, for that they were not payed what was due vnto the *DePte* the Kings Ambassader made all their friendship fruitles, employing himselfe worthily against all his practises: hee assisted in all their assemblies, hauing good words to content some, and patience to digest the indirection of others, and couragious answeres against the threats and braueries of the most difficult, yet he could not hinder the Leue of 4000. men, granted to the King of *Spain*, by foure or five Cantons for the defence of *Milan*, with charge not to enter vpon the Kings Dominions, vpon paine of death: but hee kept them from marching so soone as the enemy desired, which stay made them not onely vnprofitable, but also hurtful, by his great expences. The six dayes being expired, the Gouernour of *S. Katherins* Fort came forth with 600. men, according to the Capitulation. All the Capitaines of the Duke of *Saucys* places excused their yeelding vpon necessity, to accuse then Prince of indiscretion, who had reason to complaine of their valours, for they might haue done better. The Count *Saissions* aduertised, after the yeelding of *Saint Katherins* Fort, that the Duke coming by the *Tarentaise*, aduanced with his whole army, to succour the beleeged, hee assembled his troupes, and resolved to meet and fight with him if hee durst hazard the day. But hee was sooner aduertised of his retreat then of his marching. The Duke had sayd at *Paris*, and to the Seignior of *Fossause* at *Turin*, that whoeuer would make warre against him, he would shew himselfe for fortie yeares space, but hee lost all *Saucy* in lesse then fortie dayes, and there remained nothing in *Bresse* but the Cittadell of *Eoung*, without all hope to be succored by force. He entertained *Bouuens* who commanded there, with hope that he should receive a great Conuoie from *Bourgogne*, which the Baron of *Lux* and of *S. Angelo*, who beleeged it with Blockhowfes, hindred Captaine *Vatulier* to effect. And then hee exhorted them by letters to hold it good vntill the treatie of peace, whereof he assured them: the which was the onely meanes (as wee shall shew) to free the beleeged from the necessitie whereunto they were reduced, and without the which they must needs haue fallen vnder his Maiesties subiection. Behold all which passed of great import in the conquest of *Saucy*, and *Bresse* by the most Christian King. But this warre did not hinder him from thinking of his marriage, he had beene contracted at *Florence* the 25.

A of August, *Monsieur de Belle-garde* Maister of the Kings Horse carried the procuration to the great Duke of *Tuscany*. The Duke of *Mantua* came to *Florence* the 2. of October, and the next day arriued the Ambassador of *Venice*. The Pope would gladly haue had the Queene receiue this blessing of her Marriage at his hands, and to haue done her the like honor as he did to the Queene of *Spain* at *Ferrara*, the which for certaine reasons could not be effected, and therefore he sent the Cardinall *Alabrando* his Holines Legat & Nephew, in whose hands the words of preser Marriage were made.

The 4. of October the Cardinall entred into *Florence* with great pompe, riding vnder a Canopy and the Duke on his left hand, and so was conducted to the Dukes Pallace. After Supper in the presence of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Bracciano*, the Princes *Iohn* and *Anthony* of *Medicis*, and the Lord of *Belle-garde* the Kings Ambassador. He deliuered vnto the Queene the contentment which the Pope had of this Marriage, with a sweet kinde of Gravity and Modesty: & a discourse full of pleasing words: he conceiued great hopes of great good to come, by the meanes of this happy coniunction, not only for the houses of the Kings of *France* & the Dukes of *Tuscany*, but also for all Christendome; and not onely for Christian Kingdome, but for all the World: So as the Queene moued with ioy & great hope, thanked his Holines for this Salutation, & said: *That God hauing so decreed it, shee assured her selfe, that the blessing of the Holy Father would bring the grace of God with it, whereof she would indeuour to make her selfe worthy & capable, recommending her selfe most humble to the prayers of his Holines and of the Church.* Which words were deliuered alter to Maiechall a manner, as if this Princeesse had vsed alwayes to command absolutely: and so that day was spent. The 5. of October the Marriage was celebrated after a Royall manner, the Legat sayde Masse, the which being ended the Great Duke had a Son Christned, the Seigneury of *Venice* giuing it the name. The Queene parted from *Florence* the 16. of October, and came to *Liurne* the 17. where she imbarked in the Great Dukes generall Galley, being assisted by five of the Popes Gallies, five of *Malta*, and sixe more of the said Dukes. The King hauing intelligence of her imbarking, provided for her reception at *Marfeilles*, and gaue the charge of his Will to the Duke of *Guise*, his Maiesties Lieutenant Generall in *Prouence*: he also sent his Constable & Chancellor with the Dukes of *Nemours*, *Guise* and *Ventador* to receiue her. The Cardinalls of *Touze*, *Gondy*, *Guiry* and *Sourdy*, with many Bishops and Noblemen of the Councell. The Nauigation was dangerous in many places, yet with a resolute and cheerefull countenance she seemed to scorne the Tempests of the Sea. The 3. of Nouember she tooke Port at *Marfeilles*, being accompanied by the great Duchesse of *Florence*, the Duchesse of *Mantua* her Sister, *D. Anthony* her Brother, and the Duke of *Bracciano*.

The Queene leaving her Gally, entred vpon a Theater made of two great Boates, wherinto ioynd a Bridge, which went vnto her Pallace. The Constable receiued her; the Chancellor deliuered the Kings pleasure, 4. Consuls of *Marfeilles* presented her the Keyes of the Citty, & a Canopie of cloth of siluer, vnder which she was conducted to the Pallace. One of the most remarkable actions during her abroad there, was the protestation of obedience, which was made vnto her by the Court Parliament of *Prouence*, in the great Hall of the Pallace, *Monsieur de Pair* making a most eloquent Oration, as you may read at large in the Originall. The 17. of Nouember the Queene came to *Aix*, from whence she parted the next day, with about 2000. horse, to make her entry the 19. into *Auignon*, where she was receiued with greater Pompe & Magnificence then in any other place. Parting from *Auignon*, the Queene past to *Valence*, *Roussillon* & *Vienne*, & came on the Satterday to *Guillottiere*. The next day being the 3. of Decēber being met by the Gouernor, & all the Nobility of the Town & country, she entred in to *Lions* in great State, & so was conducted to her lodging, where she had newes from the King by *Royuelaure*, who preseted vnto her in his Maiesties name the great royal Col-ler, of inestimable value, which did beautify her other Ornāmets. She staid 8. daies at *Lions* before she could see the King, demāding euer when he wold come, & in this expectation the houres seemed years vnto her. The King after the capitulation of *S. Katherins* Fort, tooke post, & came the 9. of Decēber to *Lions*. The Chācellor aduertised her

The Cardinall enters into *Florence*.

His speech vnto the Queene.

The Queene answer to the Cardinall.

The Queene parts from *Florence* to go into *France*.

Princes and Noblemen sent to receiue the Queene.

She arrives at *Marfeilles*.

The Queene enters into *Lions*.

The Situation of *S. Katherins* Fort.

The capitulation of *Saint Katherins* Fort.

All the of *S. Katherins* Fort yeelded.

S. Katherins Fort yeelded.

A Canopy for the Cardinall on his approach by the Duke of *Lux* and *S. Angelo*.

The Duke of *Mantua* comes to *Florence*.

1600. that he should come that day. Being at supper a Gentleman came to tell her, that the King was within a quarter of a league of the City, and that within lesse then an houre he should see him. The ioy of this good newes had taken away her appetite to any meate. The King was already entred disguised, and was gotten into the presse among certain Gentlemen, where hee might see and not bee seene. After supper shee retired into her Chamber, and the King entred presently after, the Queene called her selfe at his Maiesties seere, and hee tooke her vp and imbraced her, where after many kinde imbracings of mutuall loue and respect, the King went to supper. During the which, the King sent the Queene word by the Duchesse of Nemours, that he was come without a Bed, hoping that she would afford him part of hers, which should be common vnto them from that time: To whom the Queene answered, *that she was come to please and obey his Maiesties will, as his most humble seruant*. This being deliuered vnto the King, hee enclothed himselfe & entred into the Queenes Chamber, whom he found in bed, and then the Ladies retired. The Cardinal *Aldobrandino* the Popes Legate being at *Chambery*, the King sent to inuite him to his Marriage, & to come to *Lions* with the Duke of *Sauoy* Deputies, where they should Treat more commodiously then at *Chambery*. He made his entry the 16. of the month, where he was receiued with honours fit for so great a dignity: the Prince *Conty* and the Duke *Montpensier* conducted him, going vnder a Canopy carried by the Burgeses of the Towne, the streets were hang'd, the Inhabitants were in Armes, & the Clergy went singing before him: and in this sort he was conducted to *S. Johns* Church. And although the Marriage were perfect, the King hauing ratified it by Procuracion, and by words of the present which the said Legate had receiued, so as there needed no other solemnity, yet would he make his Subjects partakers of this publike ioy, appointing the Ceremony the Sunday following, the which was Celebrated before the Great Alter of *S. Johns* Church, whereas the Nuptiall blessing was giuen by the Legate to the married couple. After the which a Largeesse of peeces of Gold and Siluer, marked with a speciall deuice were cast vnto the people. All which performed, they went to the Royall Feast in the Archbishops Great Hall.

The Turkes this yeare sent twelue thousand *Tanissaries* from *Constantinople* to *Buda*, to annoy the Christians with the neighbour Garrisons, so as they tooke *Buboltz*, a strong Towne and well manned with 500 Souldiars, and furnished with all kind of Munition, yet they grew amazed, and by their base cowardlinesse yeelded the Towne at the first Attempt, and were conducted to *Pappa* the 4. of September. The eight of the month, they beseege *Canisfa*, make their Approaches, and plant their Batteries. The Christians fall forth one morning, beat them out of their Trenches, and cloy their Canon, carrying one peece into the Towne. In the meane time, the Duke *Mercure* Lieutenant Generall for the Emperour in *Hungary*, comes to the River of *Mour*, the first of October, and hauing past it the same day, he gaue a signe to the beseeged of his arrival. The Turkes *Vezir*, hauing notice of the final number of Christians, sent the Duke word, that he should not oppose himselfe with such small troupes against his great Army, and that he should not thinke so strong a seege as he held before *Canisfa*, could be raised with such weake forces. The Duke *Mercure* answered him very courageously and Christ only, *That he doubted not with fewe Christians to incounter a great number of Infidels, no though they were Devils, trusting in the helpe of God*. And as the Christians advanced towards *Canisfa*, the *Vezir* drew 20000 men out of his Army, and seized vpon a hill in their passage, where he resolved to attend them, being but fiftene thousand Christians. *French* *Germanes* and *Hungarians*, all resolute to make no other lodging that day but in *Canisfa*, or to die in battaile. The Duke *Mercure* sent to discover them by *Colonies*, and in the meane time the Christian Army being in battell, with twelue Canons in front, marched against the Turkes, who came furiously to charge them, the Artillery receiues them in such sort as it dants their courages, and diminisheth their numbers, so as the Turkes are forced to retire with the losse of 14. field peeces. That night the Duke *Mercure* intrenched his Campe carefully, so as the *Vezir* seeing

A seeing that he should gaine little of him by force, he made a shew to turne backe & so come behind to enuiron the Christians with his whole armye, which hee put in battell like vnto a halfe Moone, and so he camped fise daies together, so as the Christians were driuen to great extremity: for the Contoy of victuals had bin taken by the Turkes & no more could be brought vnto the, the Souldiers being forced to eate Horle-flesh & drinke Water. The *German* Colonells & Captaines beseech the Duke to resolute vpon his retreat, and he coniures them to patience, to the which nothing is impossible: but the belly hath no eares: all are ready to mutine, or to retire: the Duke to auoide the blame of this shamefull resolution, would not consent, before that all the Colonels and Captaines had signed this aduice, whereupon he disposed of his retreat. The day of their rising, God gaue them a visible testimony of his protection, they were covered with such a thick Mist, as the Turkes could not discouer when they left their trenches, yet the followed after, and put some of the Recreward to the sword. The beseege apprehending this Retreat, were terrified: The *Hungarians* began first, and then the *Germanes* talked of yeelding, so as *Canisfa* which was the strongest place the Christians held in *Stiria*, was yeelded vnto the Turkes power, and vnder their Tyranny; to the great grieve of the Duke *Mercure*, seeing the preiudice which fell vnto Christendom, and this was the two and twentieth of October. The beseege were safely conducted to the riuer of *Mours*. The Gouvernor named *Paradis*, being presented to the Duke *Mercure*, hee sent him to *Mathias* the Archduke, who by the Emperors commandment (exacting an accompt of his charge, and not able to purge himselfe) was condemned for his cowardlinesse to haue his right Hand cut off, for that it had signed the Capitulation, and then his Head; the which was executed. In the meane time the *Vezir* makes twelue Forts vpon the Riuer of *Drane*, hauing lodged within *Canisfa* and in the sayd Forts three thousand foote, and fise hundred horse: causing a Proclamation to be made; That all Fugitiues might returne freely into *Canisfa*, promising them exemption of Tributes for three yeares together, the which was a dangerous bayte. In the beginning of this yeare, *Charles* Duke of *Suederman*, had entered into *Liuonia* and taken the strongest places, and was likely in a short time to expell the *Polonians*, if the Palatin *Cogwitz* had not made head against him with an Army of *Polonians*, neere vnto *Coquehouse*, where the *Suedens* were defeated in battell. *Charles* to be reuenged for this losse, gathers together his Troupes, and hauing a supply of twenty thousand *Suedens*, he charged the *Polonians* so furiously neere vnto *Venda*, as he tooke *Cogwitz* and defeated his Army: from thence he went to beseege *Rigue*, the Capitall Towne of all *Liuonia*.

The newes of this defeate being come into *Poland*, *John Xamosci* great Chancellor of *Poland*, hauing before resolved to go against Duke *Charles*, with the consent of the King of *Poland* and all the *Polatins*, hee aduanceth and sends Letters of Defiance to Duke *Charles*, deuouncing War against him. Hauing receiued this Challenge, he goes to Armes, and knowing that the *Polonians* lay betwixt certain Marishes and the Riuer of *Vanda*, he passed in the night with 9000. choise men, and surprising the *Polonians* halfe a sleepe, he chargeth and defeats them; spoyle and burnes their Campe, so as this mighty Army of forty thousand men, most part Horse, was by this meanes, and the want of Forrage, lying in marish grounds, without doing any good, in a short time consumed without fruit. *Charles* also on his part despayring of the seege of *Rigue*, went by Sea into *Suedland*, with *John* of *Nassau*, and *Renauld* of *Solme*, both Earles, where he had like to haue bene cast away by reason of the yce, the which did exceed, through the sharpnesse of the Winter.

We haue said, that in the end of the last yeare, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* Legate to his Holines, made his entry into *Lions* to treat a Peace betwixt the King and the Duke of *Sauoy*. Presently after the Ceremony & Confirmation of the Nuptial blessing of their Maiesties, they began the Treaty of this Peace: the proposition had bin made at *Chambery*, but the conclusion was referred and ended at *Lions*. The King had made choise among al his Councel of the President *Sillery* & *Tanin*, to deliuer his intentions vnto the Legate, who acquainted *Arconas* & *Alymes* therewith. First the Dukes Deputies

The Kings
first sight of
the Queene.

The Cardinals
entry into
Lions.

Paradis yeelded
dro the
Turkes.

The Duke
Mercure Lieutenant
Generall for the
Emperour.

Canisfa beseege.

The Duke
of *Mercure* can
fine to the
Vezir.

Canisfa yeelded to the
Turke.

Paradis Gouvernor of
Canisfa beheaded
at *Vienna*.

What passed
in *Suedland* &
Liuonia.

Of the Peace
betwixt the
King of *France*
& the Duke
of *Sauoy*.

1601. The Dukes Deputies demand Peace of the King, in yeelding up unto him the Marquisate of Salusse. A
The King answered, *That he loved Warre, but he had neuer refused Peace to them that had demanded it: That seeing the Duke desired Peace, and his Holines perswaded him to it, for the quiet of Christendome, that he was content to grant it, so as the Duke did yeeld him his Marquisate, and to pay him eight hundred thousand Crownes which hee had disbursed for the Warres of Sauoy.* The Legate found well by this demand that the Peace was not easie to be made as he expected: he spake vnto the King and told him; *That the Duke could not yeeld the Marquisate, and so great a summe of Money but hee would giue him all Breffe in Exchange: and for all the charges and other his Maiesties pretensions, hee would giue him moreouer Baugcy, Verromey and other landes vnto the River of Rhosne.* This Proposition was accepted by the Kings Deputies, so as they yeelded vp the Castles of Centall, Mont and Roque palmier, which did not belong to the Marquisate, but to the Prouinces of Dauphiné, and Prouence. The Deputies said, that what they offered was for all pretensions: to whom they answered; *That nothing could then be concluded.*

Propositions for the Peace.

S. Katherins Fort ruin. d. by the Geneva.

These things were so wisely handled by the Kings Deputies, as the Dukes Deputies offered besides a part of the Baylyweeke of Gex, a hundred thousand Crownes, so as the King did yeeld vp what he held in Sauoy, especially the Castle of Montmelian and S. Katherins Fort, in the same estate they were. As they were vpon these termes, newes comes, that they of Geneva had ruined S. Katherins Fort, and that with such animosity & diligence, as within two dayes after you could scarce discern the forme of it, for this Fort was built but of Earth. The Legate was wonderfully discontented thereat, and complayned saying, *That he would returne to Rome, without doing anything, seeing they kept not their word with him, that he reuoked his repuing this demolition as an affront done vnto him.* The Kings Deputies answered him, *That the King had no neede of a Peace with the Duke, but for that his Holinesse perswaded him thereunto: that it was a small cause to breake the Treaty of Peace, seeing it was but a peece of Earth, that the foundation should remaine vnto the Duke, the which he might repaire when hee pleased.* The King tooke the Legats words for a renewing of the Warre, and gaue leaue to his Army, to doe all acts of Hostility, charging the Commanders to stand vpon their Gard, to defend and offend, as occasions and meanes should be presented. Whereupon all dispaying of Peace, made new Enterprises; iudging, that the King would not rest hauing so great aduantages, they talked of nothing but of scouring of Armes, preparing of Hories, seeking of Money, and to make them ready for a new War.

The Kings answer to the Ambassadors of Spaine.

Taxis the King of Spaines Ambassador came vnto the King, to let him vnderstand; *That if a Peace were not concluded, his Maister should bee forced to enter into this Warre, to preferue his Nephewes Estate.* To whom the King answered, *That he would liue in Peace, with them that loued Peace: but whosoever should seeke to support the Duke in this vnjust Warre, he would make them repent it. That he would make War like a Lion agaynst them that played the Foxes with him, & would strike them, that should make but shew to threaten him.*

The Dukes Deputies (thinking that the Kings victory was neither absolute nor perfect, so long as Bourg held good) did still temporise, not caring to presse the conclusion of this Peace, no further then the extremity of this place did presse them, and in the meane time the Duke should haue leasure to attempt some thing vpon his own or vpon that which was the Kings. And in truth if Bourg had beene releued, or the Conuoy which was in the Franche County had entred, the Peace had bin broken. Besides the wants and impatience of the besieged, they without vsed a policy which made them almost desperate: some men choisen for the purpose gaue them to vnderstand, that the Dukes Deputies did prolong things, vpon assurance that the Cittadell might hold good a month, and that they cared not to finish the Treaty, nor to supply the necessities of the besieged, so as this temporising at what price & perill soeuer, might giue the Duke time to do his businesse. This did peece so deeply and wrought such an impression in the besieged, as (despight with the tediousnes of the Treaty, & wearied with the languishing of the besieged) they resolved not to suffer any more, seeing the Deputies did not consider what they suffered, but how much and how long they

A they might suffer. Vpon this vaine terror they write vnto the Deputies in these termes. 1601. My Lords, your protractions and delays kill vs, the temporising of your Treaty, is preiudiciall to the Honour of our Master, and the helth of his Seruants that are in this place: make hast then to finish the peace, for wee cannot hold about two daies: it is the perfixed time of our resistance. Beleeue the bearer, who will acquaint you with the rest of our extreme necessity. Attend no other letters from vs, fare ye wel &c. Yet they were not so ill as they sayd, but in matter of seege, all tayles when as they want patience. This letter with the fearefull report of the horrors and inhumanities which extreame famine caused in the Cittadell of Bourg, awaked the Ambassadors from the slumber, which the ruining of Saint Katherins Fort had held them in.

The Treaty renewed.

B Vpon these newes they goe vnto the Cardinall, they beseech him, that the ruine of one place (whose foundation remayned to the Duke) might not hinder the perfecting of this great building of Peace, the which notwithstanding could not bee but necessary, and profitable. The Cardinall who knewe that the Duke was much discontented with this demolition, & that the Count Fuentes Armie was much increased, and their mindes more inclyned to Warre then Peace, and yet beeing loath to repasse the Alpes, without the Glorie to haue quenched this fire, hee sayd vnto the Ambassadors that hee could not re-enter into the Treaty of Peace, if they did not giue it him in writing vnder their handes, that it was their aduice, and that they intreated him to do it as profitable for the Duke & necessary for his Estate. The Ambassadors being to much amazed with the newes of the extreme wants of the Cittadell of Bourg, fearing it would bee lost before the Peace was concluded, the which would impair the bargain, they willingly past this promise.

The Cardinall was still in choller that the demolition of Saint Katherins fort, should send him backe to Rome, and not carry the Pope that contentment of his Legation which hee expected. The King would gladly, the Pope should haue remayned, satisfied with the sincerity of his actions, but neither his Honour nor his humor would suffer him to intreate. Hee therefore thinkes it dishonorable to perswade him to Peace that hath more neede of it then himselfe. Hee is therefore resolved to Warre, and seeing that the Legate continued still in his complaintes, hee commanded the Marquis of Rhosny to goe to Paris to take order for the Munitions of War. Beeing ready to take Horse for the execution of the Kings commandment, hee goes to take his leaue of the Legat, and toucheth some things of the cause of his voyage, saying, *That it was the Kings resolution to make Warre, seeing they could not hold themselves to a Peace.* That for his part hee was sorry, that so great a personage as himselfe should take the paines to passe the Mountaines and bring them so neere vnto the Temple of Peace and not to enter into it: the Legat answered, *That he was much grieved that his Legation and the paine hee had taken prooued fruitlesse: that hee knewe well the King in shewe desired Peace, but in effect Warre was his delight.* Rhosny replied, *that if Peace were good before the demolition of the Fort, it was nowe also good, that this accident did nothing import, seeing the ground was the Dukes, to do with all what hee pleased, and that for fifty thousand Crownes hee might build another Fort.* The Dukes Ambassadors gaue the same reasons, coniuring him not to abandon the Shipp in this tempest, seeing hee had taken the Helme in hand in a calme season. Here vpon the Legat asked Rhosny if hee thought the King would bee pleased to recompence this demolition with money. Rhosny answered him, *that hee knewe nothing, but beeing a thing reasonable, and the King a Prince of reason, hee presumed that if hee should promise it in his Maiesties name, hee would not fayle of his promise.* The Legat intreated him to acquaint him with it, saying that hee was sorry hee had delt no sooner in the busines. Rhosny tells the King thereof, and returns his

Monsieur de Rhosny renews the treaty of Peace.

E F. Maiesties intention vnto the Legat, and so with a little moderation they finish this worke of Peace. The Articles were drawne and agreed vpon, and the Ambassadors of Sauoy sent for to signe them, they come and tell the Legat in his care that their Master had forbidden them to signe, before that hee had talked with the Count of Fuentes. Kkkkk

A Peace concluded.

The

1601. The Legat who would not haue his word giuen vnto the King to remaine vnpromisable, nor send backe the Kings Deputies, or referre the Assemblie to an other time, treats them not to make any shew of this charge, but to signe. They answer him that their hands and tongues were bound. The Legate dorth presse them, and they intreat him to giue them leaue to conferre with *Taxis* the *Spanish* Ambassadors, to the end that their doings might be countenanced by his Councell. They repare vnto the Oracle, they consult of two letters, the first of the eight of January, which commanded them to signe the peace, the second of the eleuenth which did forbid them. *Taxis* (who vnderstood the intents of the Councell of *Spaine*, who knowes that a peace is desired, so as the Marquisate might continue on the other side of the Alpes, and that there might bee a passage on this side to goe into *Flanders*, who weighed the conditions of peace, not by the difficulties of reasons, but by the prosperitie of euents, not by the peeces, but by the whole, wherein he finds what his Master desired) answereth them. That seeing his Highnes hath commanded you to signe the peace foure dayes since, I see nothing happened since, that may be sufficient or available to reuoke this commandement, nor the word which hee had giuen you to effect it. It is true that I thinke by this last letter, you are bound to stay the time which hee demands to attend with the Count *Fuentes*.

The Sauiy
Ambassadors
consult with
Taxis.

He perswades
them to signe
the peace.

Hereupon arriued the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, great in perswasions, found in Reasons, profound in Councell, and subtil in Inuentions. Hee sheweth them the importance of this breach, the wrong done vnto the King, and the Legats wordingaged, C That the Duke writing this letter had not considered that the first was effected, that the estate of the busines allowed no counteraund, that that which was yesterday voluntarie, is this day fastened with nayles of Diamonds to an ineuitable necessity. The Dukes Ambassadors who feared more to erre by disobedience, then by obstinacie, stand firme vpon the necessitie of the Dukes command, for the order which a Prince prescribeth to his Ambassador may not be altered. The Patriarke assures them that the Legat, who had authoritie from their master to command them, and they bound to obey him in all that hee should iudge profitable for his affaires, should warrant them vnder his hand from all blame, which they apprehended, desiring him that he would take the paines to go vnto his Highnesse to *Thurin*, to let him vnderstand that D they had done nothing but what hee should haue done himselfe, and that he would imploy all the power his vnckle had, both in heauen, and in earth, to free them from danger. The Ambassadors (who seemed not to will that which they most desired, with such impatience, as the houres seemed yeares vnto them) were content with this assurance signed by the Legat, & a monethes respite for the Duke to ratifie what they had signed. So the Peace was concluded and proclaymed at *Lions* the 17. of Ianuarie,

The substance
of the peace
betweene the
King, and the
Duke of Sauiy

1601. the substance whereof was. That the Duke should yeeld vp and transpose wholly vnto the King, and to his successors Kings of *France*, all the Countrie and Seigneuries, of *Bresse*, *Biengy* and *Verromey*, and generally all that belongs vnto him, vnto the river of *Rhofne*, so as all the river from *Geneua* should belong to the Crowne of *France*, the E which should remaine vnto the King and his successors with all the Soueraignie, iurisdiction and rights which the sayd Duke might haue ouer the sayd Countries, reseruing nothing but the bridge of *Gressin* for the commoditie of the passage: the which is vpon the river of *Rosne*, betwixt *Esluse* and the bridge of *Arley*, which by this present Treatie belongs vnto the King: and on the other side of the river of *Rosne*, the Duke should enioy the parishes of *Ella*, *Luyuent*, and *Cizerre* with all the Hamlets and Territories which belong vnto them, betwixt the river of *Varenne* and the mountaine called the *Grand Credo*, vnto the village called *La Riniere*, whereas the river of *Varenne* doth passe, with *Maigrecombe*, vnto the neereft entrie into the Countie of *Bourgogne*, vpon condition that the Duke should not leuie any impositions vpon the goods F and inarchandise, nor any tolle vpon the river at *Pont de Gressin*, or any other places before mentioned. Moreouer the Duke might not build any Fort vpon any place that were reserued for the passage, but should remaine free as well for the Kings subiects, as for all that would go or come into *France*, and the souldiars which shal passe through

A through the Kings Country, for the Dukes seruice, or any other Prince, by the suffrance 1601 of his Gouvernours and Lieutenants generall, shall no way annoy his Maiesties subiects. And for the effecting of that aboue mentioned, the Duke should deliuer vnto the King, (or to any one deputed by him) the Cittadell of *Bourg*, as it then was, without any Demolition, and all the Artillerie, Poulder, Bullets, and munition of War, which that be in the place at the yeelding thereof. Moreouer the Duke did passe ouer vnto the King, on the other side of the river of *Rhofne*, the places and villages of *Aux*, *Chouilly*, *Valley*, *Pont D'Arley*, *Cesset*, *Channey* and *Pierre Chassel* with all the Soueraignie and Iurisdiction hee might haue ouer those places, and the Inhabitants thereof. The said Duke did also transport and resigne vnto the King, the Baronie and Baylewieke of *Cetz*, with all the B appurtenances, as the Duke and his Predecessors had formerly enioyed it, without any retention. All which places and things yeelded and resigned, should remaine vnted and incorporated to the Crowne of *France*, and should bee reputed the patrimonie of the Crowne, and might not bee seperated for any cause whatsoever. Also it was agreed that the sayd Duke should truly and effectually restore vnto the King, or to any one deputed by his Maiestie, the Place, Towne, and *Chastellenie* of *Castell Dauphin*, with the Tower of *Pont*, and all that hath bene held by the Duke, or any of his, depending of *Dauphiné*, in the same Estate they then were in, without any demolition or ruine, leaving in the sayd places, all the Artillerie, Poulder, Bullets, and munition of War which were then in the sayd places, the souldiars carrying away such goods as belonged vnto them, without exacting any thing of the Inhabitants. It was also agreed that C the sayd Duke should demantell the Fort of *Beche Dauphin*, the which was built during warre, and should pay for the passage reserued, a hundred thousand Crownes in the Cittie of *Lions*, fittie thousand readie downe, when as the Fort of *Charbonnières* should be yeelded vp, and other fittie thousand within six moneths after.

And in regard of the sayd grant and resignation, the King should be contented (for the good of the peace) to quitt and resigne vnto the Duke, his heires successors, all the rights and pretensions which hee or the *Dauphins* of *France* had, or might haue to the Marquisate of *Saluces*, and all the dependances, with the Townes of *Cental*, *Monis*, and *Roque speruier*, without retayning any thing: leaving vnto the Duke all the Artillerie, Poulder, Bullets and munition for Warre, which were in the sayd places, D in the yeare one thousand five hundred ninetie and eight. The King did also promise to restore vnto the Duke (or to any one that should bee deputed by him) all places that had bene taken since the yeare one thousand five hundred eightie and eight, from the said Duke, and now held by his Maiestie or his seruants, all in the same Estate they then were, and without any demolition, and in restoring of the sayd places, the King might transport all the Artillerie, Poulder, Bullets, and munition of Warre that was in them, and all the goods that belonged vnto the souldiars, not exacting any thing of the Inhabitants. These were the cheefe points of the treatie of Peace, the which was signed by the Legat and the Deputies, and thankes giuen vnto God. The E King holding his aboad at *Lions*, (after this conclusion) to be vnprofitable, takes Post and goes to *Paris*. The Legat goes to *Auignon* by the river of *Rhofne*. The King left the Constable, *Villeroy* and the Deputies at *Lions* for performance of the Treatie. At the same time *Herminio* was dispaht to carrie newes vnto the Pope, and in passing to the Duke of *Sauiy*, and the Count *Fuentes*, he found them both at *Some* vpon *Poto* consult of the meanes which the Duke of *hiron* propounded vnto them, to resolute vpon war rather then peace. The Duke receiues it as the most vnfürmable effect of all his adventures, swearing that he would cut of his Ambassadors heads that had signed it. The Count *Fuentes* sayd that hee had not to doe with this Peace, having so many iust occasions and such good meanes to make war, that he would not let 40000. men, and 40. F peeces of Cannon remaine idle. Both seemed discontented, the one for that the King, or the King of *Spaine* had all the benefit of the peace, and the other for that his master should haue need of him by the war, and he should keepe *Piedmont* in awe. The Duke complayned that the Councell of *Spaine* had kindled a war to consume him, they had

The King
yeelded
to the King.

The Marquis
ate of *Saluces*
transported to
the Duke.

The King
and Queene
go to *Paris*.

The Count
Fuentes
complaines of
the Duke.

K k k k k a

thrust

1601. thrust him into a storme, to make profite of his shipwracke, and had drawne him to a preiudiciall exchange, reaping no benefit, for that the French were out of Italy, hauing them neerer neighbours in another place, nor that *Milan* should bee covered, or that *Italie* should haue the Alpes to guard it from the inundations which it had receiued in former times by the forces of *France*, seeing this rampart was made with the weakening of his estates. The Count of *Fuentes* foreseeing whereunto these complaints did tend, gaue the Duke to vnderstand, That the King of *Spain* his master, had reason to complaine of this great and fruitlesse charge, being a troublesome thing to entertaine great forces to no effect: that this mightie and fearefull armie was not rayled nor entertained, but to restore him to his estate. that the fault was in himselfe, if it were not employed: and withall, he added the mutinies and murmuring of the *Spaniards*, who complained, that they deprived them of the fruits of a victorie which they did limit, with the taking of *Lions*. In this contention they resolute, not to signe any thing without the King of *Spaines* commaundement, and to keepe the armie still readie to march. The Kings Deputies being aduertised, that the Duke made no care to confirme what had bene concluded, they aduertised the King thereof, and sent a post vnto the Legat, being at *Auignon*, to know his opinion thereof. The King commaunds them to attend the Dukes resolution, without impatience, being indifferent vnto him which he made choise of, but he should shew a weake iudgement, if he should accept of any but of peace: for that hee should not of a long time recouer that by warre, which peace should now presently bring him. The Legat was so moued with this Alarm, as hee presently tooke post to goe vnto the Duke, sending Count *Offauio Tazzoni* to the King, to aduertise him of his voyage; and to beseech him not to enter into any distrust of the Treatie, being so greatly interested in the obseruation thereof, as hee could no longer endure this brute and suspence with patience: & that he would be pleased to grant a prolongation of the truce and a suspension of armes for fifteene dayes, besides the time limited for the ratification. Such as knew not the negotiation betwixt the Duke of *Sauoy*, the Count *Fuentes*, & the Marshal *Biron*, could not beleue that the Duke of *Sauoy* would make any difficulty to signe the Treaty, but that he made some shew of it to haue it seeme the better. For those that were interested with him in the treatie, did not promise to returne any more vnto the warre. It is true, that if the Duke of *Biron* would haue taken the Cittadell of *Bourg*, as the Duke would haue delivered it vnto him, the King must haue returned with as great speed to *Lions* as hee departed. In the meantime the Legat past all passages by post in a troublesome time, & came to *Genoa*, from whence hee sent to the Duke, and Count *Fuentes* to keepe their word with him. The Duke hearing of his arriuall at *Alexandria*, parts from *Nice*, and goes to *Thurin*, and both of them excuse themselves. The Count made his refusall, to take from the Duke all subiect of complaint, that they had abandoned him, and that he had meanes to recouer his Estates, if they had assisted him. The Duke would be recompenced for this vnequall exchange before hee signed, for the King of *Spain*. So the Legat receiues nothing from the one but complaints, and from the other but respects, and from both words of contempt against the Treatie. Hee met with the Count *Fuentes* at *Tortona*, & from thence went to *Milan*, where he past the Shrouetide: The Count *Fuentes* omitting no kind of recreation to driue away melancholie, attending the Duke of *Sauoyes* resolution, who sent to excuse himselfe by the indisposition of his children, and promised to come to *Milan*, but comming not, the Legat and the Earle went to *Paria*, with an opinion that the Duke would come thither. The Legat sends *Tazzoni* vnto him, who returnes with excuses of his Sonnes sicknesse, and his complaints of the vniust and preiudiciall conditions whereunto hee was bound.

The Legat sends backe *Tazzoni* to the Count *Fuentes*, giuing him to vnderstand that hee knew wel that his legation had not bene vnderaken, but for the seruice of the King of *Spain*, at the intreaty of the Duke of *Sessa* his Ambassador: that he was not cōe for the Duke of *Sauoy* who maiketh him, and considered not that hee had done more for him then Father or Mother; that he cared not for his ratification, and much lesse to see

A see him, or to thanke him for his paines: that he excused his absence, by the tendernes of the infirmity of his Son, but if he thought that he would attend to proceed vntil that hee were cured, he was deceiued. The Count *Fuentes* answeres that the effect of the Treatie depends not vpon his signing, and that hee must not send vnto him to effect it. The Legat to cut off these temporisings and delayes, and to discover where the fault was, that the peace was not signed, aduised himselfe of a subtiltie, worthie of a *Romaine*, and of a Cardinall. Hee commands the Count *Tazzoni* to lay vnto the Count *Fuentes*, that he was aduertised from the Duke, that all the difficulties in this busines were framed by the Count, who restrayned the Dukes libertie, in the signing and execution of the Treatie. Hee had scarce entred into this discourse, when as the Count *Fuentes* (full of choller that all the blame should bee layd vpon him) went to horte, and came vnto the Legat, to whome hee discovered all the secret betwixt the Duke of *Sauoy* and him. Many dayes are spent in going and comming. In the end the King of *Spain* who desired to begin his raigne by warre, would haue no peace, but vanquished by the perswasions of the Duke of *Lerma*, who thought peace to be more profitable for his condition, hoping to gouerne his master more freely in the delights of peace, then in the troubles of war, sent vnto the Count *Fuentes*, that seeing they restored vnto the Duke of *Sauoy* his Countie, and that hee might keepe the Marquisate of *Saluces*, hee would imploy his forces elsewhere, & confirme the treatie of *Lions*. The Duke is forced to follow this course, there is no more Army for him. There was one complement yet remaining. The Duke was desirous to see the Legat, the paines which hee had taken deserued this vew and thanks. The Legat ment to go speedily to *Rome*. The Duke imbarques vpon the riuer of *Po*, to goe visit him, and sends a Post to aduertise him of the howre of his imbarking. Here was an accident which had almost spoyled all. This messenger reports vnto the Duke that he had met the Legat, and the Count *Fuentes* in Carosse together vpon the way, who returned when as hee aduertised them of his comming. The Duke discontented with this returne, sends them word that hee was gone backe. The Legat enters presently into a small barke, followes after, and overtakes him whereas the riuer of *Tesin* enters into *Po*. The Duke being aduertised, turnes head and ioynes with him. The striue who shall enter into the others boate, but the Duke leaps into the Legats & sits downe by him: they spent some words in complements, before they entred into the treatie of peace. The Legat hauing protested that in all this negotiation, he had nothing else in his thought, but the good of his Highnes Estate, but he was incountred with so many difficulties, & necessitie which ouerruled his affection, as hee was forced to prefer profitable & necessarie things, before that which which was goodly in shew. The Duke thanked him for the paine hee had taken, but so coldly, as the Legat found well, that he held not himselfe beholding to him. The one tooke his way to *Thurin*, and the other to *Pavia*, and so to passe to *Rome*. The Duke had signed, but hee was not yet well resolved to obserue the peace. The feare least *Bourg* should be lost before the conclusio of the Treatie, made his Ambassadors to resolute: E the Assurance which *Bonnens* now gaue the Duke, that hee would encounter all extremities, both of famine & force, made him vnwilling to performe the Treatie; sending *Bely* his Chancellor to *Rome*, to make his excuse that he signed it not. The Pope tooke it ill, that a Chancellor, a man of peace should intreat him to vndoe that which the Legat his Nephew had done, and sent him backe with his answer. But for all this the Duke seeks, to smother this peace in the cradell, and grounds his last hope vpon *Bonnens*, to whome hee sends the counterfigne, without the which he was bound not to yeeld it. This token was but counterfiet. *D' Hostel* played an other part, he made this his colour, to haue meanes to enter into the Cittadell, and to giue this counterfigne to *Bonnens* for his warrant; and thereby to assure him that if he had meanes to hold good a moneth, hee should disclame the signing of the ratification, and make a shew of disobedience, and hee should bee releued. *D' Hostel* went into the Cittadell, and found that miserie would not suffer them to vnt of resistance as they had done, that things were no more in the Estate that *Bonnens* had represented them, and that their necessi-

1601 ties were so extreame, as there was no meanes to suffer them any longer, being A
 prest without by the Kings Army, and within by cold and hunger, which made the
 Duke more tractable to yeeld that which hee could not hold, lending the ratification
 in the beginning of March, and at the same time the Cittadell was deliuered into the
 Kings power. The generall censures of this Peace were diuers. The King was
 pleased that the poise was apparent, and assured for his Estates: hauing for one Mar-
 quisate, more Earles and Marquises, then there are Gentlemen in the Marquisate of
 Saluces, inlarging his frontiers about thirty Leagues, and so restrayned the Dukes E-
 state on this side the Mountaines, as hee hath left two third partes, lost eight hundred
 Gentlemen, and a fort which hee himselfe (writing vnto *Bouens*) esteemed more then
 all the Marquisate, with Prouinces as fertill as any bee in *France*. It is true that the B
 Honour to keepe that which was the cause of the Warre remayned to the Duke, and
 by this meanes of a Peace hee hath no more neede of *Spaniards* nor of the Count of
Fuertes, who did him alwaies some *Spanish* affront, and is free from all feare of the
French, who kept *Piedmont* in awe while they had a retreat there. The Duke who ne-
 uer went out of the gates of *Thurin* without fix Companies of Horse, and enterrayned
 Garrisons which cost him more then the reuenues of the Countries exchanged, may
 now sleepe, and goe and come in safety.

This Moneth of March *Louyse of Lorraine*, Dowager of *France*. Widow to *Henry the*
 3. King of *France* and of *Poland* died: her death was better known by the losse of such a
 light, then by the mourning of her Heires, or the Honour of her Funeralls, for the Duke C
 of *Mercur* her Brother to whom she left her goods and the execution of her will was
 then in *Hungary*. The Duchesse of *Mercur* attended on her vntill she died, and layed
 her Body in the Couent of *Saint Claire*, vntill shee might bee enterred with greater
 pompe. She desired to bee layed in one Tombe with the King, whose Body attendes
 vntill that the piety of the lyuing, may remember the condition of the dead, the which
 giues cause of amazement, that the Earth which neuer sayles for the life of Princes,
 should now want for their interment. She was Daughter to *Nicholas Earle of Vande-*
mont. A most vertuous Princeesse, shewing in al her actions a singular piety and mode-

tie. The same yeare also, *Madam Francis of Orleans*, Princeesse of *Conde*, Mother to the
 Count of *Soissons*, died in her house of *Grenelles at Paris*, the Funerall Pompe was ce- D
 lebrated in the Abbey of *Saint Germain des pres*. About the end of this yeare the Prin-

cesse of *Conty* died of a great and languishing sicknesse, as shee went to her house at
Fontenelle in Perche, to change the aire by the aduice of her Physicians, but shee chan-
 ged her life, leauing one onely Daughter, the which the Count of *Soissons* married. Af-
 terwards the Duchesse of *Eguillon* died, being Daughter to the Duke of *Neuers* deca-

ted, who left great cause of mourning to the Duke of *Esguillon*, eldest Son to the Duke
 of *Alaine*, and the rather for that she died in child-bed, & the Child also with her. The
 King in 40. daies had conquered all *Sauoy*, with in 40. after hee married, treated of a
 Peace, made the Queene in case to be a Mother, went in post from *Lions* and came to
Paris, which bare his long absence impatiently. His returne gaue the world to vnder-
 stand how quiet & constant the affaires of *France* were, that a King which went a 100.
 Leagues with 12. only in his traine, was well assured of his subiects, and feared not his
 neighbours. The Queen followed by final iorneyes, & came to *Fontainebleau*, where she
 stayd not long, but came to *Paris* about *S. Germain* Faier, her first lodging was at *Gon-*
dies house her first Gentleman of Honour, being in the suburbs of *S. Germaine*. The
 next was at *Amers*, superintendant of her house, & then she came to the *Louure*. The
 Parisiens prepared themselves & befought the King to giue them leau to make her a
 stately entry: but his Maiesty would haue the charges of this entry reserved for a more
 durable worke. All the Princeesses of the blood, with the chiefe Ladies of the Court and
 City presented themselves to kisse her hands, and to do their duties vnto her Maiesty. F
 She made much of all that the King fauored, and resolved to loue what hee Loued, fra-
 ming her will in such sort vnto his, as she held his will for an vnwritten Lawe.

This yeare the Pope granted a *Tubile* and pardons to all the *French* that should

goe

A goe v. fit the Church of *Saint Croix* in *Orleans* doing the workes of Christian charity. 1601.

An infinit number of people went thither from al parts of *France*, the King and Queene
 went thither with the first, and gaue meanes to helpe to build this Church, which
 had beene ruined during the furie of the first ciuill warres. The King layed the first
 stone of this building. An act worthie of a Christian King, the true successor of the pie-
 tie of *S. Lewis* his Predecessor. But whilst he gaine pardons, his enemies watch to sur-
 prise the best places of his Realme. He was disarmed vnder the assurance of the Peace.
 The armie of strangers was still whole together, and became fearefull to all *Italie*. All
 the Princes were troubled therat, and although they bee not well vnited together, yet
 when there is any question of common danger, they haue good correspondency. At

E Rome they sayd it was for *Genewa*, and that the Marquis of *Aix* was gone to intreate the
 Pope to fauour him with his blessing, and to fortifie him with his meanes. Many other
 discoueries were made touching this army, but time discovered that it was enterstayned
 for *Marfelles*. There is nothing so holy, but money will violate, nor so strong but it
 will force. The Count of *Fuertes* vpon promise of great recompence, had practised an
 enterprize very easie to execute, if the bargaine had held. It was a doing during the
 treatie of Peace with the Duke of *Sauoy*, who sent *Don Sancho de Salina* to *Milano* to the
 Count of *Fuertes*, with two of them which made this match, whereof the one gaue
 aduice to the President *DuVair*. He which had promised to deliuer the Tower of the
 Port for an entrie to the enemy, discovered himselfe to the Duke of *Guise*. *La Goye* (a
 gentleman of *Prouence*) was sent vnto the King, to beseech him to giue him leau to in-
 counter the with the like practise. The King who desires not to game by trecherie, said
 that he was content to keep his own, & to let the world know who did first trouble the
 peace. At that time an other enterprize was discovered vpon the Towne of *Metz*.
 The King sent the President *Janin* thither; the accused were brought to the prison
 of the Pallace at *Paris*. The proofs being weake, some were inlarged, vpon condition
 they should appeare when they were called for, his Maiestie commanding they should
 informe more amply against the rest, banishing two from the Townes of *Metz*, *Thoul*
 and *Verdun*. This great army finding no employment in *France*, made worke for the
 hangman in *Italie*, by the discouery of many conspiracies. The Seigneurie of *Venice*

D cauted a gentleman to be executed publicly, being appointed to be Gouvernor of *Cre-*
ma, for that he was conuicted to haue intelligence with the *Spaniard*. Hee was of the
 house of *Donati*, but being preuented, his neere kinmen disauowed him, and abando-
 ned him to the rigour of the Law. There was more suspition then prooffe against him:
 But in matters of State, presumptions conclude & condemne. Their desseins hauing
 failed in *Italie* and *Prouence*, the Sea armie of *Spaine* which had put all *Italie* in iealou-
 sie, turned head against the *Turke*, the troups embarked at a place called *Vada*, belong-
 ing to the State of *Gena*, but the body of this imbarquement was made in two troups,
 the one vnder *Carlo Doria*, the other vnder Prince *Doria* his Father. The Pope, the
 Duke of *Sauoy*, the great Duke of *Florence*, & the great Master of *Malta*, had giuen him

E some gallies for this enterprize. The *Venetians* did nothing, least they should breake the
 peace which they had with the *Turke*, they were in all about 70. Gallies. The
 Prince of *Parma* went as a voluntarie, and no man knew what was intended but the Ge-
 nerrail. The spoyle made by *Francisco de Mendoza*, Admirall of *Aragon* in the former
 yeares, had greatly annoyed not onely the vnited Prouinces, but also the Countries of
Cleues, *Iuliers*, *Westphalia*, and the neighbour Prouinces in the taking of *Rhin-*
berie, a Towne of importance, by reason of the passage, the seat and trafficke,
 seruing the Archduke as a place of retreat for *Friseland*; besides the great contribu-
 tions of money which the garrison drew monthly from many neere places, as well
 friends as enemies, was a great preiudice to the Marchants of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Westfrif-*
land, and others in their trafficke of *Germanie*. Prince *Maurice* thought to take this
 I moate out of their eye, to chase the *Spaniards* out of *Berk*, and to assure the navi-
 gation of the *Rhine*, to the ease and profit of the Estates. In winter in the yeare 1600.
 and 1601. the Prince and States resolute what was to be done, & in Aprill & May they

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mustred

1601 mustered their Garrisons & the choise of their troupes of Warre. Diuers bruits were spread abroad touching their desseigne, and the Arch-duke was watchfull where the army would make head, to oppose himselfe against the Enemy. But his forces being to weak to make an offensive War, he was forced to stand vpon his defence, expecting the succors that were sent him out of Italy. The Prince vnderstanding the estate of the Dukes affaires, and hauing his forces ready, made shew to attempt something vpon Flanders or Brabant, but suddenly he turned towards Guelderland, & the 10. of Iune he came with an army of 17. thousand men nere vnto Rhinberke (or Berk vpon the Rhine) the which hee did inuiron two daies after. Within the riuier of Rhine, right against Berk, there is an Iland which was kept by some soldiars for the Arch-duke, who hauing bin battered by some shot, as well from the States shippes, as by the Cannon that was planted on the riuers side, made no long resistance, so as the 18. day of the month the Iland was yeelded to the Prince, who presently caused two fortes to be built at the point towards Holland, and an other aboue towards Cologne, furnished with some initial peeces to shoote into the Towne; shutting vp the passages of the Riuier with his Ships, that no succors might come to the beseege. Moreouer the Prince hauing sommoned the beseege to yeeld the place, (which they refused, being neere foure thousand fighting men), he cast vp a large trench, in forme of a Cemicircle, round about the Towne, either end ioyning vnto the Rhine, fortified with fise great Bul-warkes, the which with the Iland and the Shippes compassed in the Towne of all sides. There was also a Bastion neerer vnto the Towne, & two bridges cast vpon the Rhine, by the which they went from the Iland, & from a place below, to the sayd Bastions & great Campe. He made also a more spacious halfe Moone then the first: hauing in a convenient distance made a deepe and large trench, of a League in compasse, either ende comming to the Rhine: In which trench by equall distances, were built 17. quadrangular fortes betwixt both the trenches were the Companies of horse and foote lodged, with passages to go in and out, so as neither the enemy within the Towne, nor any one without, could easily anoy them without great danger. Ferdinand d'Aualos was Gouvernor of Berk, who defended it with great resolution, expecting succors from the Arch-duke, who not able to raise the seege of Berk, by reason of the late arriual of 8000. men from the Count Fuentès, hee resolved to beseege Ostend, to make a diuersion. And although d'Aualos had resolved to die rather then to yeeld vp this place, yet seeing the imminent danger, without any hope of succors, being sommoned the third time by the Prince to yeeld the place, in the end he made a Composition, and gaue vp the Towne the last of Iuly, going forth with thirteene hundred soldiars, and as many hurt men, hauing lost about a thousand soldiars leauing a place in powre of the States, well furnished with victuells and Munitions of Warre, and threescore peeces of Cannon.

Berk yeelded.

Mauers taken by Prince Maurice.

Ostend besieged.

The Prince hauing giuen order for the Towne, returned to the Hage, where the States were assembled to provide for meanes to succor Ostend, which the Arch-duke had beseege. In his way he sent vnto Mauris the which was held by the Duke of Iuliers, after the decease of the Countesse of Valpurg. He sommoned the Gouvernor to yeeld, who finding himselfe to weak, abandoned the place. The Gouvernor complayned to his Master the Duke of Iuliers, but the controuersies betwixt him, Prince Maurice and the States, were referred to be determined by the Imperiall Chamber. The Arch-duke beseege Ostend, the which continued three yeares and eleauenth weekes: it was noted for the most memorable seege that euer was in Europe, whereas so many thousands of men ended their daies, and which endured so many hundred thousand Cannon shot before it yeelded. Ostend which hath bene the place whereas all the bravest subiects of Spaine for the Arch-dukes: And all the valiant English and Hollanders for Prince Maurice and the States, haue in emulation one of an other, shewed their courages: and whereas many French according to their diuers affections haue fought Honour. This Ostend is a Sea Towne in the Countie of Flanders, two Leagues from Oudenbourg, three from Nicuport and foure from Bruges, vpon the riuier of Iperle, the which runnes into the Sea, making it a good port for shipping. It was walled about but in the year

A yeare 1572. and in the yeare 1587. It was better fortified by the States of the vniited Prouinces. The particularities of this seege I omit, because they are written at large, and published by others. Ferdinand the Archduke being at the seege of Canisus, demanded succors from the Pope, and the Princes of Italy. The Duke of Mantua was Lieutenant Generall. The Pope sent him his Nephew, John Francis Aldobrandino, hauing deliuered into his hands the blessed Standard with Ceremonies: The King of Spaine sent him sixe thousand Germanes, and the Great Duke of Tuscany two thousand foote: the time was spent in contending for command betwixt the Duke of Mantua and Aldobrandino, who being Marshall of the Campe would receiue no direction from the Archduke. Great men for the iealousie of command, loose great occasions: but death ended this quarrell; Aldobrandino dying three months after of a Quotidian feauer, the Troupes which he conducted continued still at the seege. The Pope disposed of his Estates to Siluester Aldobrandino his Sonne; his obsequies were made at Rome with great pompe.

Rochepot being Ambassador in Spaine, certaine French Gentlemen (among the which his Nephew was) had a quarrell with some Spaniards, who did iniury them, and cast their Clothes into the Water, they being a swimming. The Spaniards had the worst, and some were hurt and slaine. Their Kinsmen demanded Iustice of the King, (who commanded his Officers to doe it) but the Ambassadors lodging was forced, and the Gentlemen drawne forth to prison, notwithstanding any thing that he could say or doe, to maintaine the liberty of his place, the which is inuolable euen among enemies. The King was so offended with this iniury, as hee commanded his Ambassador to returne, giuing the King of Spaine to vnderstand, that hee assured himselfe, that he would do him reason, when hee had well considered what cause he had to complaine. Wherevpon all Trafficke was forbidden betwixt these two Realmes. The Pope fearing that this violence done vnto the Ambassador of France, could not passe without some feeling, and that this Coale might kindle the fire of Warre betwixt these two great Kings: hee sent into Spaine to haue the prisoners, the which were sent vnto him: and the Pope deliuered them presently vnto the Lord of Betunes the Kings Ambassador at Rome; and so the Peace was continued.

Monsieur de la Rochepot Ambassador in Spaine.

The Ambassadors of Venice were better intreated in France. That great and wise Senate holding themselves bound by the Lawes of friendship, to deplore the misfortune, and to reioyce at the prosperity of their friends, hauing bene long troubled for the afflictions of France, they send a great and solemne Ambassage to congratulate the fruit of the Kings victories, and the beginning of his Marriage. The Ambassadors were chosen out of the Procurators of Saint Mark, and of the cheife men of the State. They came to Paris, the King sent the Marquis of Rhosny to conduct them to Fontainebleau, and to intreat them, to bee contented with their Reception in that place whereas the Queene was; seeing their Ambassage was common to both, and that for the indisposition of her greatnesse, it could not bee at Paris; which occasion did renew the ioyes of the Court, the which was in so great Tranquillity as it seemed neuer to haue bene in trouble. The Great Turke sent Bartholomew de Cueur his Physitian vnto the King, to acquaint him with the Estate of his affayres, and to intreat him to mediate a Truce in Hungary. When as this man spake of the Turkes power hee did so extoll it, as if hee had bene able to vanquish all the Princes of Christendome, not excepting Pope nor Emperor, so as the King of France did not meddle in it. Hee presented a Dagger and a Cymiter vnto the Kings Maiesty, whereof the Hilts and Scabbards were of Gold, garnished with Rubies, and a Plume of Herons feathers. The King related vnto him what hee had done in Sauiy, and complayned that (to the preiudice of ancient Capitulations) not onely the English were distracted from the Banner of France, (vnder whose guide and protection they were bound

An Ambassage from Venice.

Donat & Delphin Procurators of Saint Mark Ambassadors. Donat was in election to be Duke.

Bartholomew de Cueur of Marseille: a Christian Renegado, sent to the King by the Turke.

1601. bound to trafficke) but also the *Flemings*, *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* were comprehended vnder the Banner of *England*. To this complaint hee added another, against the courtes and violencies of the Pirats of *Algier*, and the Coast of *Barbary*, saying that if the Iustice of the great *Turke*, did not cause these Piracies to cease, he should haue no reason to beleue his friendship. It was at such a time as the *Great Turke* affayres were very confused and troubled in *Asia*, by the reuolt of the *Seriuano*, and almost desperate in high *Hungary*. The King of *Persia* had sent Ambassadors to the Christian Princes, to animate them to make War against him, promising to contribute an Army of a hundred and fifty thousand horse, and three score thousand foote, offering vnto the Christians, liberty of Religion, and free Trafficke in his Kingdomes. His *Spas* and *Iannissaries* murmured against him, and the bad carriage of the Empreffe his Mother, (who during his Delights and Dissolutions held the reyns of Government) did alwayes through the mallice and frailty of her Sexe, support the worst Councils and Resolutions. They complayned dayly of the Mother and the Sonne, speaking of her as the *Romaines* did of *Agrippina*, crying out; that they should intreat her worse, then by a simple banishment: and of him, as the Souldiars spake of *Gallienus*, whom they esteemed not to be borne, but for the pleasures which are in and vnder the belly, and to ruine all the world with his delights.

At this time there sprang vp Religious men in *France*, who said they were true Observers of the Order of *S. Francis*, and that the *Franciscans* and *Capuchins* did not maintaine it so exactly, but they needed Reformation. The King gaue them a Count at *Beaufort*, & by the example of this piety many other places desired it. They would lodge at *Balmette* neere vnto *Angers*, the which had bene Founded by *Rene* King of *Sicilia*. The *Franciscans* (who could not indure to be dispossessed by these *Recollats*) beleeged them, offered to forde their Gates, and to scale their Walles. The Besieged defended not themselves with Words and Excorcismes, but with Stones, and in such Choller, as if the People had not come, the Scandall had not ended without Murder. The Prouinciall seeing that the *Recollats* would not receiue him, and that the Bishop would not suffer him to use force, appealed, as from an abuse of their Establishment. The *Recollats* shew vnto the Court, that they are the true Children and Disciples of *S. Francis*, living according to the Rule and Discipline that was obserued in *Italy*, from whence the good Precepts of the Reformation of Regulars were drawne, that if those of the Famely of Obseruance, and of *Capuchins* were tolerated & honoured in *France*, they should be of no worse Condition. This cause was the Argument of a famous pleading in the Court Parliament, in the which *Seruin* the Kings Aduocate said; That a Reformation was necessary not only in the Order of the *Franciscans* or *Grey-Friars*, but also in all others, but they must be careful, not to transforme by Nouelties, instead of Reforming by Censures, alledging many reasons against the bringing in of new Orders. Whereupon the Court pronounced that there was abuse, and restored the Ancient Religious to the Count of *Balmette*, forbidding all religious Men of the Order of *Grey-Friars*, to go out off the Realme, without licence from the King or their Superiors. Iealous and distrustfull heads gaue it out, that the Peace was in weak estate, when as after the injury done vnto *Rocheport* in *Spaine*, and the forbidding of Trafficke, they see the King gonne sodainely to *Calais*, and that from thence hee had sent the Duke *Biron* into *England*. The Archdukes tooke a sodaine Alarm, and to that end sent the Count *Sena* vnto the King, to deliuer vnto him the state of the Siege of *Ostend*, and to beseech him not to suffer that their enemies should thinke that these approaches should be to their aduantage, and that their rebellion should be fauoured by an example so hatefull to all Princes. The King sent the Duke of *Esquilion* to visit them, and to assure them that his intention was not to trouble the Peace, but onely to visit his Frontier, and to prouide for the fortifications. They did not generally beleue this, for although he made this Voyage in Post, many thought that he would embrace this occasion of the siege of *Ostend*, and all the Court followed him, as to some great Exploite. And for that he would not haue the world in suspence of his dessein

A dessein, he gaue the Governours of his Prouinces to vnderstand that the cause of his going to *Calais* was but to visit his frontier, and to prouide for that which should bee necessary to assure it, not from present dangers but from those that might happen. He declared also that he had no other dessein, then the preferuation of Peace with all his neighbours, to enioy that which God had giuen him. But there were other practices which could not be dispersed but by the Kings presence.

The Queene of *England* sent *Sir Thomas Edmonds* to visit the King, and the King returned her the like by the Duke of *Biron*. Hee went accompanied with a hundred and fifty Gentlemen. The Count of *Auvergne* was there as vnkowne, but his quality discovered him. There was nothing omitted that might be for the reception of an Ambassador, & somewhat more. Being at *London* many Noblemen receiued him, and accompanied him to *Bisling*, where he rested a day or two before he did see the Queene who made him knowe that shee was honoured by her Subiects aboute other Princes. A Prince should loofe no occasion to let Strangers see the greatness of his Estate, to giue them cause to admire him, and to maintaine his Subiects in the dutie which they owe him. The Queene of *England* who hath made good prooffe that Women may raigne, as well and as happily as Men, obserues this better then any Prince of her age, making all them that followed the Duke of *Biron* in this Legation, to giue the like Iudgement. The Queene being set in State, all the *French* Gentlemen entred first, but when as shee discovered the Duke of *Biron*, whom shee knew by the description they had made of his Face and stature, shee spake with a loud voyce; Ha Monsieur de *Biron*, how haue you taken the paynes to come and see a poore old Woman, who hath nothing more liuing in her, then the affection shee beares vnto the King, and her perfect iudgement to knowe his good Seruants, and to esteeme Knights of your sort. As she spake this, the Duke made a low reuerence, & the Queene rose from her Chaire, to embrace him, to who he deliuered the charge he had from the King, and withall his Maiesties Letters the which she read. She thanked the King for his remembrance of her: but she said she could not conceale, that as there was nothing vnto a heart (like vnto hers) full of affection and desire more pleasing, then to see and heare what it desired, so could she not but feelee an extreme torment, to see her selfe deprived of the sight and presence of the obiect which shee had most desired, whose actions she esteemed not onely immortal but diuine, being ignorant whether she should more enuy his Fortune, then loue his Vertue and admire his Merits; to much the one & the other did excede the greatest maruailes in the world. That she could not say that a courage which feared nothing but the falling of the Pillars of Heauen, should feare the Sea, or not trust vnto it for a passage of seuen or eight houres, blaming them rather which had not instructed him as well to contemne the Waues of the Sea, as the dessein of his enemies vpon the Land. From these speeches, shee fell into some bitterness of Complaints, which shee deliuered with a little vehemencie, saying; That after shee had succored this Prince with her Forces, Purse, and Meanes, and if she could haue done it, with her owne blood, and had as much desired the happy successe of his affayres as himselfe, and the ruine of his Enemies more then himselfe, they made no accompt of her, forcing her to thinke that the loue they bare her was but for the hope of commodities they might drawe from her, the which being dried vp, all affection was cold. That they had sought her in the torment to forget her when the time was calme. That they preferred newe friendship before the olde, Wisedome before Iustice, and Profit before Reason. And for a signe of Inhumanity, they refused her her owne. Then taking the Duke of *Biron*, she led him to a Window where shee continued her discourse in softer and milder termes. There she gaue her hand vnto all the Gentlemen which the Duke of *Biron* presented vnto her: among them all shee noted *Creygy* to be Sonne in Lawe to *Leffiguieres*. She commanded him to approach neere vnto her when all had done, to whom shee declared what esteeme shee would make of him for his sake, whom shee held to bee without peere, saying; That if there were two

1601., two *Eſdiguers* in *France*, ſhe would demand one of them of the King her Brother. *A*
Crey answered; That he would thinke himſelfe happy, if by the Kings command-
 ment any occaſion were offered worthy of her ſeruice, to witneſſe vnto her Maieſty,
 that he did partake in the deſire which his Father in law had alwayes had, to giue her
 ſome prooſe of his affection, & that he would alwayes carry himſelfe ſo in effect, ſeeing
 he could not be preſent but in deſire, the Kings ſeruice binding him to remaine eſe-
 where. To whom the Queene ſaide; That ſhe did accept of his good will, and with-

The Duke of
Biron returned
out of England
in the begin-
ning of Octo-
ber.

ed him to remember. The Duke of *Biron* receiued all the honours of the Queene
 and State, that might be giuen to ſo great a Perſonage, the particularities whereof
 I omit for breuities ſake. Having finiſhed his Legation, hee tooke his leaue of the
 Queene, to whom ſhe gaue a great Preſent, and ſo diſmiſſed him with very gracious
 ſpeeches. He found not the King at *Calais* at his returne, who was gone backe to
Fontainebleau againſt the Queenes lying downe, where he had left her, & the Duchefſe
 of *Bar* with her. All *France* attended the Fruit of this Birth, as the full of their Felici-
 ties, aſſuring themſelues, that by the birth of a *Daulphin*, they ſhould finde all that
 which forepaſſed ages, and that which was to come, could deſire. Ten dayes before
 his birth, the Earth quaked in many parts of *Europe*. The great Duchefſe who deſi-
 red greatly to be neere the Queene; lent her a rich Cradle, exquisitely made at *Flo-
 rence*, hoping it ſhould ſerue for a *Daulphin* (for ſhee would not haue giuen it with ſo
 good a will for another Sexe) intreating the Gouvernor of *Lions* by her Letters to fa-
 uour the paſſage, and his diligence that had charge of it, to the end that he might ar-
 rive in time, and not to ſuffer any to open the Coſers.

The Princes of
the blood may
be in the
Queenes chi-
b when the
is in trouble
to maintaine the
Salutē & Liue.

The Daulphin
be ſee.

The Queene
of Spaine deli-
uere d of a
Daughter.

The Spaniards
were no leſſe content then the
French, ſaying that they had rather the Queene ſhould begin with a Daughter then
 with a Sonne, leaſt they ſhould fall into the accidents, which Iealouſſie and Ambition
 do breed, when the Children appeare ſo ſoone to ſolicite them to bee gone; when
 as their ages are confounded, that the one is in the flower, the other in the ſeaſon of
 fruites, the which is moſt capable to command and rule, and that the deſire to ſuc-
 ceed may not giue occaſion to trouble the order of Nature, and maketh the one repeat
 that they are Fathers, and declares the other vnworthy to bee Children.

This great ioy for the birth of the *Infanta* of *Spaine*, was mixt with ſome griefe for
 the fruitleſſe retreat of their great Army at Sea, which had kept their deſſeigne ſo ſe-
 cret, as for a time they knew not whether they would attempt any thing vpon *Aſia*,
Affrick, or *Europe*. In the beginning of Iuly they came to *Naples*, to prouide great
 ſtore

A ſtore of armes and a good number of Petards, which made the world to belecue two
 things, the one was that he would arme ſome ſubiects of the great Turke, that were in-
 clyned to riſe: the other that he had intelligence vpon ſome place, to ſurpriſe it with
 ſmall force. And for that foote-men are weak if they be not ſupported by horſe, they
 made prouiſion alſo of fifteene hundred or two thouſand furnitures for horſe. The
Venetiens ſeeing them to bend their courſe to *Meſſina*, entred into newe apprehenſions,
 that if they attempted any thing in *Albania*, they ſhould haue company in their gulph.
 They were not long in this ſuſpence, for they ſet ſayle and came to *Trepany*, which is
 the pointe and promontory of *Sicilia* neereſt vnto *Affricke*. *Cigala* was parted from *Con-
 ſtantinople* with fifty Galleys, to finde ſome occaſion to charge this army in their re-
 treat, if he ſhould finde any part of them diſperced, and to fruſtrate their enterpriſes.
 When they ſee that they were paſt the Ilands of *Baleares*, they doubted no more that
 his deſſeigne was for *Alger*, it was giuen out that they ſhould be aſſiſted by eight or ten
 thouſand horſe-men of the Moores and ſome Chriſtians. But the Turkes who prepared
 themſelues to receiue them, would not bee in danger of their enemies and of their
 ſlaues, knowing that as they could hope for no fauour of the one, ſo the victory of
 them that ſerue them is alwayes cruell towards their Maſters, for this reaſon, and to
 take from the Chriſtians meanes to fauour this Army, they retired into the Towne all
 that liued along the Sea-coaſt, and did ſhut vp in Caues at *Alger*, about ten thouſand
 ſlaues, tyed with double Chaines, and well garded.

C This enterpriſe was iuſt and commendable, and worthy of the firſt militarie exe-
 cutions of a Prince, which muſt beginne his raigne by ſome Act of great reputation.
 The Spaniards in deede did promiſe much, and ſayd openly, that their King would
 make knowne the affection hee bare vnto Chriſtendome. Beſides the generall fruites
 which was expected, this attempt made a great and profitable diuerſion of the Turkes
 forces, in fauour of the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* who was at the ſiege of *Canisus*. Prince
Doria the more to fauour this deſſeigne, intreated the great Maſter of *Malta* in the
 behalfe of the King of *Spaine*, to ſend ſome Galleys into the Leuant Seas, to make
 ſome ſpoiles there, to drawe on the Turkiſh Army, and to aduertise him of his courſe.
 The which was ſo happely executed, as with ſiue Galleys they runne into *Morca*.
 D *Beauregard* a French Knight had the charge to plant a Petard to the port, of *Chateau-
 neuf* whileſt that *Bouillon*, and *Tioliere* alſo French Knights ſhould giue the ſcaladoe,
 on the other ſide; Where they entred with ſuch fury as the Turkes who were ſea-
 uen or eight hundred men, could not hinder them from forcing of the ſecond port. They
 tooke a hundred and foure ſcore ſlaues, cloyed eightene peeces of Cannons, ſpy-
 led and burnt the Towne, and in foure houres ſpyled the whole Country. The
 Spaniſh fleet recovered the coaſt of *Affricke*: as men were banded againſt it at Land,
 ſo the Windes made Warre againſt it at Sea. Prince *Doria* finding both Heauen,
 Earth and Sea, oppoſite to his deſſeigne, commanded a retreat, without attempting
 any thing. The Prince of *Parma* deſiring rather to ſayle in iudgement then in cour-
 rage, ſayd vnto Prince *Doria*, that hee ſhould not ſuffer ſo great an Army to returne
 without attempting any thing, the which had no other effect but to haue mooued a
 mighty enemy, who to bee reuenged of a dead enterpriſe ready to be executed, would
 reſolue to inuade the King of *Spaines* Eſtates of all ſides. The old man answered ſoden-
 ly. I knowe well my charge, my haires are growne white in learning it. Your excel-
 lency are to giue account vnto the King my Maſter but of a pike, and I muſt anſwere
 for an army, in the which if fortune hath ſayled mee, yet will I not that other partes
 requiſite to my charge, as courage, experience, nor authority ſhall ſayle mee, or that
 they ſhall reproch mee to haue erred therein. A goodly and memorable anſwere, to
 ſhew that a Prince howe great ſouer hee bee in an Army, muſt onely ſtudie to o-
 bey and followe, and not lead or goe before, the which belongs onely to the Gene-
 rall. So Prince *Doria* hauing diſmiſſed his Army, tooke his way to *Genoa*, choſing ra-
 ther to giue them ſubiect to murmur at his retreat, then vainly to haue attempted
 an impoſſible enterpriſe.

1602.

The policy
of the Count
of Fuentes.The Italian
companies
cast.The charge
of the tax ar-
my was fine,
hard and
cruel.Troubles at
Constantinople.What pass in
Transilvania.The Transil-
vanians de-
tected.

The Popes Gallies stayed at *Barcelona* for the Duke of *Parma*, who was gone into *Spain* to kiss the Kings hands. Those of the great Duke of *Florence* passed to *Genoa* and from thence to *Lisborne*. Most of the men of Warre came to refresh themselves in the Duchy of *Milan*, wholly to ruine the Country. But the Count of *Fuentes* found a new inuention to make this newe oppression sweete and supportable. He vnderooke to make a passage for trafficke by Water, betwixt *Milan* and *Pavia*, and caused them to worke in the trenches to make the riuers betwixt the two Townes to meete. The people seeing so great commodities that might recompence all their losses, endured their burthen patiently. But the Count of *Fuentes* incountred many difficulties in this desseigne, which made him to desist, and the people to renewe their complaints, when they saw themselves surcharged, and that the souldiars come from the army of *Alger*, liued in *Lombardie* according to their owne discretion. He intreated the Duke of *Savoy* to lodge the regiment of *Barbo* in the Marquilate of *Saluces*, but knowing how hard it is to dislodge the *Spaniard*, he excused himself Wisely vpon the miseries & generall ruine of all his Estates.

In the end these poore *Italians* beeing in *Alexandria* were cast. The King of *Spaine* Officers tooke and foulded vp their Enseignes, disarmed them and left them almost naked, without any other pay then ten shillings of our Country money. The want of money would not suffer them to do otherwise, the King of *Spaine* being forced to furnish money to the *Suisses* and *Germanes*, and his treasure beeing almost exhaust, through the great charges of this last Army at Sea, the which did not answer the opinion which *Europe* had conceived of so great a preparation. Yet the occasion of well doing was goodly and fauorable. The lanissayres were mutined against the great Turke, and had stirred vp the people, for the disorder of his carriage, his carelesnesse, idlenesse and stupidity. Things were in the worst termes that might bee, and they talked of nothing but to choose a Prince that was more Martiall: they drewe seauen of his greatest fauorits forth of the *Serrailia*, & forced him to consent that those heads should serue as an oblation to the people, promising to haue more care of the administration of Iustice and the affaires of State. The City was fine or sixe daies together in danger to bee sacked. If Christendō had made vse of this diuision, & of the reuolts of *Asia*, there had bin no doubt of the ruine of the *Ottomans*. If the great Turke auoided the storme which he feared by the forces of *Spaine*, *Sigismund Battori* Prince of *Transilvania* was quite defeated by the of the Empeior. He had drawne together an army of eightene thousand horse and 22 thousand toote, to recover his authority in *Transilvania* siō whence he had bin shamefully expelled. He lodged himselfe vpon a Mountaine, to giue Lawe vnto all the Countrey; Sodenly when as this aduice was brought vnto *Michel Vanoide* of *Valachia*, and to *Georg Basta* Generall of heigh *Hungary*, they let sleepe their priuate hatred to vnite their wills, gathering all their troupes speedely together, beeing in all but eightene thousand men, and present themselves vnto the enemy, lodging vpon an other hill right against him, but much lower. The *Transilvanian* being annoyed by their Canon, came downe from the hill into a valley betwixt both: The Imperialists compassed them in, and charge them in such sort as they slue eleauen thousand vp on the place, the rest fled with their Generall, who cursed God and his Fortune, loosing his baggage, forty peeces of Cannon and 150. Enseignes which were sent to the Emperour to make his victory absolute.

Battory went to the great Turkes Court, to begge for newe succors, but he was not welcome, the Turke beeing discontented for the losse of *Alba Regalis*, and for that the intelligences which hee had with the Prince of *Valachia*, did not succede according to his intentions. The Emperour did long foresee, that ambition should be more powerfull in the *Valachians* heart then duty, many reasons entertained him in these doubts, the acts of absolute power which hee had done in *Transilvania*, the fortification of places, the warre against the *Moldauian*, and especially his proud and imperious disposition, made them beleue that hee had resolved to make one soueraignty of three Prouinces. True it is that to free them from these ielousies, hee had sent his Deputies to

1601.

A to the Emperour, to assure him that he would not hold *Transilvania*, but at his commande, and seeing that his assurances were weaker then their doubts and apprehensions, he sent his Wife, and one of his Children for hostages, and in the end came himselfe to giue an account of his actions, confessing that the rigors which he had vsed vpon the *Transilvanians*, were not to reuenge his owne priuate passions, but the publike iniuries in the disloyaltie of this people, which were reuoluted against the Emperour. The Turke beleued that the *Valachian* would not passe the riuier of *Danuby* to make warre against him, and that he would giue the Emperour good wordes, and he should haue good effects. The *Valachian* (as full of courage as of ambition) sought but some worthy occasion, which shewed his constancie and loyalty to the Emperour, & tooke from the Turke all hope, that if he could not be his friend openly, yet hee would serue him vnder hand. To this effect he propounded an enterprise vpon *Thrace* to diuert the Turkes forces (as *Scipio* did vpon *Carthage* to free *Italy*) demanding no other fruits of the conquest, then the prooffe of his dutie and zeale to the common good of Christendome, swearing and protesting that hee would rather drinke Bulls blood, then euer to entertaine a peace or friendship with them, whose ruine and extermination he had sworne. The Emperour knew well that hee sware but to couer his disloyaltie, nor did not affect the generall cause of the Empire, but to aduance his priuate passions, and therefore hee resolved to be assured of him. *George Basta* obserued his actions, and represented them in such sort vnto the Emperour, as he gaue him commission to bring him prisoner to *Prague*. The *Valachian* offered to draw his sword against him that brought this charge, but he was prevented by *Bastas* people. The Turke was forrie for it, knowing that all the submission which he made in shew to the Emperour, should not alter him from his first affections, but this grieue was nothing in respect of the losse of *Alba Regalis*. It is a small Towne seated in a Marishe, which makes the approaches difficult, it was taken by the Duke *Mercure* at the third assault, in lesse then thirteene daies, he set nine hundred Christian prisoners at libertie, & tooke 2000. Turkish women, and children: when the besieged did see that they could not saue themselves from the Christians, they set fire of their munition, ruined the Castell, and a good part of the wall, yet the spoyle was esteemed at three millions of gold, for that all the riches of *Buda* was there, as in the place of surety: all that bare armes were cut in peeces, except the *Bashas* and some hundred souldiars with him, who being rettyred into a strong Bastion, the Duke *Mercure* receiued them to mercy, and granted them their liues onely, which gracethey had not deserued, for that they had not aduertised the Duke of the mines that were prepared in diuers parts of the Towne, wherewith some Christian souldiars had bene spoyled, the Towne much indamaged, and the Duke himselfe in great danger. *Hassan Basta* great *Vezir*, came with an army of threescore and tenne thousand men, to recover it againe before it were victualled, and the ruines repayed, but hee was forced to abandon it with losse and disgrace, through the valour and wisdom of the Duke *Mercure*. And so *Alba Regalis* a famous towne, being the ancient seat of the Kings of *Hungary*, returned to the Christians.

The *Valachian* offering to draw his sword against Colonel *Pesz*, who had charge to seaze on him, a Captaine of the *Walons* (being more aduanced then the rest) thrust him through the bodie with his halberd, whereof falling downe, hee was presently slaine by the rest, who cut off his head without any resistance of his people that were present. In his tent they found letters which discovered his treacherie against the Imperial Maiesie, and his wicked desseins, so as the *Valachians* themselves, who had been greatly incensed by this death, hauing seene and red the letters, were pacified, saying that he had bene deseruedly slaine. The Generall *Basta* made a proclamation. That all the *Valachians* souldiars that would, should haue leaue to depart, or if they would serue the Emperour, they should be entertayned with the like pay, in taking of a new oath: so as many were enrolled vnder *Basta*. By this meanes *Basta* this yeare reduced almost all *Transilvania* vnder the Emperour. Yet *Battory* who had bene defeated, attempted all meanes to recover his lost Countrey, and his Soueraigne authoritie, being supported

The *Valachian*
an committed
to prison.*Alba Regalis*
taken by the
Duke of *Mercure*
the 22. of
September.The spoyle
there.The *Valachian*
an slaine by
the *Walons*.Battories pre-
sides.

1601. not onely by the *Transiluanians*, but also by the *Tartares* and *Turkes*. Before and since A his last defeat, he had sought to surprize *Clausembourg*, but in vaine: afterwards he liued as a Vagabond in the Mountaynes and Deserts with fewe peopie. And for that the Generall *Bastia* did still presse him on euery side, finding no place of Safety, hee sent his Agents to *Bastia*, beseeching him, to suffer him to inioy his Principality, and that he would keepe no Garrisons nor Magazines but with the Emperors good liking. *Bastia* made him no other answer, but that he must execute the Emperors commandments, but he should do well to submit himselfe to the Emperour to haue his fauour: but *Bastory* would not follow his good Councell, yet in the end he was forced vnto it in the yeare 1602. *Ferdinand* the Archduke, hauing spent much time at the siege of *Canisla*, in the ende was forced to leaue it with shame and disorder, loosing his Artillery, and Baggage, and abandoning the sicke & wounded. He lost his reputation there (for the good & had successe of enterprises are euer imputed to the General) although it were true, that the diuision among the Commanders of the Christians Army, the great want of victuals, & the fury of the Plague, gaue this aduantage vnto the enemy. The Duke of *Biron* came to *Fontenbleau*, whereas the King, Queene and *Daulphine* remayned, he gaue an account of his Ambassage into *England*, & deliuered the Queens Letter vnto his Maiesty. He continued in Court vntill the ende of the yeare, and presented vnto him the three Estates of *Bresse*, *Beauguy*, *Veromey* and *Gex*; whom the King receiued as graciously, as if they had bin *Frenchmen* by birth and affection; he confirmed their Privileges, and made them feele the fruits of this change. He erected a Presidiall Court at *Bourg*, depending vpon the Parliament at *Dijon*, notwithstanding any opposition made by that of *Grenoble*, preceeding that the Countreies exchanged should hold the place of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, & be incorporate vnto *Daulphine*. He releued the Countreies exchanged, in their Impositions & Taxes, and with such moderation, as the most miserable, promised vnto the elues happines, vnder his sweet subiectio. Among other speeches, which the King vsed vnto the Deputies, these were noted. *It is reasonable* (said he) *seeing you speak French naturally, that you should be subiect to a King of France. I am well pleased that the Spanish tongue shall remaine to the Spaniard, & the Germane tongue to the Germane, but all the French must belong to me.* The *Daulphine* made his first entry into *Paris* the 30. day after his birth: the Port was beautified with Armes. The pompe was of a Cradle in a Litter, whereas the Lady of *Monglas* sat with the Nurce. The Provoost of Marchants & Sheriffes, went out off the City to meete him. The Gouverneile made answer to the Oration. His first lodging was at *Amets* house. Two dayes after he was carried back to *S. Germain in Lay*, & to the end the people might see him, passing through the City, the Nurce held him at her Breast. The King had determined to conduct the Queene to *Eloys*, but the desire he had to instruct the Duchesse of *Bar* his Sister in his Religion, stayd them all at *Paris*, whether he had sent for the most learned Prelats & Diuines, to satisfie her in the presence of such Ministers as she had brought with her. But they coiured her not to yeeld vnto this change, nor to dismember her selfe from the body and society of the children of God, to bow her knees vnto Idolatry. She continued so constant in her beleefe, as she made a protestation, that if her Religion were preiudicial to the Estates of the Duke of *Lorraine*, she was ready to returne into *Bearn*, beseeching the King to suffer her to end her life as she had begun it. So as the Cōferences vpon this subiect remained vnprofitable, & were of no more effect, then that which was made at *Ratisbonne* at the same time, & for the same cause. The King hauing settled as happy a Peace in *France* as could be desired, he sought to redresse the disorders which could not be cured during the violence of the War. The King did two things to reforme the disorders of the Treasure, in the one he cut off a great number of Officers belonging to the Treasure, & in the other he caused a great and seuer search to be made of their abuses. The more Officers the King hath for the managing of his Treasure, the lesse profit comes vnto his Coffers, for that a great part is spent in their entertainment. So as it was resolved at the Estates held at *Roan*, to suppress the Offices of the Treasurers of the Generalities of *France* by death without hope of reuiuing.

The siege of *Canisla* rayled.

The Duke of *Biron* returns out of *England* to Court.

The King confirms the Privileges of *Bresse*.

His speech to the Deputies.

The *Daulphine* first entry into *Paris* the 30. Octob. 1601.

A Conference to instruct the Kings Sister.

Many of the Treasurers discharged.

A As for the abuses of Treasurers, their couctoufines was so great and their abuses so countenanced, as no man liued happily but they. Such as robbe the Poore die in prisons and are hanged: but they that steale from the King and the publicke, are at their ease. When as *Rhefny* was called to bee Superintendant of the Treasor, they were out of hope to do their busines as they had wont. By his aduice the King commanded a strict search to bee made of their abuses in the Treasure, and to that ende he erected a Chamber (or Court) which hee would haue called *Royale*, consisting of Iudges chosen out of his Soueraigne Courts.

B And for that they had giuen the King to vnderstand, that nothing did so much impoverish his Realme, as the transport of gold & siluer, the which was vtually by the sufferance of Officers, he therefore reuiued the ancient Lawes for the transporting of gold and siluer, or bullion out of the Realme, adding paine of death therevnto, and losse of all their goods that should do to the contrary, the third whereof should go vnto the Informer. He commanded all Gouvernors to haue a care of the obseruation of these prohibitions, and not to grant any passports to the contrary, vpon paine to be declared partakers of these transports, and for their Secretaries that should countersigne them, confiscation of their goods and perpetuall banishment. But the forbidding of the transportation of gold and siluer is not the onely meanes to make a Realme abound therewith, if the vse of it within bee not well ordered. And therefore the King did forbid the superfluous vse of gold and siluer in Lace or otherwise vpon garments. This Edict did greatly trouble the Ladies in Court, yet it was obserued for that it was general and excepted none: the King himselfe did frowne of a Prince of his house, who had not yet thought of this reformation. The King continuing the same care to settle all things in good Estate, seeing that forraine Coynes went at a higher rate in his Realme then where they were coyned, he commanded that the vse of forraine coynes should bee forbidden, after a certaine time giuen to the people to put it away, restoring gold to his iust value. This commandement was iust, but it was a great ruine to the peopole, for the Strangers seeing that their Coynes were not currant among vs, discontinued the trafficke, and liued without that, without the which wee thought they could not liue. Those which were wont to come to *Lions* went to *Geneua*, where the

D Duckates were raised as much as we had abated them. The King by all these Edicts had nothing releued the necessities of the Nobility, if hee had not provided for Vsuries, which haue ruined many good and ancient houses, filled Townes with vnprofitable persons, and the Country with miseries, and inhumanity. Hee found that Rents constituted after ten or eight in the hundred did ruine many good families, hindered the trafficke and commerce of Marchandise, and made Tillage and Handicraftes to bee neglected, many desiring through the easines of a deceitfull gaine, to liue idly in good Townes of their Rents, rather then to giue themselves with any paine to liberall Arts, or to Till and Husband their inheritances. For this reason (meaning to inuite his subiects to inrich themselves with more iust gaine, to content themselves with more moderate profit, and to giue the Nobility meanes, to pay their debtes.) hee did forbid all Viury or constitution of Rentes at a higher rate then sixe pounds five shillings for the hundred. The Edict was verified in the Court of Parliament, which considered that it was alwaies preiudiciall to the common-weale to giue money to Vsurie: for it is a serpent whose biting is not apparent, and yet it is so sensible as it peerceth the very heart of the best families.

The affaires of the Realme beeing in so great tranquillity, as the King had no care but to enioye the fruites of Peace. Hee made choise of Ambassadors to send to forraine Princes that were in League with him. *Barraux* was named for *Spain*, *Betunes* for *Rome*, the Count *Beaumont* was choien for *England*, and the President *Fresnes Camaye* to goe to *Venice*, who had a particular aduice giuen him, the which for that it is of consequence and serues for instruction to others in the like charges, deserves to bee noted. It hath alwaies beene obserued at *Venice*, betwixt the Popes *Nomis* and Princes Ambassadors that remaine there, that the last come is alwaies first visited by the others

A Chamber of Royall matters created.

The transport of gold and siluer forbidden.

The wearing of gold and siluer forbidden.

An Edict for viury.

Ambassadors choien to send to forraine Princes.

1602. others before hee returnes them the like. It happened that *Huraut de Messe* the King's Ambassador at *Venice*, hauing bene twice or thrise sent backe thither by his Maiestie, and no other Ambassador: at his last returne the Popes *Nuncio* refused to visit him, saying, that he was not a new Ambassador, and that it was in him to visit him, the which he did, as well for that they could not take his returne for the beginning of a new Ambassage, from this complement of courtesie, the Popes *Nuncio* would draw a consequence of dutie, and would challenge a right to bee visited first. So as the Ambassador of *Spain* hauing made difficultie to visit the *Nuncio*, attending it first from him according to the ancient order, they stood so long vpon this Ceremonie, as they passed all the time of their Legation without visiting one another. And therefore the King foreseeing that if *de Fresnes Canzy* were not informed of these particularities, hee might haue bene surprised in this Complement of visiting. In this discourse of Ambassadors, let vs see the issue of two important Ambassages, the one for the King at *Thurin*, the other for the Duke of *Sauoy* at *Paris*, & both for the swearing of the peace. *James Mites of Myolans* Lord of *Saint Chaumont*, Knight of both the Kings Orders, was commanded to goe to *Thurin* to receiue the Dukes oath. Hee went well accompanied with gentlemen, and neuer Ambassador was better receiued then hee was in *Sauoy* & *Piedmont*. *D' Albigny* Gouverneur of *Sauoy* feasted him at *Chibery* like a Prince, the Duke commanding him to entertaine him in all places as himselfe. Comming to *Thurin* he was entertaigned with all honour that might bee, and the ceremonie being ended, hee tooke his leaue, and was no lesse honoured at his departure, then at his comming, giuing the Ambassador a Iewell of foure thousand Crownes, and to all the Gentlemen Horses. The Marquis of *Lullins* came into *France* to take the Kings oath. The Ceremonie was done at the Celestins in *Paris*, according to the accustomed manner and forme vsed in the like Treaties, and in the presence of many Princes of the blood, Noblemen, and Councillors of State, the Act being signed by the King, by *Villeroi*, and *Forget* Secretarie of State.

The Seigneurie of *Genewa* intreated the King to giue them the Balewike of *Gen*, as a necessarie thing for the safetie of their Estate. The King answered, that being concluded by the treatie which hee had made with the Duke of *Sauoy*, that the lands exchanged for the Marquisate of *Saluces*, should remaine vnted and incorporated to the Crowne, hee requested them to rest satisfied with this condition, and not to hope for any alteration, for this consideration, these Countiees being of one condition with the other Prouinces of the Realme, the would not admit any diuersitie in their Lawes, hee therefore established the exercise of the *Romish* religion, and sent the Baron of *Lux* to put the Bishop of *Genewa* in possession of the Churches of his Diocese, causing Masse to be said in the Churches of *Gen*. They of *Genewa* made fasts, and publike prayers, to the end (sayd they) to keepe the Idolls from their walls.

We must add to this discourse, one of the most famous Impostures, (as some said) that euer age had scene. It was a generall braite throughout *Europe*, that *Don Sebastian* King of *Portugal* was aliue, and the *Portugalls* did presently giue credit thereunto. It was Atheisme among them not beleue its inhumanitie in Princes, and Common-weales not to succour him, and iniustice not to intreat him as a King. Many Impostures haue bene scene throughout the world, but none like vnto that which is spoken of this prisoner. It is aboute twentie yeares that the friends of *D. Sebastian* King of *Portugal* haue lamented his misfortune, & the *Moors* reioyced thereat; the realme of *Portugal* made his funeralls, and the King of *Spain* giuen a hundred thousand Crownes for his bodie. Foure Kings haue reigned since, accounting the election of *Don Antonio*, and yet there is a man found (say the *Spaniards*) so audacious, as he will trouble all the world, to make them beleue that hee is the true King *D. Sebastian* of *Portugal*. He presented himselfe to the Seigneurie of *Venice*, and demands audience. He relates vnto them the Historie of his life, and the raigne of his Fathers in *Portugal*, his

A his defeate in *Affrike*, his retreate into *Calabria*, & the resolution which hee had taken neuer to shewe himselfe more in the world, for the shame of his misfortune and the punishment of his indiscretion, if the spirit of God had not inspired him with another will, and giuen him hope to make himselfe knowne for a King as he was borne. Hee sayd moreover that among so many soueraigne powers that were in the world, hee would not adresse himselfe to any, but to the State of *Venice*, to iudge of the truth of his condition. And to giue them better prooffe thereof, hee noted with great circumstances the Ambassadors which had bene sent from the Seigneury vnto him, the answers and dispatches they had carried backe, and the difficultes that were made. The Senat (who in all things but especially in matters of State proceeded warily and with great iudgement,) made a search of their relations, and found them conformable to that which hee had spoken of the Ambassadors that had bene sent to the King, *D. Sebastian*. Hee was wisely and iudiciously examined of the Estate of other affaires, wherevnto hee answered so boldly, as of some hee was held for the true King, *D. Sebastian*, and of others for a Magitian.

The King of *Spaines* Ambassador, maintayned in his Masters name, that hee was a counterfit and an Impostor, causing him to bee committed to prison: where they informed against him, who seeking to iustifie the resemblance of their bodies, they caused him to bee stript to see if the markes of his body were answerable to those that *D. Sebastian* had. They found seauenteene, whereof some might well bee made by art, the rest were by nature, as one hand longer then an other, and a great

made by art, the rest were by nature, as one hand longer then an other, and a great

made by art, the rest were by nature, as one hand longer then an other, and a great

1601. I am forced to goe where his commandement doth lead mee, and to shew my selfe for him, that his will is I should be. These words forced teares from him in speaking, and from them in hearing, who thinking to doe great seruice vnto God, and a great good vnto their Countrie, to saue their Kings head, and to set him in a place of safetie, they attire him like a frier of the order of *S. Dominicke*, and conduct him vnto *Florence*, to go more safely to *Rome*. The great Duke caused him to be apprehended, by the aduice of the Archbishop of *Pisa*, and in stead of sending him to the Pope, he deliuered him into the Viceroy of *Naples* hands: when he saw himselfe in the power of the *Cassilians*, and that the Duke had intelligence with them, hee reproched him with the breach of his faith, his royaltie, and the rights of hospitalitie. It is not commendable for a Prince to deliuer a suppliant into the hands of his aduerser party, hauing thrust himselfe vnder his protection. But the great Duke, seeing that the King of *Spaine* had a great Army, amazing all *Italy*, and threatening his Estates, he thought it good policy, not to incense a mighty King, and a poynt of wisdom to auoide the storme, and not to enter into War, the end whereof must needs be ruinous. He was conducted to the Viceroy of *Naples*, before whom he presented himselfe, with as assured a countenance, as he had done before the Senate of *Venice* and the Great Duke. Entering into the Hall, and comming towards the Viceroy (who either for the Reuerence of this action, or for the Disposition of the time, was bare-headed) he called vnto him a farre off; *Earle of Lemos couer your Head*. These words, deliuered with Grauity and Courage, amazed the Assistant. The Viceroy answered him presently, *From whence haue you this power to command mee? It was borne with mee*, replied the other; *You seeme not to know mee, I know well who you are: remember that Don Philip King of Castille mine Vncle, sent you twise vnto mee*. He discoursed so plainly and distinctly of that action, as hee left a great trouble in the Viceroyes minde, and a great opinion in the Assistants that he spake the truth. The Viceroy said vnto him, *That he was a Counterfait*. These words of contempt and insupportable injury to men of Courage, did so offend him, as he vied some bitter speeches against the Viceroy. But he could not free himselfe from the Castle *D'Omo*, where he continually cried out, to be carried into *Portugal*; *That the People might see him, and that not onely Men, but Beasts and Stones, would take him for the true King, D. Sebastian of Portugal*. Many held him for a *Calabrois borne at Tauerne*, and a Monke that had left his Order, other for *Mark Tully Catizoni of Apulia*. The *Portugales* (weare by his Life and Head. The prisoners which were in the same Castle & saw him euery morning at Masse, did note some tokens of a Prince, which made them say; *That hee was the King D. Sebastian, or a Deuill*. The best aduised, haue held him for an Impostor, the Ignorant for a Magitian, and the simple for a King. During the Viceroyes life, hee was not so rigorously intreated, but his Sonne succeeding him, he was more strictly garded. The 17. of Aprill 1602. a yeare after he had bene in the *Cassilians* hands, hee was commanded to answer presently without any further proceeding. To whom he said; *That they tocke not a right course to Examine and Iudge his Processe*. That they should present him vnto the *Portugales*, who had Nourished him, Knowne him, and Serued him: for all the Prooofe and Verification of his cause, depended vpon their Saying and Testimony: protesting, that if he liued a thousand yeares, he would neuer answer otherwise: and that if they were resolu'd to put him to death without anie other Order or Prooofe, hee tooke God for his onely Iudge (who knew the truth of his fact,) that hee was the right King *D. Sebastian of Portugall*, and that they might effect what they had formerly pretended to doe.

In the ende, they condemned him to be led ignominiously vpon an Ass, through the streetes of *Naples*, and to passe the rest of his life in the Gallies, the which was executed the last of Aprill, cutting off the hayre of his Head and Beard, and tying him to the Chayne, yet he was not forced to Rowe, but was intreated as a Gentleman of the Gallies. From *Barellona* the Gallies entred into the Ocean Sea, and came in August 1602. to *S. Lucar of Barameda*, where the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and his Wife desired to see him. Hauing long discoursed with him, the *Portugales* affirme,

The preterred King of Portugal fled by the Duke of Florence in January 1601. Conducted prisoner to Naples 23. of Aprill. 1601.

Hee is shut vp in the Castle da Omo.

Hee contemned to the Gallies.

At that hee whom they call their King, asked the Duke if he had the sword yet which hee had giuen him; when as he imbarked to passe into *Barbary*. The Duke answered, that in truth *D. Sebastian* King of *Portugal* had giuen him a sword at his imbarking, the which hee kept among others. Seeing then you haue it (replied their King,) I pray you send for it, for although it be foure and twentie yeares since I gaue it you, yet will I know it well. The Duke caused about a dozen to be brought, the which their King hauing wel vewed, sayd that it was not there, the Duke commanded that they should bring all the rest; and their King seeing it in his hands that brought them, sayd. Behold Duke the sword I gaue you when I past into *Affrike*. Then turning to his Cousin the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* wife, the which is daughter to the Prince of *Eboly*, after that hee had told her what speeches had passed in secret betwixt them when hee bid her fare well at *Cadix*, he sayd vnto her, I remember that I gaue you a Jewell, haue you it yet? The Duches answered that she had a Jewell which the King *D. Sebastian* had giuen her. Shew it me then said hee, I will know it well, and will shew you a secret which is yet yknowne vnto you. The Duches sent for it with many other Jewels, the which he knew from all the rest, saying, Behold the Jewell which I gaue you, and to proue my saying; cause the stone to be taken out, and you shal find my name, and my cipher grauen vnderneath it. There was in the Duches company a *Negro* whom their King knew, saying that she had washed his linnen when as he reigned in *Portugal*. They say, that when as the Duke saw so many apparent things approaching vnto truth, he admired them as miraculous, and retyred with a heauy countenance, as it were weeping for compassion, to see this miserable Prince in so wretched an estate. They say moreover, that many ancient *Portugals* of diuers conditions went to see him, and that al confesse & maintaine that it is the true *Don Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, who is now shut vp in the Castell of *S. Lucar*.

But ending the contrarieties of *Spaniards* and *Portugals* touching King *Sebastian*, we will say. That it is in the power of the King of *Spaine* to lay open the greatest & strongest deceit that euer was in the world, by a publike punishment of the Impostor: or being knowne to bee such as hee sayth, to rauish all the world with admiration. In the beginning of this yeare, the Court being quiet, and dreaming of nothing but of feasts and dancing, & the whole state in such tranquillitie, as nothing might seeme to interrupt it.

D The King had but one busines without the Realme wheron depended the cōtinent which he might giue to the *Swisses*, in confirming the promise which his Ambassador had made in renewing of their allyances. There had bin many Assemblies held to that end at *Bade & Soleure*, but all vncertaine as they be commonly. Their resolutions were inconstant and variable, with new demands, which did cut of nothing of the necessitie of the first. These diuerse agitations sprang from *Milan & Sauoy*, who could not endure to see the *Flower de Luce* flourish in the rocks and Alpes, and were greened to haue spent so many double Ducats in vaine, to choake the seedes of their affection to this Crowne. *De Vie* disposed things in as good sort as the King could desire, *Brulart* was sent to make the worke perfect. He gaue them to vnderstand the Kings last resolutions, with so great wisdom and dexteritie, as they were allowed by the greatest part of the Cantons. After that, the partisans of *Spaine* and *Sauoy* found that al their crosses brought more aduancement then difficultie to the Kings affaires, and that the most obstinate became temperate, and were forced to yeeld, & that they could not hinder, but that the light of vertue and the Kings fortune would shine through the *Caos* of their practises. *Syllery* finding that their wills were well prepared, and disposed to entertaine & accept of the Kings intentions, he made the proposition of renewing of the League at a Diet held in the Towne house of *Soleure* in September, in a very learned & elegant discourse. His discourse was very pleasing vnto the hearers, who thought that the allyance of *France*, with whom they neuer had any question, and whose friendship had not bin troubled with those feelings which the injuries of war do fixe deeply in the minds of men, was more profitable and necessary then that of other Princes, which haue hereditary deffains vpon that estate, who would cast lots againe, & come to a new diuifio.

These had sometimes sought to make ther profit of the diuersity of religion that is among

1601. His speech to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

1602. The Alliance with the Swisses renewed.

1602. The Alliance with the Swisses renewed.

A Diet was held at Soleure the 11. of September, 1601.

1602. among the Cantons, in weakning the bodie by cutting of the members. France on the contrary side had alwaies exhorted them to liue in Peace, and not to vader-mine the foundation of their Estate the which consistes in Concord and Vnity. So Princes should alwaies desire that their Allies might liue in Vnion and Peace. This proposition of renewing the League with the King, was very acceptable vnto them all, but it troubled the small Catholike Cantons, who had made new Leagues with their neighbors, and desired that they would propound some meanes vnto them, that in contenting the King they might with Honour keepe their latter promises. The Ambassadors answered, that they must take those resolutions of themselves, whereby they might willingly contribute that which depended of them. It is no reason sayd the Ambassadors, that you should bee directed and set into the right way by vs, seeing you left it without vs and against vs. The Cantons sayd, that the friendship which they had sworne to France, was grounded vpon conditions, the which sayling, the duty of their allyance must also sayle.

Friendship grounded vpon profit is neuer durable, that of the *Suisses* cannot be otherwise vnited, they loue the *Darigues* more then *Darius* himselfe, and Glory to see the greatest Princes of Europe to purchase their friendship. Some aduised the King to leane the petty Cantons, and to take them as his enemies, seeing they had broken the League. But he thought he should wrong the reputation and dignity of his Crowne, if hee should loofe the friends which his Predecessors had gotten. And therefore his Ambassadors (although they seemed not to care for it) omitted nothing that might serue to reduce them into the right way, from the which, the opinion of profit, more then the force of friendship, had drawne them: thinking it reasonable to loue friends with their humors, not for the respect of the continuance of friendship, nor of their constancy, but for the Honour of this Crowne. They would not binde the Kings word to any other thing then the payment of a million of Gold in discharge of their debt or pension. There must be an other day, to deliuer that which should be resolved by euery Canton vpon the Kings offers and propositions. The petty Cantons appointed a Diet at *Lucerna*, to resolve of the difficulties they were in betwixt the alliances with France and *Spaine*, seeing they might not hold the one but they must abandon the other. Their resolution was to accept the renewing of the League, and to esteeme olde frindes for the best. Yet they did not publish it so soone, that it might be the better accepted: many daies were spent in Generall Assemblies at *Baden* and *Soleurre*, to reduce it to an inmutable point. Monsieur de *Vic* went vnto the *Grisons*, and procured an assembly to be called at *Coire* of the three Cantons and their Commons in their Episcopall City: Their were as many difficulties as the Country is rough, the *Spanish* practises had so much withdrawne their affections from France. They could not dissemble the grieffe they conceived for the confirmation of this League. The Count of *Fuentes* would not suffer any prouision to go out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, that the dert and comodity of victuels, might make the *Grisons* know that the friendship of *Spaine* was more profitable vnto them then that of France, and that they should not so much desire the number, as the profit of friends.

De *Vic* propounded the Kings intentions to 67. Ambassadors deputed by the three Cantons of the *Grisons*, and to as many other chosen out of the Country. They hold a great liberty of opinions in their Assemblies, euery man speakes what he thinks. Here they which made least shewe, spake loudest, in the end they resolved to accept of the renewing of the League, adding thereto such preiudiciall conditions, as two of them were sufficient to make the League fruitlesse for the King. De *Vic* sayd vnto them, that they must not thinke that the King would endure any addition or deminution in the ancient Treaty, answering the sayd Articles by writing, to the end that the Commons which were to determine thereon, might iudge that their reasons were not stronger then those which he had propounded vnto them, and their commodities and suerties greater with the Kings allyance, then withall others. While that De *Vic* was with the *Grisons*, *Sillery* labored to dispose the Cantons to the Kings will. But there was some

A something to resolve vpon. The *Suisses* although they haue not the quicknes of spirit as other nations, yet are they not lesse aduised in the conduct of their affaires. So as when the Kings Ambassadors thought that in the last Diet held at *Soleurre*, there would bee but one sitting, for that all difficulties had beene very exactly considered, they must yet haue patience for twelue dayes, with more Crosses and difficulties then were euer treated of in *Suisseerland*, for the like affaires; for both the Kings friends and enemies, had conspired not to consent to the conclusion of the Treaty, without assurance to be payd vnrasonable summes euery yeare, besides the million of Gold, that was granted. The stay of the bringing of the Kings money did also greatly distast them that should haue the best share in the distribution. The more certaine the hope is, the more trouble some is the stay. This sayling was insupportable vnto them, and thrust them into bad resolutions against the aduancement of the Kings affaires. So as the Ambassadors did think for a time they should get much, to breake with some, & to differ with others, rather then to tie the King vnto such forced conditions. But after much toyle of body and minde, the Treaty was concluded. There remayned nothing but to haue the Duke of *Biron* come, to authorise by his presence, what had bin concluded by the Kings Ambassadors: he came in the end of Iunuary, well accompanied and as well receiued by the Lords of that common weale, and by the Colonells and Captaines, to whom it seemed that they were in France, seeing him alwayes that had commanded ouer them in the Kings Army. The Duke spake vnto them in the General Assembly at *Soleurre* in this sort. Noble Lords, the King my Maister (making the same esteeme which his Predecessors haue done of your generosity, desiring the continuance of true friendship and faithfull allyance which hath bin of long time betwixt his Crowne and your Constancies) hath commanded me to come into your Country, for the happy ending of the Treaty which the Seigneours of *Syllery* and de *Vic* haue managed for the renewing of the League. His Maiesty hath also commanded mee to assure you of the account he makes of your Faith, and that he will fully obserue the promises that shalbe made vnto you. He doth also assure himselfe, that for your parts you will bring al willingnes & Freedome, now that his Realme is the most flourishing, giuing more cause of Enuy then of Pitty. He desires more earnestly to renewe the ancient alliances that haue bin betwixt the Kings and Crowne of France, & your Common weale, thinking that the good which shall rise thereby, shal be profitable vnto you, & the best and most assured meanes for to make you liue powerfully and happily. I will conceale how highly I esteeme the honour which the King my Master hath done me, in making choise of me with these Gentlemen, to serue for so Good and Holy a worke, and also to see my selfe with a Nation, which hath bin often (both in Peace and Warre) cherished & esteemed by my deceased Lord and Father, the Marshall *Biron* & of my selfe: For proofe of my Affection, I offer you all that is in my power, being desirous to assist you with all fauour, aed to serue you in that which a Knight of Honour ought & may. The Kings alliance was accepted by the *Suisses*, publike thanks were giuen to God, & the Duke with the Ambassadors solemnly feasted. The alliance which before had bin contracted but for the Kings life only, was concluded for the *Daulphins* also, after that of the Kings & as many yeares after as were granted to the deceased King. The King receiued great content to see this Treaty so happily concluded to the honor of his Crowne, contrary to the intent and practises of those that sought to hinder it. The Count of *Fuentes* greened that things had not succeeded according to his hope, cast his desseins in Italy vpon the Marquise of *Final*, without any pretext or offence, but onely vpon the presumption of his Masters greatness. To giue some colour to his attempt; he caused two diuers rumors to be spread abroad: One was, that the Marquis of *Final* was vpon termes to exchange this Marquise for a little Principality lying in the realme of *Naples*. The other was, that the Marquis of *Final* in the extremity of a sicknes had giue it to the King of *Spaine*. Vpon these two pretexts he caused *Diego Pimentel* his nephew, & *Sancho de Luna* to passe with a great number of *Spaniards* to surprize the place, & the Laniquenes that kept it; who were easily satisfied with a promise of 16 months pay surprized that

1602. that was due vnto them. He placed 200. Spaniards in it, vnder the command of D. A. *Petro de Toledo*, and presently resolved to fortifie the Port, and to put a Garrison therein. The chiefe end of his Conquest was to bridle the *Genoueses*, and to make their Trafficke with *Spaine* so discommodious, as they should reape no benefit, but what it pleased the Gouvernor of *Finall*. The Lord of the place, who had neuer any thought to Exchange, nor to giue it, filled the Popes and the Emperors eares, and all the Ayre with his Complaynts, but in the end finding no satisfaction, he was forced to allowe of that which pleased the stronger. The Spaniards made not so great an account of this purchase, as they conceiued hope of a great leauy of Men of Warre made in the Realme of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and in the Duchies of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Modena*, *Fribin* and *Parma*: whereof they ment to make an Army at Sea, greater and better conducted then the last. Many thought it was to repayre the fault of *Alger*, or to oppose against the desseignes of *Cigala*, who they said would come out off *Constantinople* with a hundred Sayle. As the desseigne was secret, so was it not knowne, who should bee the Generall. *Andrew Doria* demanded leauie of the King of *Spaine*, fore-seeing that they would hardy giue him the charge, for that they must neuer employ an unfortunate Generall twice. The Duke of *Sauoy* made shewe to accept of this command if it were offered him. They had greater enterprises in *Europe*, then in *Affrick* or *Asia*, although it were sayd, that the King of *Fr* had promised to make the King of *Spaine* Master of *Alger*. But the necessities of the Lowe Countries, and the practises they had in *France*, made the Spaniards to leaue all attempts against the *Turkes* and *Moores* C for this yeare, being so disapointed for want of money, as they were forced to flic to priuate purses, so as without an aduance of two hundred thousand Crownes by the *Spinolas* of *Genoa*, the Troupes which past in Aprill and May, had stayed vntill the end of the yeare in the Duchy of *Milan*.

These were the speeches of the King of *Spaines* desseignes, wherevnto they added that *D'Albigny* was gone to *Milan* to the Count of *Fuentes*; that the Marquis of *Aix* was in *Spaine*; that the Duke was ready to subiect himselfe wholly to the will of the Councell of *Spaine*, to whom he deliuered his two Sons, hauing made them Knights of his Order, to prepare them to the Voyage, and had sent *Desfourny* (an extraordinary Ambassador to *Rome*) to beseech the Pope to send them his blessing. But the King D knewe well, that vnder these shewes and Pretexts, there were other Negotiations to trouble his Estate, whereof he made no shew: yet such as did see him when hee was most free and priuate, discovered that his Head was troubled, and that the Toyle & Wearines of his Minde, was much more then that of his Body. One day comming from Hunting, being very pensue before the fire with his Hat on his Eyes, he drewe his Sword, speaking some words vnto himselfe, then he turned towards the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, who was there present, asking him when *la Fin* his Vncle would come, and that he longed to see him. At the same time there were great reparations made at the Battille, rather to keepe that fast, that was to be within it, then to resist without, which made many beleue, that the yeare should not passe, without lodging of some one of marke in the place. This Winter, the Court was full of Idolity and Sports, the E

Queene hauing made a very Rich and Sumptuous Maske, calling fiftene Princesses and Ladies of the Court vnto her, which represented sixteene Vertues, whereof the Queene made the first. The Duke of *Vendosme* being attired like *Cupid*, marched before the Queene: but within fewe dayes after he changed that Habite into Mourning, for the death of the Duke of *Mercurie* his Father in lawe, who dyed of a Pestilent Feauer on Twelue day in the City of *Nurinberg*, comming into *France* to prepare a greater expedition against the *Turkes*. The King was much grieued for his death; his funerals were made in *Lorraine*, and at our Ladyes Church in *Paris*, the whole Court of Parliament did assist, and *Francis de Sala* (elect Bishop of *Geneua*) made the Funerall Sermon. During the publike sports in Court, the Kings Councell laboured to end the lute betwixt the Commons (or third Estate) and the two first Orders of *Dauphine*. F

The Commons complayning, that all the Charges and publike oppressions, and all that

A that might be burthen some was layd vpon them, without any hope from the other E- 1602. states of the Prouince, although they made not the sixt part, being reasonable that all the charges being common, they should bee supported equally by all the Prouince (by her first condition) being declared free from all such charges, and with this freedome was giuen at the first to *France*. Euery order, pleaded for his owne liberties by the Deputies, the which the King hauing heard, he set downe a generall order touching the Taxes of *Dauphiné*, as you may reade at large in *Pierre Mathewe*.

The King hauing passed the feast of Easter at *Fontainebleau*, prepared to goe to *Blois*, to *Tours* and to *Poitiers* and farther, if the good of his presence so required. Many beleueed that his intent was to goe another way, which agreed well with their humours who breathed nothing but warre. The great leuies which were made in *Italie*: the Warlike humor of the Count of *Fuentes*: the great stirring of the Duke of *Sauoy*, who could not liue in Peace: the discontent of the Spaniards for the preiudiciall conditions of the Treaty of *Peruins*, and many other considerations, gaue some shew of the common opinion of Warre. The King also had some intelligence, that the Sea Army, prepared in the Realme of *Naples*, had an enterprise vpon *Prouence*, although the Spaniards gaue it out that it was for *Agier*, but the cleer-sighted knewe well that without some treason among the French, the Spaniards affaires were not in so good Estate, as to attempt any thing against *France*. The King was aduertised that the Duke of *Biron*, was strayed from his dutie, and assured moreouer that this disposition of his did not growe in an instant, & that he had not entred into these bad resolutions suddenly, if hee had not had conference with strangers. Hee could not beleue that a spirit so Vigilant, so Active and so Valiant, could suffer it selfe to be transported with such violent furies: and it seemed a dreame vnto him that a man which had gotten so much Honour, to whome his Father had left so much, and who had receiued daylie what hee would from the King, should resolute to that which was contrarie to his Honor and the greatnesse of his courage. This good opinion made the King not to beleue the aduice which was giuen him of his badde intentions, making no shew thereof, but that he would giue him the Godement of *Guienne*, and two hundred thousand Crownes recompence, with the Castells of *Trimpette* and *Blaye*, to D drawe him from the Frontier, which was more comodious for conference with them, who were resolved to withdrawe him from *France*, or to ruine him.

They had sought him after the taking of *Lan*, when as they descouered that hee was come to *Paris* in choller, for that the King had refused him some thing, where with hee gratified the Duchesse of *Beaufort*: then they offred him two hundred thousand Crownes yearely entertainment, and to bee Generall of all the Kings of *Spaines* forces in *France*. As they had found him an *Achilles* in battayle, so they found him an *Ulysses* to their words, stopping his eares at their Inchantments, saying, that choller should neuer drawe him from his dutie: that although his Nature were fire and boyling in the feeling and apprehension of a wrong, yet his heart would neuer suffer E this fire to consume the Faith and Loyalty, which hee ought vnto his Prince. Hee re- tained nothing of the offer which they made him, but onelie the remembrance of the esteeme which they made of his valour, and euen then hee suffred himselfe to bee carried away with those motions, which doe often transport the minde to insolency and contempt of all things, when they see themselves assured of ease, howe soeuer the chance fall, and that they shall neuer bee vnder the seruitude of necessity. He was some-times herd say, that hee would not die, before he had seene his head set vpon a quarter of a Crowne: that hee would rather goe to a Scaffold to loose his head, then to an Hospitall to begge his bread: that hee would die young, or haue meanes to doe his friends good. *Esther Cesar* or nothing. Either a free life or a glorious death, but hee had neither of them. His desseignes made him to utter words F of a Soueraigne, and so absolute, as the wife did impute it to extreame arrogancie, the which hath alwaies ruined them that entertaine it. It is a great happinesse for an Estate to haue great Captaines, but there is nothing so hard to entertaine, for when

The Duke of Biron's conspiracy discovered.

The Duke of Biron related the Government of Guienne.

He refused entertainment from the Spaniards.

He sayd hee would die a Soueraigne.

1602. as they thinke that they haue bound their Country vnto them, although all they doe bee lesse then their duties, they are easily discontented and like to *Pausanias* and *The-mistocles* speeke newe allyances and friendship from enemies, if they bee not rewarded to their owne wills, and to the heighth of their Ambition. The Duke of *Biron* had done great seruice to the King and Realme, so were his recompences so great, as no Nobleman of his quality in *France*, but might enuie him: For beeing not yet forty yeares olde, hee had enioyed the chiefeft dignities of the Realme. At fouretee-ne yeares hee was Colonell of the *Swisses* in *Flanders*. Soone after Marshall of the Campe, and then Marshall generall. Hee was receiued Admirall of *France* in the Parliamēt at *Tours*, and Marshall of *France* in that of *Paris*. Hee acknowledged none but the King at the sege of *Amiens*, and was his Maiesties Lieutenant Generall, although there were Princes of the bloud. To encrease his grearresse hee was declared a Peere of *France*, and his Barony erected into a Duchie. And yet not content with all this, hee sayd hee would not die but hee would straine higher. That hee will goe no more to recouer the Townes of *Picardie*, vnlesse the King set vpe his Image in brasse before the *Louure*, vsing still in his brauerie some very dangerous speeches, and with such affection, as hee was not pleased with them that did not applaude them.

He desires continuance of the Warre.

When hee sawe after the sege of *Amiens*, that *Brittaine* was reduced, and the Warre ended, hee thought that hauing no more vse of his valour, hee should haue no more credit. that hee should haue no more meanes to play the petty King, and to doe all that without feare which hee did without Iustice. Hee complaind of the King, and of the vnequall recompence of his Merits and Seruice. hee proclaymed his discontents, adding threats to his complaints, speaking of the King with so small respect, as his most passionate seruants held his speeches to bee insolent and dangerous. It was the defect of his Nature, but Fortune added something vnto that, for finding himselfe to abound with all the prosperities that a well ordered desire could wish for in his condition, he found that men loose themselves, beeing to much at their owne ease. The opinion of himselfe rayfed his thoughts so high, as hee valued himselfe at an inestimable price, thinking that his heart was not of the common temper of others: that there was no man liuyng that might equall him, and that none that were dead had atteyned to his meritts. And although that in all his life hee had shewed small zeale to religion, yet nowe when as hee prepared his heart to the motions of ambition, hee would seeme very religious, protesting that hee would bee an irreconcilable enemy to the Protestantes. *La Noële Seigneur* of *La Fin*, was (by reason of the troubles of *Prouence* and the quarrell of *L'Escliqueres*) retired to his house, beeing threatened by the King: in quarrell with some great personages of the Realme, and furcharged with debts and lures in Lawe. The discontented do still meete by appointment or by chance. The Duke of *Biron* (who knewe that hee had bene employed in the Duke of *Alansons* affaires, that since hee had negotiated with the Ministers of the King of *Spaine* and the Duke of *Sauoy*, during the sege of *Amiens*, and that he had a heart full of discontent) imagined that hee sought a Master. They talke together, and mixt their griefes and passions in one complaint, they propound to seeke that without the Realme, which they could not finde within it, and to enter in practise with the Duke of *Sauoye*: they resolute to aduertise him of an intelligence which *L'Escliqueres* had vpon the fort of *Barrault*, the which he executed happily.

Hee discouers his discontent to La Fin.

Hee went into *Flanders* for the execution of the Treaty of *Vernins*, where *Picoté* of *Orleans* had conference with him, & inspired his heart with desires to raise his Fortune with those who both knewe and admired his meritts. The Duke of *Biron* heard him, and made no shewe to vnderstand him, and yet hee left him in an opinion that if he came into *France* hee would bee well pleased that hee should speake more plainly vnto him of that subiect. The *Spaniards* did beleue that hee yeelded, seeing hee gaue eare, and assured themselves eyther to winne him or to vndoe him. The King was aduertised by one, that was then employed in the Arch-dukes Court, of this

At this practise, but hee sent him word that the Marshall *Biron* was of too high a spirit to yeeld to so great a wickednes. Being returned out of *Flanders*, the King would haue married him, but he made shew that his affections were otherwise teled. And although he gaue it out, that he sought the daughter of *Madame de Luce*, yet hee treated to haue the other daughter of the Duke of *Sauoy*, whereof *Cheualier Breton* had spokenvnto him. *La Fin* had a promise from the Duke of *Biron* to doe all hee could to content his hopes. *Picoté* had made a voyage into *Spaine*, to receiue directions. *Farges* (a religious man of the order of *Cisteaux*) went into *Sauoy*, and so to *Milan*, to receiue order how to teare this plant from *France*, but the Duke of *Sauoy* being at *Paris*, pulled vp the *Flower de Luce* which was planted in his heart, & dislosed him so to trouble the King within the B realme, as he should leaue him the Marquitate of *Saluces* in peace. Vpon this assurance the Duke of *Sauoy* had no meaning to effect the Treatie of Peace; warre was proclaymed, the Duke of *Biron* takes the cheefe places of *Bresse*: Being at *Pierre Chastell* in the beginning of September, *La Fin* comes vnto him, who by his order had made two voyages to *S. Claude*, where *Roncas* was. The King had aduice thereof, but hee thought it better to dissemble these practises, then to surpriſe the best of his seruants in his actes of infidelitie. Hee was content to draw him into *Sauoy*, and to tell him that he must abandon *La Fin*, and not to giue eare to his bad perswasions. The King shewed him his error, to guide him into the right way, but as they which are posselt with this violent passion of desire to be Masters, are no more capable of gouernment nor Councell, hee conceiued that what the King spake for loue, proceeded from feare, continuing still his practises with *La Fin*, and neuer going to see the King, but with a great troupe. Hee made him beleue being at *Annisy*, that hee desired to discover some passage, and demanded guides of the Countie to that end, but it was onely to let *Renazé* passe to the Duke of *Sauoy*, to discover vnto him the estate of the Kings armie, and to make *D'Albigny* retyre with his troupes, the which without this aduice had bene cut in peeces.

Hee condemns the Kings aduice.

It was at the sametime when as the Duke of *Biron* intreated the King to giue the gouernment of the Cittadell of *Bourg*, to him that hee should name. The King answered him, that hee would commit that place vnto *de Boiffes*. This deniall did so transport the the Duke of *Biron*, and thrust him into such strange and diuulſh resolutions, as one morning being in his bed at *Chaumont*, he made an enterpriſe vpon the Kings person, whereof mention is made in the deposition of *La Fin* and *Renazé*, but it was not executed. He himselfe had horror of so execrable a thought. *La Fin* went also from the army to conclude the bargain with the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Count of *Fuentes*. Hee treated first with the Duke, and the Ambassador of *Spaine* at *Turée*, and then at *Thurin* with *Roncas*. Hee went to *Milan* to the Count of *Fuentes*, whether *Picoté* also came, bringing an answer from the Councel of *Spaine*, to the Duke of *Birons* propositions, and order to conferre with *La Fin*, and to perswade him to make a voyage into *Spaine*. Hee sayd openly, that the King of *Spaine* desired to haue the Duke of *Biron*, at what price and peril soeuer. The Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Count of *Fuentes* appointed a day to meet at *Some*, with the Ambassador of *Spaine*, *La Fin* and *Picoté*. There their minds were knowne, and all difficulties freed of either side. *La Fin* who had peered into the seacret of his Councells, sayd, that the marriage of the Duke of *Sauoyes* third daughter, was the Cymment to ioyn together and vntie all this Treatie, with promise of fiew hundred thousand Crownes, and the transport of all the rights of the Soueraigntie of *Bourgogne*. The Duke of *Sauoy* gaue him more hope, then assurance of this marriage, and it was not credible that hee would accept of a meane gentleman for his Sonne in Law, who was not of soe great a house, but there were many better then his in *France*. Princes promise all, and hold nothing but what doth not prejudice their greatnesse. Whilſt that *La Fin* treated of the Duke of *Birons* capitulation in *Italie*, the Treatie of Peace at *Lions* was concluded. The ignorant sayd that the King had done ill in not proceeding, and

1602.

He is discontented for the reuittall of the Cittadell at Bourg.

Hee treats with the Duke of Sauoy and the Count of Fuentes.

They offer him one of the Duke of Sauoy's daughters in marriage.

1602. that hee should keepe that great Rampar of the Alpes, for the frontier of *Gallie*. A These were discourtes or men which did not consider, how dangerous it is to goe farre from the frontier, and to leaue behind his backe a strong conspiracie: without this peace the King had bene forced to passe the Alpes, the which had bene a fauorable occasion for this Treason. He was aduertised of the bad seruices the Duke of *Biron* did him: and that the enterprises which hee had vpon the Cittadell of *Thurin*, and the best places of *Piedmont*, were discovered by their treacherie, to whome hee had trusted his Crowne and Scepter. A Prince that hath Traitors in his armie, neuer fights happely. *Charlemagne* repented his trust reposed in *Ganelon*, and *Charles* Duke of *Bourgonne* in *Campobaccio*.

The Duke of *Biron* craues pardon of the King,

The Duke of *Biron* had alwaies dissuaded this peace. But finding that this peace must send him home to his gouernment, & that the King had some notice of his practises with *La Fin*, hee seemed to bee verie penitent, and asked pardon of the King, walking in the Cloyster of the Franciscane friars at *Lions*, beseeching him, (with a countenance full of contrition and humilitie) to forget his bad intentions, the which rage and dispiht for the Cittadell of *Bourg* had possessed his heart with. The King pardoned him. Saying that he was well pleased, that hee had relyed vpon his clemencie, and the loue which hee bare him, whereof hee would alwaies giue him so good proofs, as hee should haue no cause to doubt, nor to attempt anything against the assurance he had of his loyaltie. Going from thence, hee met with the Duke of *Espenon*, saying, (that as to his best friend) hee would impart vnto him, the best aduerture that euer happened vnto him, hauing discharged his conscience from the terrors and horrors that did afflicke him, and that the King had pardoned what was past, and had promised him all fauour hereafter. The Duke of *Espenon* answered, that he was glad, but he must craue an abolishment: for offences of that qualitie are not so easily remitted. How should I, sayd hee, assure my selfe, better then in the Kings word? If the Duke of *Biron* must sue for an abolishment, what must others do? The Duke of *Espenon* had reason to aduise him to take an abolishment, & the other was in no error in trusting to the Kings word, who had forgotten his fault, if hee had done nothing since to renew the remembrance. But here they obserued an act which had all the signes of an implacable harred. The Duke of *Biron* being sent for by the King, to come and receiue his commandements, and the testimonie of his clemencie, parts from *Bourg*, and comes to lye at *Vimie*. There hee made a dispatch to *La Fin*, who was at *Milan*. Hee goes to *Lions*, and is receiued of the King, as the Father doth his lost Child, whome hee hath found againe. Hee stayed some dayes at *Lions*, and hauing accompanied the Queene at her departure, hee returned to *Vimie*, where hee made another dispatch to *La Fin* by one *Farges*. As soone as he comes to *Bourg*, hee sends away *Bosco* (Cousin to *Roncas*) to aduance the business. This negotiation was continued at *Seme*, betwixt the Duke of *Sauoy*, the Count of *Fuentes*, and *La Fin*. The Count of *Fuentes* led *La Fin* to *Milan*, desiring to bee satisfied of some points, but finding his answeres not constant, he thought it not fit to trust the secret vnto him, but to dispatch him: who finding that he was vnpleasing vnto the King in this negotiation, stayed not long there. Hereupon he sent him backe, & requested him to passe by the Duke. But he did wel in taking his way by the *Grisons*, to recouer *Basill*, *Paurentin*, & *Besancon*, for *Renaze* his Secretarie, who passed into *Sauoy* was stayed prisoner. The worke changed nothing but the instrument. *Alphonso*, *Casal*, & *Roncas* continued it with the Baron of *Lux*. In the meane time the Duke of *Biron* slept not, hauing sent a man into *Spaine*, although he were neere vnto the King, who for that he would not loose him, kept him about him, hee carried him to the frontier, and sent him into *England*, where he heard of the death of the Earle of *Essex*. A fresh example of Iustice against those that seeke to be feared of their masters, and abuse their loue. At his returne he made a voyage into *Gascone*, wher he was honored of the Nobility as a Prince, and being returned to *Dijon*, he went into *Suisse*, to conclude the renewing of the Kings Alliance, where he continued his practises with the Count of *Fuentes*, to whom he sent his Secretary, vnder colour to condukt his Pages to *Nona Palma*, a Fort of the *Venetians*. Being returned

Crimes of treason are not pardoned without an abolishment.

He continues the offence pardoned.

Renaze stayed prisoner by the Duke of *Sauoy* command.

A out of *Suisse*, he went not to giue an account of his charge, excusing himselfe vpon the holding of Estates of the Prouince. The King who had some inkling of these broiles, (by *Combellies*) desired greatly to speake with *La Fin*, to be informed of the truth. *La Fin* who had his heart big with dispiht, that the Baron of *Lux* would haue all the frute of of this negotiation, and that *Renaze* was detained prisoner in *Sauoy*, sent *Cerezat* to the Duke of *Biron*, to tell him that he could no longer be his seruant, if hee did not deliuer him *Renaze*, aduertising him also that hee could no longer deferre his going vnto the King, and that he desired to know what he would haue him say, touching things past. He made small account of one of his propositions, and spake of *Renaze* as if he were no more among the liuing. Touching the other he sayd to *Cerezat*, that he was of opinion he should goe to the Court with a small traine, and that he should prepare himselfe at the first, to receiue words of choller and contempt from the King, the which hee should easily calme, in beseeching him to beleue, that the voyage which he had made into *Italy*, was onely for deuotion to our Lady of *Loretto*, and that passing by *Milan* and *Thurin*, they had charged him to propound the marriage of the Duke of *Sauoyes* thirde daughter vnto him, which he would not harken unto, seeing his Maiestie would take the care to marrie him. He intreated and aduised *Cerezat*, to aduise *La Fin*, to dissuade all those that had made the voyages with him, especially of a *Curat*, and to lay his papers in some place of safetie, if he would not burne them, and to consider in the end, that he had in his hands, his Life, his Fortune, and his Honor. *La Fin* came to the Court at *Fontainebleau* in the end of Lent, he spake first with the King, and with *Villeroy* alone, he had conference with the Chancellor in the night, with *Rhosni* in the forest, and with *Sillery* at the pressing place. All had horror to see the writings, and to heare the desseins which they vnderstood. We must not beleue lightly: for slander is subtill & doth seeke to supplant the most innocent actions. But when the preseruatiō of the State is in question, the most doubtfull things are not to bee reiecte nor contemned. The King could hardly beleue so great a wickednes: the facilitie of his bountie made him hard of beleefe. *La Fin* made him to see such apparent and certaine proofs of this conspiracie, as he was forced to beleue more then he desired. Hee declared all that had past in his voyages to the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Earle of *Fuentes*, for the Duke of *Biron*. Saying that hee desired, that the returne of the warre might haue troubled his Maiestie, and profited them that were the cause of it. But seeing that his sacred and inuolable person was not excepted, and that they made cruell desseins against him, he had such horror, as he was resoluēd to giue him intelligence thereof, choosing rather to faile in his promise to the Seruant, then in his dutie to the Master. The King full of clemencie and bountie, was wonderfully greeued to see so vnnatural a conspiracie: Yet he sayd, that if the Conspirators did their duties, and gaue him the meanes they might to prevent the bad desseins of his enemies, he would pardon them. If they wepe said he, I wil weepe with them. If they remember what they owe me, I will not forget what is due to them. They shall find me as full of clemencie, as they are voyd of good affection. I would not haue the Marshall *Biron* the first example of the seueritie of my Iustice, and that he should be the cause that my raigne (which hitherto hath bene like vnto a calme and cleere skie) should be suddenly ouercast with clouds of thunder & lightning. And from that time his resoluēd was, that if the Marshall *Biron* confessed the truth, he would pardon him. His Councell were of that opinion, so as he would imploy himselfe effectually, to doe as much good for the seruice of his estate against his enemies, as he had practised it among them. Of many papers which *La Fin* presented vnto the King, they made choise of 27. peeces: which were not those which concluded most against the Duke of *Biron*, but which made mention onely of him, the King being vnwilling to haue the rest discovered, to the end that the punishment of one, might serue for an example to all. The Chancellor kept these papers with such care, as he caused them to be locked vnto his diblet, being loth to trust any one with them, or shew them till need required. The Baron of *Lux* was at *Fontainebleau* when as *La Fin* arrived, the King sayd vnto him that hee was very well satisfied, that *La Fin* had spoken so honorably, and so wisely

Instructions giuen by the Duke of *Biron* to *La Fin*.

La Fin comes to Court.

The King expects reparatione since one y of the Duke

1602. wisely of the Duke of *Biron* that he knew well his intentions were not converted to any bad desseignes, as they sayd. Hee returned to *Dijon* well content, thinking that all things were found. *La Fin* writes to the Duke of *Biron*, that he had satisfied the King of his actions, and hath sayd nothing but what he thought might serue to banish all bad impressions. The King managed the busines so wisely, as the euent was happy, making shewe to feare no enemies but abroad. He grew eiealous at the arming of so many Gallies at *Genoa* for the King of *Spain*, vnder collour of the Prince of *Piedmonts* passage, least they should haue some enterprise vpon *Prouence*. He therefore commanded the Dukes of *Guise* and *Pantadour*, to be carefull of their charges. He writ to the Couernor of *Lions* (whose intent was to spend some part of the Sommer at *Chaumont*) to returne to *Lions*, for that hee was aduertised from all partes that his enemies had some desseigne there, whereof they wanted. Hee commanded *Lesdigueres* to goe to Horfe-backe if neede were, and when the Gouvernour of *Lions* should send for him; And he caused the Marquis of *Spinolas* troups to bee obserued, the which were readie to passe at *Pont de Grefin* to goe into *Flanders*, the which in truth were but to couer the Duke of *Birons* practises.

An army set
for the
King of
Spain.

The King
goes to Blois.

The flure is
two shillings.

The King parted from *Fontainbleau* to go to *Blois* and so into *Poitou*. There are alwaies in *Strates* (as in great bod es) swellings and bad humors, which are not to be cured by violent remedies, but gently, and by the Princes presence. There were in *Guienne* and *Poitou*, diuers motions, which could not bee dispersed but by the light of the King. He resolved to go into those quarters and to shewe himselfe vnto them Glorious in Peace, who had neuer seene him but Triumphant in Warre. He past to *Blois*, *Tours*, and then to *Poitiers*. His presence did pacifie all Mutinies, which grew by reason of the imposition of a Soule vpon the Liure, and through the apprehension which was giuen the People, that he would giue Garrisons to some Townes, and Citadells to others, and to all in generall an increase of their miseries. But as soone as the King had said vnto them, that he came not to see them and ruine them, but to releue them. That he would build no other Fortresses but in their Hearts, nor vnto any more constraints to succour the necessities of the Crowne, then their own good will: That he desired more to ad and increase, then to take away or diminish their contents: And that hee would not haue the gold of his treasure to bee bathed in the teares and blood of his subiects: there was no man but did blesse the yeares of his raigne, and did wish it immortal. His presence did also disapoint many badde practises, which were growing. *France* was so full of badde humors, as vpon the least motion that came from abroad, it was readie to fall into her former Phrensies.

The great trouble of the Pallace at *Paris*, by the intermission of hearing of causes, and the dismission of Solyciters, (the which happened the twelfth of May, a fatall moneth for the Parisians by a greater reuolt) seemed to preface some newe storme. The cause grew from a decree of the Court, giuen against Solyciters, and by the Kings authority and expresse commandement, who before hee parted from *Paris* to passe the Easter at *Fontainbleau*, sent for the cheefe of the Court of Parliament and of all the other Courtes, to recommend their charges vnto them. From whose owne mouth they vnderstoode, howe much hee desired that all the Iustice might bee administrated with lesse charge, and lesse losse of time. That there was no Iustice for them that had no money; so excessive were the Iudges Spices and the Solyciters fees. The Court of Parliament desiring that according to the Kings minde, intention and last commaunde the excessive (whereof they complained) against the Solyciters, might bee reduced to a meane and iust temper, assembled to redresse those disorders. The opinions beeing heard and numbred, against Aduocates, the first President sheweing that a reformation was as necessary in Iudges as in Solyciters. In the ende a decree was made, by the which it was ordeyned and appointed, that euer Solyciter should set downe vnder his hande, in the ende of his writtings, what hee had taken for his owne

The Spices is
adue vnto
Iudges, vpon
euery cause
that is iudged
continually
in France.

The first de-
crees against
Solyciters.

A owne fees, to the ende that in case of excesse, it might bee moderated, when as the Court should proceede to iudgement of the proceffe. Moreover they should giue a certificate what they had taken for the pleading of causes, to be set downe in the rate of charges, all vpon paine of extortion. The Law was not made against the good, but onely to restrain the auarice of others, who preferre the oportunitie of taking, before all reprehension. All notwithstanding did oppose themselves against the execution of this Law, saying, that they would rather leaue their places, then subiect themselves to the rigour of the Decree, and do so great a wrong to the Dignity and Liberty of their profession.

The Court made an other Law, whereby it was decreed, that such as would not pleade, should deliuer their names vnto the Register, after the which they were forbidden to practise as Solyciters, vpon paine of falshood. This second decree was pronounced in open Assembly in the house of the Kings Attornie generall. The next day there went out of the Chambers of Consultation, by two and two, to the number of three hundred and seuen, they past through the Pallace hall, went to the Register to giue vp their hoods, and to declare that they obeyed the second decree, seeing they could not obey the first. From that time the Pallace was without pleading, the Solyciters being busied to defend themselves, setting downe all the reasons they could for their iustification: yet could they not moue the Court to reuoke or change the Decree: they were forced to haue recourse vnto the King, who to reconcile this diuision, which happened vpon a day, which renewed the memorie of a greater trouble, hee sent his letters to the Parliament in tearmes conformable to his Iustice, and the wisdom of his Councell. By the which it was lawfull for Solyciters to exercise their functions as they had done before the sayd Decree, inioyning them notwithstanding to obserue the ordinance made at *Blois* in that behalfe in the 161. Article. The parties which had sutes did languish in expectation of this declaration. As they complained of the corruption, so they suffered the inconueniencie of the remedie.

The Court which had made many iust and seuerer Lawes against Combats, confirmed the Edict which the King made at *Blois*. Before his Maesties departure from *Fontainbleau*, hee had commanded the Constable, Chancellor, Marshalls of *France*, and the cheefe of his Councell, to deuise some meanes to suppress the libertie of Combats, being so iniurious and preiudiciall to his estate. By their aduise an Edict was made, by the which they that call, or are called, or which assist, or seconds him that calls, or is called, are declared guiltie of high Treason, and to bee punished according to the rigour of the Lawes. Commanding the Constable, Marshalls of *France*, Gouvernours, and Lieutenants generall of Prouinces, to prevent Combats, and to forbid them vpon paine of death to iudge absoulutely, as they shall thinke good, of all that concerns the reparation of wronges, and to force them that are condemned, to satisfie by imprisonment. The King effected his busines happily in *Poitou*: hee found so great an obedience and affection in them to please him, as hee remained very well satisfied. His Maestie left so many testimonies in all places, of his bounty, as all had cause to prayse him, and to blame their practises which sought to trouble the peace. The Duke of *Biron* did not thinke the King should haue found so great obedience and loue, among his subiects of that Prouince. He had sent some of his seruants to Court, to learne how the market went, and to shew the discontent hee had for the iealousie which was conceiued of his Faith, and Dutie. The King who was well informed of his intelligences with the Count of *Fuentes*, resolved to see him, and to keepe him from his enemies. Hee sent *Descares* vnto him, with charge to say, that hauing intelligence of the great Leuies of souldiars made in *Italie*, hee had resolved to maintain the body of an army vpon the fröter, & to giue the charge vnto him, and to that end hee had commanded *De Vrie* his Ambassador in *Swisse*, to demand a speedy leuy of 6000. men, & to cause the to march wher he should haue directiōs: that there in hee followed the Councell of the Constable his gossip, whose aduice hee sent him

A second de-
cree against
Solyciters.

Antidict a-
gainst Com-
bats.

The King
his voyage in
to Poitou in
three weekes.

The King
sends for the
Duke of Biron.

1602. in writing, and desired to haue his by mouth, conuring him to come with speede. A
He stirres not for al that, excusing himselfe sometimes vpon the holding of the Estates:
sometimes that the enemy being so neere, it were an act vnworthy of his reputation to
turne his backe & abandon the Frontier. The King sent the President *Ianin*, a man pow-
erfull in perswasion, who comming to *Dijon*, gaue the Duke to vnderstand howe much
the King desired to see him, and how necessary this sight was, and among many dis-
courses (applied slyly to his humour) hee let him knowe the Kings strength and the
length of his Arme. This was not able to moue him. He considered that the Duke of
Biron must bee perswaded to this voyage, by him that was all of his Councell, & home
he assured that as he should haue all the Honour of this perswasion, so he could expect
nothing but disgrace and ruine of a contrary councell. His friends notwithstanding 3
did conuare him not to come, one of his best friends sent him word by his Brother, that
his Gouvernement was disposed of, and that for his last hope he aduised him to retire
to the *Tranche Comté*. An other friend sent him worde that hee should distrust all he
saue, and all that should bee sayd vnto him to moue him to come: that the Kings
letters were Golden pilles: that *la Fins* assurances were but deceites, and to consider
that the voyage which the *Vidame* of *Chartres* had made to *Antun* (to assure him that
his Vncle had sayd nothing) was made at the Kings charge. But an other friend sent
him a contrary aduice to come, and that his onely presence would disperse all these
bad reports. There was danger in either. The King sware hee would go fetch him. He
should haue seene him selte beseeged with the Kings forces, and farre from the stran-
gers, which had charge to passe into *Flanders*. In going, the foulness of his offence
could giue him no hope of returne. He takes that aduice which he thinkes lesse peri-
lous, & nothing doth so much aduance the execution, as the assurance he takes of that
which *la Fin* had written vnto him, whom hee sees returned to his house contented,
and freed from all distrust. So the Duke promiseth to come vnto the King about the
midest of Iune, to some of his houses neere vnto *Paris*. It was a signe of distrust which
the King dissembled, as being indifferent vnto him. The President *Ianin* goes before, &
the Duke of *Biron*, with *Desfures* followe after by easie iorneyes. Vpon the way hee had
an aduice sent him to come no further, and being at *Montargis* hee was in great res-
tience, but hee had so great a confidence of himselfe, and of the opinion which all the
Court had of his valour, as hee did not beleue there was any man so hardy as to laie
hold of him, and that if he might haue but meanes to drawe his sword, hee would free
himselfe from his enemies. Hee flattered himselfe in his vanity, and pleased himselfe as
Pigmalion did in his Image, and *Narcissus* in his shadowe. The Councell which they
gaue him to humble himselfe vnto the King, was the last Anchor of his helth. He found
no man that spake for his pride, but euery man would haue sayd for his humility. But
his courage was too great to stoope. Presumption had filled his eares with so much
vanity as the voice of Truth could not enter. Many reasons were giuen to stay him
in his iorney. But it is impossible to auoide the prouidence of Heauen. The Duke of *Bi-
ron* wil needes carry his head to the Kings Iustice. The discours of Reason, or the iudge-
ments of Truth preuaile not with a spirit transported with passions. There were
many badde presages of the Dukes voyage. A Ducke came into his Cabinet and
no man knewe howe, hee commanded it should bee carefully kept, but as soone
as hee was parted it died. Presently after the Horse which the Arch-duke gaue
him called *Pastrana*, fell madde and killed himselfe. The like happened to a Horse
which he had from the great Duke. An other Horse which the Duke of *Lorraine* gaue
him, pined to death.

He came to *Fontainebleau*, when as they had no more hope of his comming, and the
King had resolved within two or three daies after to go into *Bourgogne*. His Maiesty
walking in the great garden about sixe of the clocke in the morning, was herd say
vnto the Lord of *Souray*. *He will not come*. He had scarce spoken these words, but he
sees him enter with seauen or eight with him. The King sayd, *he comes slyly to conduct
him to his house*. Hee aduanceth and makes three great courties a good distance off.
The

A The King embraced him and sayd; *That he was come in good time to conduct him to his
House*, which words were diuersly vnderstood by the hearers. The first wordes he
had vnto the King, was vpon the occasion of his comming, beginning to excuse his
long stay. The King gaue eare to fewe words, but tooke him by the Hand, to walke
and to shew him the plot of his building. Passing from one Garden to another, the
Duke of *Espernon* saluting the Duke of *Biron*, told him in his eare, that in comming he
had giuen more credit to his owne Courage, then to the counsell of his Friends. In all
the discourse which he had with the King, as there appeared Coldnes in the counte-
nance of the one, so there was some signe of Perturbation in the others words. The
King talked vnto him of the bad course he had taken, the which had no other issue,
then Ruine, Repentance and Dispayre. The Duke of *Biron* answered, *That hee was not
come yther to Iustifie himselfe, or to demand Pardon, or to accuse his Friends*. He let scape
many other Words, which his Maiesties presence and the Lawe of Duty should haue
restrayned. Dinner time being come, he desired to dine with the Duke of *Espernon*, for
that his own Traine was not yet come. After Dinner they came to see the King, who
hauing walked a litle in the Hall, retired into his Cabinet, commanding two or three
to enter, and sayd nothing to the Duke of *Biron*, who stayd at the corner of the Bed
towards the Chayre, obseruing that he was not respected as he had wont to be, & that
he was no more in Opinton and Admiration as he had bin. The Marquis of *Rhefisy* en-
tered into the Cabinet, & hauing staid there almost halfe an hower, he came forth and
saluted the Duke of *Biron*, telling him, that the King asked for him. There he was per-
swaded not to conceale that which time could not long keepe hidden, & whereof the
King was to well informed; that what he desired to knowe from the Dukes owne mouth,
was but to let him see, that none but himselfe should haue knowledge thereof. The Duke
of *Biron* (who thought that *la Fin* had not discovered any thing) continued stil firme, vp-
on the protestations of his innocency, beseeching the King to do him Iustice against
the that sought to oppresse him by Slanders; insupportable to the Conscience so cleare
as his was, or to suffer him to take his reuenge by the Sword. The King led him to the
Tennis-court: hee would make the match, saying; *That the Duke of Espernon and hee,
would play against his Maiesty and the Count of Soissons*. The Duke of *Espernon* answe-
red presently; *You play well, but you make your matches ill*. At night he supped with the
Lord Steward. It appeared he was not content. He ate nothing, no man spake to him,
and they held him for a man abandoned to misfortune. Yet he thought no man would
lay hand on him, trusting too much in his own courage. The King in the meane time
walked in his chamber, deuising of some great resolutiō, he was heard speak these words
He must bend or breake. He gaue him time to take counsell of his Conscience, & to eu-
aporate those bad humors which did choake him. The night past so quietly as many
thought it would be, but a Thunderclap, which made a great noise, & did little harme;
that the King would rest iustified to haue discovered the Treason, and taken all meanes
from the Traytors to hurt him, not being conuenient to discouer all the conspirators.
E He commanded the Count of *Soissons* to go to the Duke of *Biron*, & to do what he could
to dissolue the hardnes of his Heart, & to draw the truth from him: he goes vnto him,
he coniuers & adiuers him, to think of that which he thought least of, to humble him-
selfe, and to feare the Lions pawe, & the indignation of a King. The Duke of *Biron* an-
swered, *That the King could not complaine but of the good seruices he had done him, & that
he had great reason to complaine that he suspected his Loyalty, hauing giuen him so many proofs*.
The Count of *Soissons* hauing obserued his humor, & what litle frute might be drawne
from his obdurate Heart, by any more perswasions, who beleued that the King had
sent him to draw something from him, he left him. Early the next morning the King
walking in the litle Garden, he sent for the Duke of *Biron*, and talked long with him,
thinking to reclaime him, & to giue him meanes to free himselfe from the mischief in-
to the which he did run headlong by his wilfulness. He continued long bare-headed,
lifting his eyes vp to heauen, beating his Breast, & making great protestations to main-
taine his innocency. There appeared choller in the Kings countenance, & by the Duke
of *Biron*'s behauiour there seemed fire in his words.
From

The President
Ivanin went
to him.

Diuers adui-
ces giuen to
the Duke of
Biron.

He received
many mella-
ges to turne
him backe.

Badnes of
the Duke of
Biron's voyage.

Hee comes to
Fontainebleau
the 13. of
Iune.

1602.

He excuseth
his stay.

The Kings fa-
uour to him
growne cold.

The Duke of
Biron not re-
spected

The Duke of
Biron Iustifies
himselfe.

1602.

Diffimulation
a new vertue
in Princes.In great acci-
dens Iustice
is without
formality.The Duke of
Biron carried
a short SwordHe praifeth
the King of
Spaine.He plaies at
Primero with
the Queene.

From thence the Duke went to dinner, by the way he met one with a Letter which A
aduised him to retire himselfe: he shewed it to the Capitaine of his Gard, who wish-
ed that he had bene stabd with a Dagger so as he had not come. He mocked at all
them which foretold his fall, and seemed alwayes hardy and bold in his answers. The
King heard his braueries coldly, but not able to apply himselfe to dissemble, which
is held a new vertue in Princes, he still cast out some words of the bad estate into the
which his wilfulness would bring him. The King was much troubled in minde before
he could resolve: the Lords of *Villeroy*, *Sillery* and *Genre* went and came often, before
they could vnderstand wherunto it tended. Many thought it was to shorten the course
of Iustice, in so apparent a crime, and begin with the execution, dealing with the Duke
of *Biron* as *Alexander* did with *Parmenio*, for Princes are Masters of the Lawes, they
haue one forme of Iustice for great men, and another for those whose quality requires B
not so great respect. In these accidents there is no difference whether bloud be drawn
before or after dinner; Necessary teacheth the disorder, and the Profit doth recom-
pence the example, so as the Estate be preserved by the death of him that is preuen-
ted. But the King will none of that. He proceedes with more Courage and Generosi-
ty: These examples of Execution had bene blamed in his Predecessors, he will haue
his Subiects, and all the World to know, that he hath power and authority sufficient
to roote out by the forme of Iustice, not the Authors of such a Conspiracie, for they
be Devils, but the Complices and the instruments how terrible soeuer. He will haue
the Solemnities and lawfull Ceremonies obserued, and that they be iudged by the C
rigour of the Lawes.

The resolution was taken to apprehend him, & in like sort to seize vpon the Count
of *Auvergne*. The King would not haue them taken in the Castle, but in their Lodg-
ings. The Duke of *Biron* who had some doubt thereof, and who was prepared for that
which he could not fore-see nor preuent, thought that hee needed not to feare any
thing in the Kings Chamber, and that all the danger were at the going forth; and
therefore he provided himselfe of a short Sword, with the which he presumed to make
his passage. They gaue the King to vnderstand, that if he were apprehended in any
other place, it must needs be bloody: that to auoide an inconuenience, it was good
to passe ouer respects that were more Vaine then necessary. The King walking in the
Gallery, called for *Vitry* and *Pralin*, and gaue them order how he would haue his com-
mandments executed, and then he called for his supper. The Duke of *Biron* supped at
Montignys Lodging, where he spake more proudly and vainly then euer, of his owne
Merits, and of the friends he had gotten in *Suisse*. Then he fel to commend the deceas-
ed King of *Spaine*, his Piety, Iustice and Liberality. *Montigny* stayed him sodainly,
saying, *That the greatest commendation they could giue vnto his memory, was to haue put*
his owne Sonne to death for that he had attempted to trouble his Estates. This speech brake
off the Duke of *Birons* discourse, who answered but with his eyes, and thought of it
with some little amazement. After Supper the Count of *Auvergne* and the Duke of
Biron came to the King, who walked in the Garden. They were well accompanied,
intending to haue gone with a lesse Trayne. It was sayd the Dukes Horses were fad-
led ready to be gone, and that he had asked leaue in the Morning. The King hauing
done walking, inquired the Duke of *Biron* to play; they entred into the Queenes Cha-
ber. The Count of *Auvergne* passing by the Duke at the entry of the Doore, sayd vnto
him in his eare, *We are vndon.* There played at Primero, the Queene, the Duke of
Biron (vpon whom all the mischeefe must fall,) and two others. The King played at
Chesse, and in playing did acte the part of *Vlisses*, going and coming to giue order
to his affayres. It appeared that his Spirit was troubled with a waighty action. He en-
tered into his Cabiner, being perplexed with two contrary Passions, doubtfull where-
vnto he should yeeld. The Loue which he had borne to the Duke of *Biron*, the know-
ledge he had of his Valour, and the remembrance of his seruices, made him to reiect F
all thoughts of Iustice, and to intreat him, as *Licurgus* had done him that put out his
Eye. On the other side, feare of trouble in his Estate, and the apprehension of the
execrable

A execrable effects of so vnaturall a Conspiracy, accused his Clemency of cruelty, 1602.
which preferred the priuate before the publike. He praied vnto God to assist him with
his holy Spirit, to pacifie the Combat which he felt in his soule, and to fortessie him
with a holy resolution, to that which should be for the good of his People, ouer whom
he commanded by his onely Grace. His praier being ended, all difficulties which trou-
bled him were dispersed, and he fully resolved to deliuer the Duke of *Biron* into the
hands of Iustice, if he might not otherwise draw the truth from him of his bad attempts.
They continued play still, the King taking the Queenes place sometimes, attending
the end of his resolutions. The Count of *Auvergne* was rettyred, The King sent for
him, and walked vp & down the chamber whilest the Duke of *Biron* dreimpt of nothing
but his Game. *Varennes* Lieutenant of his Company, making a shewe to take vp his
Cloake, told him in his eare, *That he was vndon.* This word troubled him so, as he neg-
lected his Game. The Queene obserued it and told him, *That he had misreckoned him-
selfe to his owne lesse:* The King said; *That they had plaied ynough, commanding euery
man to retire.* He entred into his Cabiner, & commanded the Duke of *Biron* to enter
with him, whose Health or Ruine depended vpon an answer pleasing to his Maiesty.
Who willed him once for all to declare what he had done with the Duke of *Sauoy*, &
the Count of *Fuentes*, and that he should assure himselfe, his Clemency should be grea-
ter then his fault. The Duke of *Biron* who beleued that he deserued Death that de-
manded Life, had not the Heart to humble himselfe, nor the Tongue to craue pardon. He will not
C He answered the King more boldly then euer, *That they had ouerprest an Honest man,* humble him-
and that he neuer had any other desaigne, then that which he had sayde. *I would to Gods* selfe to the
were so, replied the King, *but you will not tell it mee: Adieu, Good night.* Kings Cle-
As he goes out off the Cabiner, and had past the chamber doore, he met with *Vitry*,
who layes his hand vpon his Sword, and demands it of him by the Kings command-
ment. *From me said the Duke of Biron, to take away my Sword who haue so well serued the* He is seized
King? my Sword, who haue ended the War, and haue setled a Peace in France? That my on at the
Sword which my Enemies could neuer take from me, should be taken from me by my friends. Kings cham-
He intreated the Duke of *Montbazan* to beseech the King, to giue him leaue to deli-
uer it into his owne hands. The King sent *Vitry* charge to doe his commandment, ber doore.
D The Duke of *Biron* was forced to suffer them to take it from him, and in deliuering it,
he cast his eyes about him, to see if hee could seize vpon some other, but they had
preuented him. When as he sawe all the Gard placed in order in the Gallieye,
hee thought they would haue slaine him, and demanded something in his hand,
That he might haue the Honour to die in defending himselfe, and some little time to
praye vnto God. They answered him; *That there was not any man would offend him,*
that they had no other charge from the King, but to conduct him to his lodging. You see
(said he in passing,) how they intreat good Catholikes. Hee was conducted to the
Cabinet of Armes, whereas he neither slept, nor layed downe. *Pralin* went to the
Count of *Auvergne*, declared vnto him the Kings Commandment, and deman-
E ded his Sword; *Hold, take it said the Count, it hath neuer killed any but wilde Bores,* The Count
if thou hadst aduertised mee of this, I had bene in bed and a sleepe two houres since. of *Auvergne*
These two Noblemen were like vnto two Torches, which beeing held downward taken.
are quenched with the Waxe which did nourish them and giue them light. And
as if all the Dukes power had bene in his Sword, as soone as he had deliuered it,
he remayned as a Body without a Soule, and was in a moment deprived of all that
which *Galba* held most precious among Men; Fayth, Liberty, and Friendshipp.
There came no word out off his Mouth but did offend God or the King. Hee suffe-
red himselfe to bee carried away with extreame impatience. The foresight of mi-
serie which doth moderate it in others, made it insupportable to him, cursing him-
selfe and his Indiscretion, in that hee had not beleued his good friends, who ad-
vised him to make his Peace a farre off. This Choller in effect was not much vnlike
vnto a Madde man, but in the countenance. for sodainly he reclaimed himselfe and
considered that all his Cries and Words were not of force to saue him.

Presently

1602. Presently Dispatches were made to all the Princes and Potentats of Christendome, to Gouvernors of Prouinces and to Ambassadors, who were amazed at this accident, as of a most odious conspiracy, by a person that was so much obliged. Those which favoured it, gaue out false brutes in Italy, that it was a blowe giuen to Religion, to weaken it in the ruine of him who said that he desired no more glorious Title, then to be furnished *The Source of the Huguenots*. That it was an aduice from England to breake the Iuelins one after another. The King would haue these false impressions made cleare by the light of truth, euen whereas the passion of his Enemies did seeke to obscure it. One wryting out off the Realme vpon this subiect, said; *That it was no question of Religion, but to dismember the Crowne, and to diuide it at the discretion of the Council of Spaine, and the Duke of Sauoy, rooting out the King and his Race. It may bee the Authors and Vndertakers would haue bene troubled in the execution of their desseigne, although we had not prevented them, as now we haue. But it was the end wherunto they aspired. The names of many haue bene drawn in vnkowne to them, the which the Kings Justice might well discerne and veresie: you must not be moued with the bruits which fly abroad, but beleue what I write vnto you, for it is the very truth.* The next day about Dinner-time, the Duke of *Biron* sent to tell his Maiesty; That if he tooke not order for *Burgundy* was lost, for that as soone as the Baron of *Lux*, should heare of his Imprisonment he would vndoubtedly deliuer *Dijon*, and *Beaune* vnto the *Spaniard*. These words did greatly offend the King, who said; Behold the Boldnesse and impudency of the Marshall *Biron*, who sends me word, that *Burgundy* is lost, if I take not order, and that the Barron of *Lux* will draw in the *Spaniard* when he shall heare of his imprisonment. His Obstinacy hath vndone him, if he would haue told me the truth of one thing whereof I haue prooffe by his owne hand writing, he should not be where he is; I would I had payd two hundred thousand Crowns, that he had giuen me meanes to pardon him. I neuer loued any so much as him. I would haue committed my Son and Realme into his hands. He hath done mee good seruice, yet he cannot deny but I haue thrice saued his life. I drewe him out off the enemies hands at *Fontaine-Francoise*, so wounded, and so amazed with blowes, that as I played the Souldiar to saue him, I also plaid the Marshall to make the Retreat, for he told mee that he was not then in case to do it, nor to serue mee. The King attended not this aduertisement from the Duke of *Biron*, for he had already sent the Marshall *Lauardin* to settle his authority in that Prouince, with a resolution to march in person if there were neede. His enemies were not without feare, doubting that he would proceed farther, nothing being so much to be feared as an enemy that hath alwayes vanquished. About fiftene daies before *Fourg l'Aspinasse* receiued a Commission to raise a regiment of ten companies, and *Nereftan* had the like to supply his. The order was to send them into *Prouence*, but necessity had drawne them into *Bourgongne* with two regiments of *Suisses*, vnder the commandes of the Colonells, *Galaty* and *Heyd*, and a great quantity of Artillery drawn out of the Arcenal of *Paris*, & that of *Lions*, if all the Country had not presently yeelded obedience to their Prince. The President *Janin* made many voyages therewith great expedition. Some of the Duke of *Birons* seruants had a desire to rise. The Baron of *Lux* was rettyred to *Saux*, the King sent them word that they must seeke the prisoners liberty by proofes of obedience, and not by effects of rebellion, and that he would iudge of his intentions by the behaiour of his seruants. The Townes of *Dijon* and *Beaune* intrenched themselves against the Castells, who (acknowledging that it were not only a rashnesse, but an iniustice to fall from their obedience) deliuered the places into the Marshall *Lauardins* hands for the King. *Bresse* continued quiet through the care of *Bosse*. All France was in Peace, euery man detesting the Duke of *Biron* and his Adherents. The King seemed to be very well satisfied, seeing things to succeed better then he expected, hauing found all obedience and submission in them who in shewe were most bold and resolute to trouble his affayres. He was more respected and feared of them then euer, and there was no man so great, but did humble himselfe. He sayde openly, that he was resolu'd not to indure his Subiects to play any more

False brutes
of the causes
of his imprisonment.

A Letter written
by one of
the Kings seruants,

The Duke
of *Biron*
thinks to
feare the
King.

The Marshall
Lauardin sent
into *Burgundy*

A more with their King, abusing his bounty as many had done, contemning his actions as vniustly and rashly as without punishment. The Prisoners were led to the Bastille at *Paris* on the Saterdag after. The Duke of *Biron* going in the Boat seemed heauy and Pensue. The Count of *Auvergne* was merry and Dined. The Duke of *Firon* entered into the Bastille as into a Graue. The Count of *Auvergne* went as to the Louure, and imagined that the place where he should be, could not be a Prison. The King entered into the City the same night, and the people with great cries of Ioy, blessed his returne, and pray'd God for their Captiuitie that would haue brought France againe into seruitude. There were new forces which passed the Alpes. The Spanish Ambassador demanded passage for *Flanders*, beseeching the King not to beleue that his Master was acquainted with the Duke of *Birons* desseignes. There was some likelihood that their journey was not so farre, for they could not but arrive to late, Count *Maurice* was entred into *Brabant*, to passe into *Flanders* to the releefe of *Ostend*. The Archduke was prepared to hinder him; they must measure their forces, & it was most certaine before this new army had past the Alpes, they had met. This made their marching to be much suspected, & had done more, if the President *Janin* had not assured the King, that the Baro of *Lux* would not giue care to the offers that were made him, promising to bring him to the Court, where the King offered him all surety. His Maiesty was aduertised that the Count of *Fuentes* (one of the cheefe Instigators of the Duke of *Birons* Conspiracy with the Duke of *Sauoy*) had caused his forces to aduance vnder colour of sending them into *Flanders*, to giue fauour and countenance to his Partisans that were in *Bresse* and *Burgundy* to encourage them and to withdraw them from his Maiesties obedience. For these reasons as the Ambassador of *Spaine* did presse to haue the passage of the Riuer of *Rhofne* free. The King who beleueed that by reason of things past, he could not be to distrustfull answered, I will not leaue the Frontier vnarmed, vntill I be satisfied by the arraignment of the Duke of *Firon*, what account I shall make of the faith of the King of *Spaine* your Maister, touching the obseruation of the Peace. You will haue me beleue that he was ignorant of the plots and practises layde with the Count of *Fuentes*, and I answer that it is hard to beleue that his money, hath bene so bountefully employed without his priuiey and command: yet I meane not to breake the commerce that is allowed by our Treaties. He had only commanded the Marshall *Lauardin* to Lodge and Campe vpon the frontier, to defend the entry of his Estates. *D'Albigny* hauing bragged; that if he attempted to retrench the passage, he should loone haue it laide open by Aumes. But the *Spaniards* durst not attempt to passe the Bridge of *Gresin*, fearing to be Repulst and Charged, & rettyred to *Rumilly* and *Anicy*. In the end the King seeing that they feared more their owne harme, then they had any desire to do harme, he suffered them to passe.

But to retune to the Duke of *Biron*, it was a strange thing that hauing consulted with himselfe, whether he should come to Court or not, he neglected his Friends aduice, and tooke the worst resolution. A mind transported with passion, reiects the best reasons, and retains the most dangerous opinions. Like vnto a Boulter which lets the Flower passe, and keepest nothing but the Branne. Before his departure from *Dijon*, they said at *Maisilles* that he was taken, and in parting his friends sent him word that he should leaue his Head where he carried it: and that there was no returne for him. Neuer Prisoner was better Garded with more Care, Order, and Vigilancy. The King caused the Duke to be kept as in his owne Houfe, and at liberty. And for that Nature hath found no other remedies against the iniuries of Fortune, and the wearinesse of Life, then Death, they feared that he would offer Violence to himselfe. And therefore those which kept him, carried no Armes, and seeing himselfe sent with a Knife without a poynt, he sayd it was the way to the Graue. Scorning at death, he sayd, that it could not come vnlooked for, to a Man well resolu'd, nor strange to him that hath foreseene it, nor shamefull to a resolute Minde. Yet he found that it is a miserable life not to be able to dye, being deprived of all meanes to aduance Death, and to haue no other consolation but in the onely desire of an impossible thing.

1602.

The King
comes to *Paris*

Passage of
troopes for
Flanders

The King commands
the Marshall *Lauardin*
to campe vpon
the Frontiers.

The Flare of
the prison
in the Bastille.

The Graue is
the publick
place of execution
in *Paris*.

1602.

He spent the first dayes of his Imprisonment, without eating or sleeping. These A violent motions of Choller, and the heat of his blood, put him into a Feauer, and Griefe carried fuming passions vnto his Braine, which increased his sicknesse, in the which (as in all other diseases) the feare of Death, the payne of his Body, and the alteration of his Life, did much augment the greefe of his Prison. Hee was some- what affrayd least vnder colour of remedy, they should giue him Poyson to cure all his griefes, and therefore hee would haue them take a taste of euery thing, although there were no other assurance of his life, but what his owne Conscience could giue vnto him.

His words in Prison.

His Captiuitie deprived him not of the liberty of speaking. The fire of his Courage was not smothered vnder the Ashes of this affliction. What saide hee? and what saide he not? Choller thrust forth a steeme of Words, in the which there was not a droppe of Reason. Sometimes hee saide; That if they desired to put him to death, they should dispatch him; that they should not bragge they had made him to feare death; that they should speedily drinke themselves drunke, with the blood which remained of thirty and five Woundes, which hee had receiued for the seruice of France. They feared that Solitarinesse, Fasting, Melancholy and change of the place would trouble his Braine, and thrust him into some furious passion. To pacifie the discontent of his first imprisonment, they perswaded him to submit himselfe to the mercy of God, and gaue him hope of the Kings pardon. The Archbishop of Bourges went to see him, he dissuaded him from many bad Maximes of Conscience, and satisfied him of many poynts which hee held against the purity and integrity of a iust Confession: He desired to speake with Villerey and Silery, who went to see him by the Kings commandment. In the beginning of his imprisonment, hee talked of nothing but of Iustice, but knowing his fault hee had no hope but in the Kings Mercy. Someone published an admonition at Paris, beseeching the King to change the punishment of death into perpetual Imprisonment, his Imprisonment into Banishment, and his Banishment into an honourable seruitude to make War against the Turke. That if by his offences hee did not merit to serue the State, which hee sought to ruine, yet he might serue the Generall Estate of Christendome. This Councell was dangerous, for who could assure the King that he would make War in Hungary: and what caution could be sufficient for France? Hee had bene more dangerous without it, then with it. A burning firebrand casts more flame and smoke without a Chimney, then with it. Hee added moreouer, that he should forbid him the carrying of Armes, and tie him from the War, but if he should haue made his house his Prison, who should haue kept him? if he had designes of revenge in Prison, what would hee haue done at Liberty? Many which respect no more the Lawes of Honour, then of Iustice, would haue repayed vnto him, to bring in incurable mitchiefs. I here was an intent to saue him. The Iron worke was forged in Bresse. The refusal of five hundred Crownes, for the Petardier hindred the execution. As soone as he was a Prisoner, euery one saide he was a dead Man: and seeing himselfe so carefully garded, hee sayde; *that they did not put Birds of his sort into a Cage, to suffer them to escape.* Hee made that Iudgement of himselfe, which the Admirall did of the Earles of Egmont and Harne, when he heard they were Prisoners: when they once come to accuie and imprison a Man of courage and faction, it is more dangerous to absolve him then to condemne him. The King sent his Letters to the Parliament, to proceed in the Criminall and extraordinary Processe of the Duke of Biron, according to the formes which are to bee obserued in Crimes of so great importance, against persons of his quality: all other attayres set aside. The Commissioners appointed for the King, were *Achilles de Harlay* first President in the Court of Parliament at Paris. *Nicholas Potier* second President and Councillor of State to his Maiesty. *Stephen Fleury* and *Phillibert of Thuin*, Councillors of the Parliament, good Iudges, but not to bee moued in Crimes of State. Informations were taken at the Bastille. The Prisoner made some Ceremonies to answer, but being entred into discourse, hee gaue the Commissioners

Letters to the Court of Parliament to make his Processe.

Commissioners appointed.

matter

1602.

A matter ynough to worke on, confessing in a manner all. From his answers alone they might haue framed his Condemnation, saying ynough to make him loose as many Liues as hee had Yeares. Hee had so ill gouerned his Iudgement in his Prosperity, as it did him no seruice during his Imprisonment; yeelding sometimes vnto Griefe, sometimes vnto Choller, and alwayes to Indiscretion, speaking as much to Ruine himselfe, as to Discharge him. Hee was Confronted with the Witnesses Face to Face; but when a hee did see *la Fin*, hee fell into an extreme shaking. The first President asked the Prisoner *If hee would except any thing against La Fin.* He answered; *That he held him for a Gentleman of Honour, his Friend, and his Kinsman.* But when hee had heard his Deposition, hee cried out against him as the most execrable Man in the World, appealing to all the Powers of Heauen and Earth, to iustifie his Innocency. *La Fin* grieved that he should hold him for a Slanderer (a name common to all wicked Men) sayd vnto him: *That he was sorry they were in a place where the one was allowed to speake all, and the other was forced to heare all.* Hee maintained all he had saide against him, and spake more playnely of his Conspiracy, then in his Deposition. The Prisoner said, *That if Renaze were there, he would auerre the contrary.* He was brought before him, wher at he was much amazed to see him, whom he held to be dead; and who was out of his remembrance, as in an other World. Hee then beleueed that the Duke of Sauoy had set him at Liberty to ruine him, he felt his Conscience toucht, when as all things conspired to his Condemnation. An admirable Iudgement of Gods secret Iustice, in this escape of *Renaze*. Mens intentions produce contrary effects. Hee was detayned prisoner at *Quiers in Piedmont*, to the end he should not discouer this practise; he escapes from his Gard, and comes to fortifie his Maisters Deposition, who else had bene but one witnesse.

He is amazed to see Renaze whom he held to be dead.

He had many Friends, but not to iustifie his Innocency, as *Plato* sayth, *That many Friends is a signe of Wisdome, and want of them shewes the contrary.* There were none that durst presume to sue for his Liberty or Pardon. The King had made this attempt so Detestable and Odious to all the Princes and Noble men of the Court, and the meanes to execute it so execrable, as all his Friends were silent: there were some that saide, that for any other crime, yea if he had killed a Prince in the Kings Cabinet, they would haue begged his pardon, and would haue sacrificed their Children to the Kings Iustice for an expiation of the Offence; rather then to loose him. But in this acte, Friendship was Conspiracy, and Intercession a Crime. His Friends went to *S. Maur* where the King was: they cast themselves at his Maiesties feet to implore his Mercy, and to moderate the severity of his Iustice, more in consideration of his Father, then for any respect of the Sonnes seruices which could not equall his fault. The King said, That it was a matter of such importance for his Estate, that he was constrained to leaue it to the course of Iustice; that to haue attempted against him who was his King, and his Benefactor was insupportable; that he could not remit this Crime, but he must ruine himselfe, the Queene his Wife, his Sonne, and his Estate. That he knew they were such true hearted *Frenchmen*, that as they desired not the one, so they would haue patience for the other. They hauing knowne the foulnesse of the fact, and the reasons which forced Clemency to yeeld vnto Iustice, abandoned the purpose. The Countesse of *Rouffy* solicited the Court. The Prisoners Mother was not there. The King commanded the Court of Parliament to proceede to Iudgement, without any intermission. The Prisoner was a Peere of France, the Baronic of *Biron* being made a Duchie and a Paire by the King. A Peere cannot be iudged but by the King and his Peeres, but the King is neuer present when he is a Party, and that the accusation of the Party concernes his Person, his Honour, or his Estate. And although the Order of the Ancient Peeres be more in number then by the first institution, for that of the six Secular Peeres, five are vnited vnto the Crowne, and the six doth no more obey the King, yet the newe created enioy the same Priuileges and Prerogatiues that the ancient did, and the last although he be about the number, shal not bee iudged but by his Peeres: but may assist at the Iudgement of another Peere,

No man dares sue for him.

A Peere cannot be iudged but by his Peeres.

Nnnnn 2

and

1602. and haue his voyce as well as the Duke of *Burgundy*, who is the Deane of the Peeres. A yea the Wiues, whose Lands are erected into Paynes, or that hold it by successiō may assist. *Mathilda* Countesse of *Arthois* Peere of *France*, was called; and deliuered her opinion with the other Peeres at the iudgement of *Robert Earle of Arthois*. But if the Peeres being called do not appeere, they may proceed. The Peeres of *France* were called to the arraignment of the Duke of *Biron*, they appeared not.

The Peers
come not.

His Proceffe,
reported.

His request
reiected.

They which
are accused,
of Crimes
must plead for
themselves.

The Court forbear not to proceed, notwithstanding their absence. All the Chambers beeing assembled, the Chancellor accompanied by *Maisses* and *Pontcarre* (two Councillors of the State) entred into the Parliament, two Sargents at armes and some officers of the Chancery going before him. Hee was received at the entring of the Barre by two ancient Councillors, and beeing saluted by the Court, hee set him downe in the Presidents place: hauing deliuered the Kings intention, and his assurance of the integrity and wisdom of the Court, vpon an occasion importing the State, and vpon a foule crime in a person other waies recommended for his seruices, he made a signe to *Stephen Fleury* the Reporter of the Proceffe to begin. This was done for want of the Peeres. A request was made in the prisoners name, that it would please the Court to allow him Councell to direct him in the formes of their proceeding, whereof he was as ignorant, as he had let all *France* know how well hee understood the Art of War. *De la Gesle* the Kings Attorney Generall being heard vpon this request, and *Seruin* the Soliciter Generall speaking for him, he said, that although this request seemed to be grounded vpon some Presidents for that the like had bin granted vnto the Prince of *Condé*. Yet there was great diuersity and many considerations for the denying of this. Their opinions being giuen, it was reiectéd. *Cicero* pleaded for *Rabirius* and *Anthony* for *Norbanus*, but there is no Aduocate admitted for Treason; Counsell depends of the Conscience of him that is accused, his defence must come from his owne innocency, and hee may well free himselfe from blame, without the mediation of any man, and without the helpe of an Aduocate. If he be innocent, Truth will confound all the practises of his Accusers; If hee be Guilty there is no excuse nor euasion but his guiltinesse will appeare. It is not lawfull to defend the Wicked, and Good men haue no neede of Defence. They spent three sittings to examine the informations, which done, the conclusions of the Attorny Generall were read and followed. There rested nothing but to heare the Prisoner and to call him before the Parliament. While they were viewing of the Proceffe, one had set vp a discourse vpon the Pallace Gate, to moue the Iudges to pitty, and that they should not punish the weaknesse of *Adam*, for the Serpents subtilty. The Lord of *Montigny* came vnto the Bastille about foure of the clocke in the morning; the Prisoner who alwayes slept little, (holding sleepe to bee no life) was already vp and at his Deuotion: hee would not trouble him in so necessary an action, but stayed vntill he had done. Entering into his Chamber, hee told him the occasion of his coming, that the Court was assembled for his Proceffe; that the Lord Chancellor was there, and had commanded him to bring him. Hee seemed a little troubled, although he had bene aduertised that hee should bee sent for. Being ready, hee goes out off the Bastille, thinking neuer to returne, and that they drewe him out off the cares of Captiuitie, to leade him vnto the darknesse of Death, and that hee left the prison to loofe his Life. Hee was conducted in the Marquis of *Rhoisies* Carosse, through the Arcenall to the Riuer side, where he entred into a Boate couered with Tapistrie, in the which the Kings Gardes were, The chiefe Approches, the Ports, the Greue and the Towne house, were manned with *Swisses*. Hee entred into the Pallace by the first Presidents Garden, and went to rest himselfe in one of the Chambers, vntill hee were sent for, presenting him a Breakfast before he entred.

He enters and
is heard in the
Garde chamber.

The houre beeing come, the Register went to call him, and hee entered into the Golden Chamber. The place whereas Strangers haue come to implore Iustice of the King; whereas great Kings haue held it an Honour to haue a place: where

1602. A where he himselfe had set, & had bin honoured with the most glorious Titles of Vertue: whereas one of the Kings Soliciters had said; That *Biron* had none before him to imitate: that he could imitate none but himselfe, and that he made himselfe imitable to them that should come after him. This Place I say, shining with the beames of the Kings Iustice, made him to remember the change of his condition, the which made him somewhat to blush: an accident which happens to the most assured. These Scarlet Roabes do more amaze him then all the red Cassocks of *Spain*, or the most fierce incounters of his enemies. Hee had no other place, then that which was appointed for men accused, being set vpon a stoole within the Barre, but finding himselfe to lare off to heare, or to be heard; hee rose vp, and carried his stoole neerer, saying vnto the Chancellor, *Excuse mee my Lord, I cannot heare you, except you speake louder*. When the Duke of *Alanson* was examined before the King, and in open Court, he was set in the midst of the Hall vpon a lowe Stoole; the Constable of *Luxemburg*, the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Chancellor of *Poyet*, were set within the Barre like to the Duke of *Biron*. He sat with his Cloake vnder his right arme, holding his Hand sometimes by his side, after a brauing manner, the which notwithstanding did not become him ill, hauing his Armes free to lift vp his Hand to Heauen, and to strike his Breast, when he would protest of his Loyalty to the Kings Seruice. They would not haue allowed it in another, being expected that men accused should shew Humility outwardly, and Feare inwardly.

In this Estate the Duke of *Biron* thought that in this great Senate hee should finde some one that would doe for him as *Sempronius Gracchus* had done for *Scipio*, that hee would speake openly, that he would neuer indure the Common weale should receive that disgrace to see *Scipio* set in the Rancke and Habit of Men accused for Crimes. Hee whome the Court had seene sit vpon the Flower-de Luce, in recompence of the great seruices which he had done. The Chancellor fitted his discourse in such sort, as there was no occasion to call him by his name, nor by those of his qualities. Of many points that were in his Proceffe he collected five principall, the rest consisted in presumptions, whereof he made no accompt. For that wee must neuer moue the opinion of the Iudges vpon a matter that is without proofe. The first was to haue had Conference with one called *Picoté* borne at *Orleans* and fled into *Flamanders*, to haue intelligence with the Archduke, and had giuen him a hundred and fifty Crownes for two Voyages to that effect. The second was; That hee had Treated with the Duke of *Sauoy* three dayes after his coming to *Paris*, without the Kings permission, offering him all Assistance and Seruice against all Men, vpon hope of Marriage with his third Daughter. The third, that hee had had intelligence with the Duke of *Sauoy* in the taking of *Bourg* and other places, giuing him aduice to Attempt against the Kings Army, and against his owne person, discovering many things of importance. The fourth was; That he would haue brought the King before *S. Katherins* Fort to bee slaine there: and to that ende had written to the Gouverneur, giuing him some tokens whereby he should know his Maestie. The fift was;

Accusations
of the Duke
of Biron.

That hee had sent *la Fin* to Treat with the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Count of *Fuentès*. The Duke of *Biron* denied all that hee had confessed at his first examination, holding it no danger to suppress the Truth, when as Confession may hurt. To the first the Duke of *Biron* answered, That *Picoté* being his prisoner in the *Franch County* and knowing that hee was acquainted with Captaine *la Fortune*, (who was his friend) he thought hee might employ him for the reduction of the Towne of *Seyre*, wherein he vsed such diligence, as the place was assured for his Maesties Seruice: that since this reduction hee had not seene *Picoté* but in *Flanders*, when as hee went for the Confirmation of the Peace, where he came vnto him with some others, intreating him to be an Intercessor for them vnto the King, that they might returne vnto their Goods, and liue in their owne Houses, promising him for recompence of his intercession two Sutes of Tapistrie, the which he reiectéd, with some spleene, for that they fought to buye his fauour; and for that they desired from him an

The Duke
of Biron
answer.

1602. assurance for their returne, he sent them to the Seigneur of *Bellicure & Sillery*, who knew A
 „ what was fittest for them, and the formes that were to be obserued for their returne.
 „ That it was true that *Picoté* had receiued a hundred and fiftie Crownes of him, but
 „ for any other respect, but for the charges he had bene at in the reduction of *Searre*,
 „ hauing often intreated him, and prest him by many letters, to haue pittie on him, as of
 „ one that was banished from his house and Countrie, hauing borrowed this summe to
 „ beare his charges in this reduction. That he had put it to account in certaine summes
 „ which he had disbursed for the Kings seruice, or that he neuer had any other business or
 2 „ conference with him. To the second, hee answered, that hee came to *Paris* fiftene
 „ dayes after the Duke of *Sauoyes* arrivall there; that *La Fin* who accused him, came af-
 „ ter him. That it was true, the King dyning at *Conflans*, and the Duke of *Sauoy* with him, B
 „ after dinner the King retyring into his wardrope, he commanded the Count of *Au-*
 „ *vergne* and him, to entertaine the Duke of *Sauoy*: That the Count of *Sossions*, and the
 „ Duke of *Montpensier* comming into the chamber, hee gaue them place, and went in-
 „ to the wardrope, tyed the Kings poynts, gaue him drinke, and presently after went to
 „ *Paris*. That vpon some speech which *Roncas* the Dukes Secretary had with him touch-
 „ ing the marriage of his Highnes thirde daughter, hee acquainted the King therewith,
 „ who hauing since giuen him to vnderstand by *La Force*, that hee did not like thereof, he
 „ had no more drempt of it. And in token that hee had no intelligence with the Duke,
 „ nor Wil to conspire with any of his, the King hauing commanded him to accompany
 „ him in his returne, and to shew him the strongest Townes in *Bourgogne*, hee had ex- C
 „ cused himselfe, beseeching his Maiestie to dispence with him, fore-seeing that the Duke
 „ would not effect the Treatie, and that hee should bee greued to make warre against
 „ a Prince, whome hee had accompanied, and made good cheere vnto. Aduising the
 „ Baron of *Lux* to conduct him through the weakest Townes, and not to giue him any
 „ time to vew their fortifications.
 3 „ To the third, that hee had intelligence with the Duke of *Sauoy*, in the conquest of the
 „ Countrie of *Bresse*, giuing him aduise to attempt against the Kings army. He answered,
 „ that if he had had intelligence with the Duke of *Sauoy*, hee would not haue vnderaken
 „ *Bourg*, against the Kings opinion, being not assisted by any, but such as were ordinarily D
 „ with him. That the Gouvernours of places (who were then the Dukes subiects and now
 „ the Kings) could witness if there were any fauour vsed. And if in making warre, hee had
 „ any other object, but the execution of his Maiesties commandements. That if he had
 „ had any bad intent, he had not yeelded vp *Bourg* so easily as he did. To the fourth, vpon
 4 „ the aduise giuen to the Gouvernour of Saint *Katherins* Fort to kill the King. He be-
 „ seecheth his Maiestie to remember, that hee alone did dissuade and diuert him from
 „ going to vew the Fort, giuing him to vnderstand, that there were very good Gunners
 „ in the place, and that he could not goe without great danger. That vpon this aduise,
 „ his Maiestie altered his purpose, saying, that if hee desired to see the place, hee would
 „ bring him a plot of it the next day, offering his Maiestie to take it with fiftie hundred
 „ hargubuziers, and that he himselfe would goe vnto the assault. To the fift, that he had E
 „ treated with the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Count of *Fuentès* by the mediation of *La Fin*.
 „ He answered that being denied the keeping of the Cittadell of *Bourg*, hee grew into
 5 „ that dispayre, as he had desired to bee all couered with bloud, being capable to say
 „ or to doe any thing. At these words the Chancellor asked him, with what bloud hee
 „ desired to bee couered? with mine owne answered the Prisoner, wishing to liue no
 „ longer after this refusal, and I would haue engaged my selfe in such sort among the e-
 „ nemies, as I would haue dyed there, or would haue returned all couered with bloud.
 „ That for two moneths space he had written and spoken more then he ought, but he had
 „ not omitted to doe well. Hee added moreouer that *La Fin* had foe bewitched him
 „ with inehanted waters, and by speaking Images, as hee was forced to submit himselfe F
 „ to his will: That he spake not vnto him, but in secret & vknowne words, calling him his
 „ Master, his King, his Prince, his Lord. And scratching his left eare. He spake execra-
 „ ble things against *La Fin*, to moue the Court not to regard his accusation, & testimony.
 He

A Hee that had not seene the fact verified by his owne letters, would haue sayd it was 1602.
Ulysses accusation, forging false letters from *Priam* to *Palamedes*. He still fled to his par-
 „ don, saying that hauing done nothing since, the Kings clemency should remit his fault,
 „ and that if he must implore it once more, he had his Knees as supple as euer to doe it.
 „ The Chancellor sayd vnto him, that he had written a letter vnto *la Fin* since the *Dau-*
 „ *phins* Birth, by the which hee did aduertise him, that seeing it had pleased God to fend
 „ the King a Sonne, he would no more dreame of those vanities, desiring him to returne,
 „ and if he had not employed him he would not haue written. This letter was produced
 „ to shewe the continuance of his bad desseignes, whereof he made vie to iustifie him-
 „ selfe and to shewe his repentance, saying alwaies that hee had done well, although hee
 B „ had some thought of doing ill. The Chancellor sayd vnto him, that seeing he felt his
 „ conscience so cleere, and knowing that hee had done nothing, why did he not laie him-
 „ selfe more open vnto the King, who sought him with great affection at *Fontainebleau*,
 „ to tell him the truth of that which hath bene since discovered by the processe. Hee
 „ wauered at this demand, saying that he did not thinke the King had knowne any thing
 „ of that which had passed betwixt him and *La Fin*, for that hee had assured him by othes
 „ and fearefull curses, that hee had sayd nothing that might hurt him. That hauing con-
 „ ferred with a religious man of the order of the Minimes, to knowe (if hauing past his
 „ word with an othe to *La Fin*, neuer to discover what had past betwixt them) he might
 „ with a safe conscience say anything? He had answered him, that seeing there was no
 C „ more any intent to execute the things that were sworne betwixt them, he ought not to
 „ reueale them: That this resolution continued so constant in his minde, that although
 „ the Arch-bishop of *Bourges* had visited him in prison, and had giuen him many rea-
 „ sons to free him from these scruples, yet hee held it an act vnworthy of a man to false-
 „ fie his oth, and that it was onely fit for a Soule hardened with Atheisme, (the spring of
 „ all impiety) to sweare with an intent to circumuent. Here his speech fayled him with
 „ the violence of his greefe, but recovering his spirits, he spake these words.

My misfortune hath this consolation, that my Iudges are not ignorant of the ser-
 „ uices which I haue done to the King and Realme, and with what loyalte I haue carried
 „ my selfe in the greatest and most important affaires, to restore the King vnto the
 D „ Realme, and the Realme vnto the King: to preferue the Lawes of State, and to settle
 „ you in this place, from the which the *saturnales* of the League had expelled you.
 „ This Bodie (whereof you hold the life and death in the disposition of your Iustice) hath
 „ no veme which hath not bene opened, and which I would not willingly open for
 „ you. This hand which did write the letters, which are nowe produced against mee, is
 „ the same which hath done the contrary to that which it hath written. It is true, I
 „ haue written, I haue sayd, and I haue spoken more then I ought; but no man can
 „ shewe that I haue done ill. And there is no Lawe that punisheth the lightnesse of a
 „ simple word, or the motions of the thought with Death: my words haue bene al-
 „ wayes Feminine, but the effects of my courage Masculine. Choller and Despight
 E „ haue made mee capable to say all, and to do all: but Reason would not suffer mee to
 „ doe any thing, but what deserved Praise and Imitation. I haue had bad desseignes, but
 „ they neuer past my thought. At the same instant they sprong vp, they were smothered.
 „ If I had bene desirous to nourish and make shewe of them, I haue had great meanes
 „ and occasions. I could haue done bad seruice to the King, in *England* and in *Suiferland*.
 „ There are aboute a hundred Gentlemen that can witness of my behauiour in the first
 „ Ambassage, and for the second, I desire no other testimony but that of the Seigneurs
 „ *Sillery* and *de Vie*, who know in what manner, & with what fidelity I employed my selfe to
 „ reconcile and vnite so many wills disioyned & with-drawne from the Kings alliance. If
 „ you will consider howe I came, and in what Estate I left the places of *Bourgogne*,
 F „ it wil be impossible to haue any badde conceite of my desseignes. They found not
 „ a man of Warre in my Government. I haue left the places without garnisons. I
 „ haue giuen the Captaines no other commandement but to serue the King well, and
 „ to doe that onely where vnto they are bound.

Prose by
 writing of
 the coun-
 tinuance of
 his practi-
 ces,

He shewes
 by what
 means he
 might haue
 done ill.

1602. Euery man aduised mee not to come to Court. I met a foote-man by the way who A
 brought me a letter from one of my dearest friends, who conured me not to aduise:
 being arruied, my sister of *Roussy* sent me an other, aduising me to be gone without ta-
 king of my leaue: I shewed it to a Gentleman that was with me, who sayd vnto mee,
 That he would willingly bee stabbed in the bosome, so as I were at *Dijon*. I answered,
 That if I were there and were assured to receiue a hundred stabbes at the Court yet
 I would I come vpon the Kings word. A guilty minde and prest with the horror of his
 conscience had fallen in peeces with feare and trembling, and would haue embraced
 an other party. The secret knowledge I had of my loyaltie, and the innocency of my
 desleignes, could not giue mee any imagination of distrust: I alwaies sayd within my
 selfe, I haue serued the King too well, to haue a thought that he should not account me B
 his seruant. The King hath had too many proofes of my Faith, to suspect my loyaltie.
 I could not comprehend, that the Kings Iustice, could touch a man resting in the tran-
 quility of his conscience, and in the expectation of his commandements. Moreouer I
 was assured that the King had pardoned me, and that I had not offended him since his
 pardon. I cannot deny that I told him not all that had past in this action, but in say-
 ing vnto him that the refusall of the Cittadell of *Bourg* made me capable to say and do
 any thing, I did thinke it was not needefull to speecifie that which I was ashamed to
 haue attempted, and that the consideration of the good which I had done vnto the
 King in his seruice, should alwaies weigh downe the euill that I would haue done, and
 the which I haue repented. That if hee hath not giuen me life, but to put me to death, C
 hee must consider that it is more commendable for a Prince to giue it, then to take it
 away from him to whome he hath giuen it, and that his Clemency shines neuer more
 cleerly then vpon offences that concerne himselfe. If it please not the King to regard
 my seruices, and the assurances which hee hath giuen me of his mercy, I confesse my
 selfe worthy of death, and hope for no helth in his Iustice, but in yours, hoping you will
 remember better then he doth the dangers I haue vndergonne, all my life for his ser-
 uice. I implore his mercy, & although I should not say anything, yet the wounds which
 I beare would speake for me. I hope for it the more confidently, for that it hath neuer
 bene refused to them that haue done worse then my selfe. I would haue done euill,
 but my wil did neuer passe the tearmes of my first conception, being ouercast with the
 Cloudes of choller and despiight. It were hard if I should be the first president to bee D
 punnisht for thinking. Nor that I feare death, the which I hold to be ordayned, not
 as a punishment, but for the end of Nature, and that it imports nothing to leaue this
 life in the midst of my course, if it were with as much honour, as I haue had in the
 beginning. My fault is great, but it was onely in conceite and not executed: in desire
 and not in effect. Great offences must haue great fauours. I am alone in *France*, which
 feesles the rigour of Iustice and cannot hope for the meritor of mercy. Whatsoeuer
 chanceth, I relie more vpon you my Masters then in the King: who hauing heerto-
 fore regarded me with the eyes of his Loue, lockes no more of mee now but with
 choiler, and holds it a vertue to be cruell vnto me, and a vice to vse any act of Clemen- E
 cie towards mee. It had bene better for me that hee had not pardoned me at the first,
 then to giue me life and then to make me loose it with shame and dishonor.

The King
did giue
him his
word with-
out deman-
ding it.

They gaue him leaue to speake what he pleased, the Chancellor holding it reasona-
 ble, that seeing hee had no Councell to aduise him what hee should say, they should in
 regard thereof giue him time to speake all, and hearing, to consider his reasons, and
 the variety of his first answers with the last, in the which there were great contra-
 dictions. Those which are accused of any crime take it for a fauor to be heard patient-
 ly vnto the ende: although for the most part they do but increase the reasons of their
 punishments. Hee spake so boldly and so eloquently, as if a man should iudge of the
 fauour of a discours by the attention, there was not any one of long time heard with
 greater patience in that place. Some shed teares in the place and wept in their houses,
 for pittie, not of his innocency (for that appeared not) but of his fortune to miserably
 delected. Heate is more naturall to a man then cold; and mildnesse more then rigour:
 but

A but he could expect nothing but Iustice from this great Assembly. It was impossible 1602.
 that Passion, Fauor, or Respect, should alter the integritie of their Iudgements. The o-
 pinions of some weake spirits may be moued, who regard more the apparence, then the
 essence of things, & which beleue not the harme vnles they feele it, or that the fire is
 whott, vnlesse it burne them. The prisoners discourse was so long, as they had no time
 to giue their opinions. He was sent backe to the Bastille, returning more cheerefully
 then he came, for as in going forth of the Bastille to the Pallace, he imagined that he
 went to his death, so seeing himselfe brought backe, he conceived that he returned to
 life. And for that he had answered the Chancellor to all his demands, and had moued
 some of his Iudges to lament his misfortune, many to detest his accuser, and all to wish
 B that the fowlenes of his offence, and the good of the State would allow of his pardon.
 He thought that he had so ballanced their opinions, as Mercy should preuaile aboue
 Rigour. He therefore neuer ceased all Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, to relate vnto
 the Captaines, and to the Gard, that kept him, all that had bene demanded of him.
 what he had answered, and how brauely and discretely he had satisfied all, adding with-
 all, that he did imagine he saw the Chauncellors countenance going out of the great
 Chamber. He did counterfet him in his staydnesse and the grauitie of his words, fit
 for a man of his age and qualitie, imagining, that he spake in this manner. Behold a wic-
 ked Man, he is dangerous in the State, we must dispatch him, he deserves death. Which
 words neuer came out of his mouth, hauing carried himselfe very respectiue in this
 C Arraignement, hauing neuer pronounced that word of Death, but in concluding the
 Iudgement. And therein he alwaies vsed some words to qualifie his griefe in the image
 of his Affliction, more then of his Innocencie, vnable to forget the remembrance of
 the good that was past, or the feeling of the present euill. These were the last fits of
 the prisoners hope, the which finding no solide bodie, runne after the shaddowes of his
 imagination, and flattered him so pleasingly, as he thought not to die, saying, that they
 could not supplie his place, if hee were dead. Noting among all them, that thought
 themselves most capable, great Wants and Imperfections. Yet in all these extremi-
 ties he had nothing that lulled him so much asleepe as his owne prayles. Sometimes
 hee would say, Is it possible, that the King should bee so vaine, as to make him to ap-
 Dprehend death, and to thinke to terrifie him therewith. But hee conceived of things
 according to his imagination, the which was not answerable to the truth.

On Munday the Chauncellor returned to the Pallace to determine on his sentence. The
 They continued vntill two of clocke in the afternoone in giuing of their opinions. They
 were drawne from one principle of truth, as manie Lines are from one Center, & did
 concurre all in one resolution conformable to the conclusions of the Kings Attornie
 generall. That it was iust, necessarie, and profitable to quench these burning flames
 of Ambition in the bloud of the Duke of *Biron*, if they would not see all the realme
 in combustion. A whole day, and a good part of the night would haue bene spent,
 if euery one had giuen a reason of his opinion. Those of the great Chamber onely,
 E and the Presidents of the Inquests spake what they would. This subiect is like vnto a
 great & thicke forest, they know not what Tree to choofe: It is so full and so rich, as a
 boundaie of reasons troubles the choise: And these were the cheefe. There was a con-
 currence of a great Crime & a great Merit. All *France* was a witnes of the one: and
 of the other the truth was apparent. The proofes which are required to discover a se-
 cret crime are here made perfect. Proofs by mouth, & the prisoners answers. Proofs
 by writings, letters and instructions. Proofs by the Deposition of witnesses, against
 whom he hath objected no exception, which might impugne that which they sayd &
 maintained.

By these 3. sorts of proofes we see that monstrous attempt against the Kings person
 F verified, & that furious Cospiracie to trouble his Estate, & to make it a prey to his ene-
 mies, & both the one and the other doth make the prisoner guiltie of high Treason in
 the first and second degree. Hee confesseth that hee would haue done ill, that his
 intent

The Iudge-
ment of the
procelle.

The Judges
opinions.

Principall rea-
sons of their
opinions.

602.

Intreafon
the intent is
unfufable.In crimes of
State they co-
fider nothing
but the pun-
ishment.

intent was written and imparted to others, and yet he neuer did ill. That it neuer paſt A
his thought. That thoughts are not to bee puniſhed as he ſayd. That the deſire to ſteale
makes not a theefe: It is true, but the guilt of treaſon is ſo deteſtable, as the intent how
farre ſo euer from the execution, is puniſhed and reputed for the effect. Repentance
which followes after, and changeth the deſſeine, may well ſerue for the offence, but
it helpes nothing for the puniſhment. A Gentleman hauing attempted to kill King
Francis the firſt, repented, and revealed it in his confeſſion, yet being accuſed by his
Confefſor, he loſt his head. As the reſpect of the image of God, grauen in the Maieſty
of Kings, frees them from all Lawes made by men, ſo the dignitie of their perſons doth
warrant them from al enterpriſes, & conſpiracies of humane malice, the which dares
not once thinke to put them in practiſe againſt their Images, much leſſe againſt their
Perſons. The prooſe of an intent, although it were not reſolued nor determined goes
not unpuniſhed, which paſſeth often times vnto things without life. To Howſes, Images,
Aſhes, yea and to the memorie it ſelfe: This crime troubleth the dead, thirtie or
fortie yeares after their funerals: for that it is not extinct in dying, and (the which is con-
trary to common ſence, and naturall humanitie) they puniſh the Child, the Wife, and
the Familie, for the Fathers offence, being a contagious Leproſie, and hereditarie to
all his race: The Father cannot excuſe his Sonne. And the Senator *Fulvius* was com-
mended to haue put his Sonne to death, for that he had bene one of *Catelines* conſpi-
racie. Let him then plead no more, that he hath done no euill, it ſufficeth that he could
haue done it. Lawes are not made for bad actions onely, but for Councells alſo and
reſolutions. His intent began the crime, occaſion had ended it, if hee had not bene
preuented. If he had done no other euill, but to giue care to the promiſes and perſua-
ſions of the enemies he were guiltie. For in matters of State, the ſubiect cannot diſpoſe
of any point of his will, without the permiſſion of his Prince. We muſt not ſlay tri-
venimous beaſts haue bitten, and then kill them, nor Traitors intents executed, ere
wee diſcouer the Treason. It is then to late to iudge of the crime, but to complaine of
indiscretion: then they ſeek no more releefe from Law, but they flie to Armes. It is
not then time to accuſe and to puniſh, but to weepe and to flie. The Cittie of *Rome* la-
boured in vaine to reſiſt *Cæſar*, after that he had ſubuerſed the Lawes, ſurped the Dic-
tatorſhip, and terrified all *Italie* with the brute of his forces. If they ſhould haue ſtayd
vntill the priſoner had executed his deſſeins, there had bene no talking of Iuſtice, nor
of State. You muſt not rattle till the houſe ſhake, and be readie to fall, you muſt vnder-
proppe it, and repaire it in time. It is a miſerie ſayd the Emperour *Domitian*, when they
will not beleue a Conſpiracie againſt Princes, vntill they bee ſlaine by the Conſpira-
tors. Now that God by a ſingular worke of his providence hath diſcouered this Con-
ſpiracie, it toucheth the health of the State, & the honor of the Court, to puniſh theſe
Conſpirators. Reason requires that the example may make knowne how execrable
this offence is, for the which it is lawfull to torment the dead, and terrifie them that be
liuing, to make the Children partakers of their Fathers puniſhment, and to aſſure them
rather of miſerie then of life, that the world might haue more horror of his wicked-
nes then feare of his puniſhment. The Kings Clemencie hath had his turne, now Iuſ-
tice muſt take hers, making her authoritie to be feared and admired, like vnto the Sea
which is more admired when the waues are ſwolne, & riſen vp to the clouds, then when
it is calme and ſtill. But they conſider the qualitie & merit of the priſoner. Firſt Iuſtice
hath her eyes blinded, and ſhut from al diſtinctiſons, but that it houlds the offence greater
in a great perſon, then in a meane, and by this propoſition, the puniſhment muſt be
greater. The faults of meane men are hidden in the multitude, their fortune and repu-
tation is one thing. Thoſe which rayſed to great places, doe good or harme by the
example of their good or bad actions, are they which are knowne and diſcouered to all
men. In matters of rebellion and crimes of State, they regard not what is paſt, they
looke only to the preſent, & what they may expect hereafter: The moſt vertuous actions
yeeld to the violence of the bad. The accuſed hath ſerued the King, it was his dutie, hee
hath bene recompenced. He hath attempted againſt his ſeruiſe, therein hee hath
done

1602.

A done what he ought not. The offences and the puniſhment are Twyns: at the ſame in-
ſtant that hee hath offended, hee drawes vpon him the rigour of the puniſhment. If
with *Antipater*, he hath carried vpon his bodie the markes of vertue, there is nothing
now to be ſeene but ſignes of infidelitie in his heart. His merits haue mounted to the
greatnes of theſt dignities in *France*, his ill deſeruings caſt him downe with ſhame,
and ſhew him to be unworthie of thole excellent degrees of honour. Good ſeruiſe can-
not enter into compariſon with bad, nor crimes in paratell with merits. The offence
which is greater then the ſeruiſe, changeth the bond of recompence into puniſhment.
He that hepes to build a houſe, deſerues much of the owner, but when he lets fire to
it, all the remembrance of the good which he hath done vaniſheth away. The accuſed
B hath had a good ſhare in the reſtoring of the State, but ſence he would haue vndermy-
ned it, and rained the foundations: He hath practiſed to make it a prey to the enemy,
they can no more returne to that which he hath done, they iudge what he would haue
done, and ſhall haue no other eſteeme or reputation, but as an *Ariſton*, or a *Nabis*, or a
Catelin. He hath bene profitable to the State, it is true. But he hath offended againſt
the Lawes of State. Their preſeruation is ſo neceſſarie, as it were better to looſe the
moſt profitable members in an Eſtate, then to ſuffer them to be violated, for in putting
them to death, it doth but decreaſe the number of valiant Men, but in ſuffering them
to lue, you doe wrong vnto the Lawes, and thereby ruine the quiet of the State. Hee
hath done well for the preſeruation of the State, it is true. But he that ſeekes to diſtroy
C what hee hath preſerued makes himſelfe an enemy, and the remembrance of his well
deſeruing dies in the iniurie which he would haue done to the whole bodie. Hee hath
begun well, but he ended ill. All actions are cenſured by the end. If the heels, that is to
ſay) Conſtancie and firmenes, had not failed in *Achilles*, he had bene immortal. It is
not ſufficient for a man to begin to do well, if he deſiſts in the midſt, and continues not
vnto the end, who deſerued better at *Rome* then *Manlius*, the only preſeruer of the Ca-
pitoll againſt the *Gauls*? and who was more ſeuereſly puniſhed then he, whom they caſt
downe headlong from the Capitoll, for his Faſtions and Mutinies?

If it were a crime not to ſerue the Prince, was it not execrable to hinder, and to
cōpire againſt his ſeruiſe? As the ſeruiſes done by the Accuſed, cannot be compared
D with his offence, ſo his qualitie cannot moderate his puniſhment. Iuſtice hath no eyes
to regard a Dukes Crowne, a Maſhal of *France* his Staffe, nor a blew Ribād. All theſe
are no prerogatiues, but that he which attempts to trouble the State, ſhall be held an
enemy to the Maieſtie of the Prince, & the publike good. Great men are greatly puniſhed.
Dignities aggrauate the offence vpon him that is bound not to offend. The greater
the bond is, the more execrable is the ingratitude. There is no gentleman in *France*
more bound vnto his Prince then the Accuſed. If duties & bonds hould no place in the
affections of ſubiects to their Prince, to what Altar ſhall they goe to ſeek aſſurance
of faith? muſt not the King in theſe continuall doubts of diſloyaltie, trauſe the agard of his
perſon vnto Strangers, as *Leuis* the xxi. did vnto the *Scottiſhmen*. And finding no Religi-
E on nor Conſcience among Men, trauſt vnto Beaſts, as *Meſſaiſſa* did? God is offended
when as reſpect of the qualitie with-houlds the courſe of Iuſtice, and threatens that E-
ſtate with ruine, wherein they ſuffer a wicked ſubiect to lue. *Achab* felt the heavy hand
of his wrath, for that he ſaued the life of *Benadad*. As this furious deſire of ſoueraigne
cōmand troubles al the conſiderations of Nature, Friendſhip, & Dutie. So in puniſh-
ing them we muſt neither regard the reſpects of bloud, the remembrance of ſeruiſes,
nor the motions of friendſhip. The offence is of too great a conſequence to diſſemble
it. He that doth not puniſh an euill, allowes of it. But they ſay it hath bene pardoned,
that we muſt not open a wound which hath bene cloſed vp. Kings and Fortune doe of-
ten pardon, to puniſh them more ſeuereſly that haue abuſed their pardon. The Priſoner
confelleth that he did not ſay al, & a pardon cannot extend, but to thoſe things that haue
F bin mentioned & confeſſed, the greateſt part of the offence hath remained in the wil of
the repentant, he hath cōfeſſed but little. There was a great difference betwixt him that
did pardon, & him that demanded pardon. The King pardoned to the end he ſhould not
fall

Euill unpun-
iſhed is ſuffi-
red.A pardon ex-
tends but to
confeſſion.

1602. fall into a relaps of his former fautes : and hee demanded pradon that he might defend more safely. It appeeres by his confession, and by that which hee hath sayd in the face of the Court, when as he was demanded why hee had not descouered his offence freely vnto the King, whē as he gaue him so great assurance to forget it. He answered, that he did not thinke *La Fin* had sayd any thing, and that he kept his word, hauing confirmed it with great othes, that if he had acquainted him with that which hee had descouered to the King, hee would haue cast himselfe at his Maiesties feete as readily as he did to craue pardon. Their was then some thing betwixt them that was not yet pardoned. They which offend do often misreckon the time, seeking to excuse their fault. The conference of Times discouers the continuance of Intentions. The pardon was in January, and after September he writes, that seeing it had pleased God to giue the King *a Dauphin*, he would no more thinke of those vanities, and *La Fin* addes that there was a billet of a contrary tenor, that the negotiation was continued, and that the King had no knowledge thereof from the prisoner. The pardon should haue drawne him to repentance, and not to ingage him in new trecheries, the which could not bee remitted nor pardoned, for that he had offended often without punishment. He must not continue his errors, the last payes for all the precedent. The Court allowes not of this pardon in a crime that is beyond all pardon, & wherof the abolishment depends not of the King, who may not bee prodigall of his subiects blood, nor bring the helth of all in generall in danger, for one in particular. This reason moued *Alexander* to put *Philotas* to death, being giuen to vnderstand that if he pardoned him, he would make him able to attempt new treasons against him, when as it should not bee in his power to pardon him. A pardon doth not change the bad intent of a mighty malefactor. This *Philotas* knewe well, that they which had exhausted all mercy, and drawne it driehauiug no more hope, did runne head-long into dispaire. That there are benefites which are odious, for that hee blusheth to confesse the cause and to acknowledge himselfe debtor for his life to any one. *Alexander* had enemies enough abroad, he had no neede of any at home, and assuring his Estate of these, hee needed not to feare the rest. Kings like vnto Physicians must knowe the diseases of their States, the accidents that are past, the present and the future, and imploye Iustice as a drogue, the which is not good for them that bee sicke, and may profit others before the disease hath actually seized on them.

There remains one only consideration, that the Duke of *Biron* may do great seruice, and that it is not impossible but he may returne to the way of his first innocency. There is lesse harme not to beleuee it, then to beleuee it. Wee must not vpon an vncertaine that is to come, neglect the remedy of a present mischiefe. There is more trouble to absolue him and more danger to set him at liberty, then to put him to death. Hee is not likely to doe any more good : we can expect nothing but reuenge from his courage. There is no more any *Furius Camillus* who changed his exilie into a bonde vnto his Country that had banished him. Serpents seeme dead in winter, the cold keeps them from hurting, but when as the Sunne recouers his forces, they spend their venom. The prisoners bad intents might sleepe for a time, but it shold be to awake againe, and neuer to leaue the State at rest. He that can neuer profit by his vertue nor his loyalty, must profit by his example. These were the reasons of the Court, vpon the which by a generall consent a sentence of death was concluded against the Duke of *Biron*. There were fewe in condemning him but sayd, that it was fit to araigne *la Fin*, and giue warrant to apprehend him, and that it was impossible hee should be cleane from the flint which he had handled, & that if the affaires of *Spaine* (which is like vnto the Temple of *Hecatompedon*, the which goes forward in words and not in workes) had bin answerable to the vehemency of their affection, hee had sayd nothing. The King was aduertised thereof, who assured *la Fin* by his letters, that he would neuer endure that so great a seruice done vnto the Crowne, should be his ruine. It was reason, for if the Ancients did appoint Honours for Beastes that had done any seruice to the Commonweale, they should bee no lesse thankfull vnto a Gentleman that had saued his Country

A Prince cannot be liberal of his subiects blood.

Qui non veritate profit exemplo.

A Country. Whosoeuer discouers a Conspiracy against the sacred and inuolable person of the Prince, ought to bee rewarded by the publicke. So was *Vindictus* by the Romans. Princes loue them for a while that haue done some great villainies for their seruice, the which is soone turned into deadly hatred, lothing to looke on them, for that their presence doth reproch them with the wronging of their conscience. But this happens not to him who without any instigation of the Prince, but moued onely with his duty doth reueale a Conspiracy, choosing rather to faile in the office of a Friend, then in duty of a faithfull Subiect. The Chancellor concluding their opinions pronounced the sentence of death, and by graue reasons and great examples reconciled some fewe opinions for the apprehending of *la Fin*. Saying, that the enterprife of the prisoner condemned, was not in his head alone, that there were others, who hauing a desire to say some thing would retire themselves when they should see *la Fin* so intreated, who in the common opinion had deserued reward. And although that *Mars* would not haue the day which is giuen vnto him, to bee the last to one that had deferred the name of a second *Mars*, yet the shadow of death did enuiron him on Tweladay about Noone; seeing a great multitude of Parisians about Saint *Anthomes* gate, he then beleued that he should be a spectacle vnto them. The Lord of *Vitry's* Lieutenant freed him from this imagination, making him beleue that it was to see certaine Gentlemen fight. Herevpon (and of that which the heart doth alwaies Diuine in the like accidents, seeing more signes of death then of life) hee framed in his imagination infallible consequences of his death, sending the Seigneur of *Baranton* to intreate the Marquis of *Rhosny* to come vnto him, or if he could not, to be an intercessor vnto the King for his pardon. He answered that he was extremely greeued that hee durst not do the first, and had not meanes to effect the second. That the King was sorry that at his coming to *Fontainebleau* hee was obdurat and would not deliuer the truth, which tooke from him the meanes to saue his life, and for his friends to sue for him. This multitude did not runne to the gate without some occasion, they knewe that the sentence of death was giuen the day before: Certaine officers of the Court and the Executioner were seene enter in the *Bastille*, the Scaffold which should bee set vp at the *Greue* was made, but they were ill informed, for the King hauing commanded the Chancellor to send him the sentence, after he had giuen it in the Parliament, that he might let him vnderstand his pleasure touching the execution, *Sillery* who had carried it to *S. Germaine*, returned with letters, by the which (for the auoyding the ignominy of his death at the sute of his friends and for other considerations) his Maiesty was pleased to change the place of the execution, and to appointe that in the *Bastille*, which should haue bin done at the *Greue*. These letters being verified, on Wednesday morning the last of Iuly the Chancellor accompanied with the first President of the Court of Parliament, *de Sillery* and three Masters of Requests, & followed by some Officers of the Chancery, *de Voyson* register for Crimynall causes, & 6. others, came to the *Bastille* about 9. of the clock in the morning to let him heare the sentence of the Court. At his entring hee commanded them to make the Prisoner dine and not to aduertise him of his coming, remaying in a little Chamber nere the entry on the left hand, about an houre and halfe: where he resolved who should be sent for to assist at this execution, of whose names he made a list. He that apprehends death hath no desire to eate: yet hee set him downe, rose againe presently, and according to his vsuall maner went vnto a window which looked into the Court of the *Bastille*, where hearing the cries and lamentations of a woman, hee thought they were for him, & had this sad content to see they wept for him before his death. Soone after the Chancellor goes towards him, who crossing through the Court, the Duke of *Biron* espied him & cryed out, that he was dead. *Yan come* (sayd he) to pronounce my sentence, I am condemned vnjustly, tell my kins-folkes that I die an innocent. The Chancellor went on without any motion, commanding that they should bring him into the Chapel. The prisoner seeing him come a farre off, cryed out, *Oh my Lord Chancellor is there no pardon? is there no mercy?* The Chancellor saluted him and putts on his hat. The Duke of *Biron* continued bare, and hauing abandoned all the powers of his Soule to greefe

They that reueale conspiracies are to be rewarded.

The Chancellor pronounced the sentence of death.

The Duke of Biron desires to see Monsieur de Rhosny.

The King would haue him executed in the Bastille.

The Chancellor comes to the Bastille.

The Duke of Biron words to the Chancellor.

1602. and passion, hee tooke the aduantage to speake first, and to speake all that a tounge ouer A
 greued might utter, reproching the Chancellor that hee had not had so great a desire
 to saue him as to condemne him. Hee added therunto certaine words, the recording
 whereof is prohibited, and the report punniftable. But Princes regard not the rayling
 of subiects against their Maiesty, the which returns alwaies fiō whence it came. The
 Duke of *Biron* knowing not whom he should challenge most for his misfortune, turned
 towards the Chancellor, and shaking him by the arme, sayd. *You haue iudged me & God*
will absolue me, hee will lay open their Iniquities, which haue shut their eyes because they
would not see mine innocency, you my Lord shall answere for this iniustice before him, whe-
ther I do somman you within a yeare and a day, I go before by the iudgement of men, but those
that are the cause of my death shall come after by the iudgement of God. All which was deli- B
 uered with such violence, as hee cryed out and stormed both against the King and his
 Parliament. They beare with all which proceeds from choller in a condemned man of
 his humor and quality. But this excesse to adorne a Chancellor to Heauen being 70.
 yeares old, was held vnworthy the great courage of a Captaine, blaspheming and brag-
 ging death, and yet ignorant how they pleade in an other world. He was not the first in
 the like extremities that haue adiourned their Iudges before the Throne of God. *John*
Hus sayd in dying. *That those which had condemned him should answer a hundred yeares af-*
ter before God and him, and the *Bohemians* who preferred the Atthes of his bones and
 maintained his Doctrines, coyned money with this adiournement. But the Duke of *Bi-*
rons assignation was vaine, for the Chancellor appeared not, but hath bin more heale- C
 full since then before. He found no means to enter into discours amidst the confusio of
 so many words which were like vnto a violent streame. Yet he interrupted him to tell
 him that he had need of Gods helpe & that he should recommend himselfe vnto him.
 He presently answered that hee had thought vpon God, and implored his aide to giue
 him patience against their iniustice, but neither he nor his Iudges had thought of it in
 condemning him. Passion (sayd the Chancellor) makes you to speake many things with-
 out any colour and against your owne Iudgement. There is not any man hath better
 knowe your merits then my selfe, and I would to God your offences had bin as much
 vnkowne as they haue bin dissembled. The knowledge thereof was so great and so
 perfect, as your Iudges haue bin more troubled howe to moderate your paine, then to D
 haue you punnished, they haue more labored to iustifie you then to condemne you.
 Whilest the Chancellor was speaking, the Duke of *Biron* turned towards *Roissy* Mas-
 ter of Requests, & asked him if he had also bin one of his Iudges, *Roissy* answered. *My*
Lord I pray God to comfort you. My father loued you so intirely (replied the Duke of *Biron*)
 that although you were one of them that had condemned me I would forgieue you. And
 so returning to his discourse, he addrest himselfe vnto the Chancellor, who was saying
 some-thing vnto *Voisin*. I see well sayd he, what it is, I am not the most wicked, but I am
 the most vnfortunate. Those which haue done worse then I would haue done, are fauor-
 ed. The Kings clemency is dead for me. Hee doth not immitate the examples of *Cesar*
 nor *Augustus*, or of those great Princes, who not only pardoned them that would haue E
 done ill, but euen them that did ill, & who were euer sparing of their blood, yea of that
 which was least esteemed, wherein can the King shew himself greater then in pardoning
 Clemency is a Kingly vertue. Euery one may giue death, but it belongs onely to Soue-
 reigns to giue life. And cruell that he is doth he not knowe well that he hath pardoned
 me. I had a bad desseigne, he granted me grace. I demand it againe, you may easily ad-
 uerise him, a shill will sooner returne. The Queene of *England* told me that if the Earle
 of *Essex* would haue humbled himselfe and sued for grace, hee would haue pardoned
 him. Hee grew obstinate and would neuer implore her mercy, taking from her all
 meanes to shew the effects. She like a generous Princeesse desiring to pardon him, euen
 as the would that God should pardon her. He was guilty, I am innocent, he sued for
 no pardon for his offence. I craue it in mine Innocency.
 Is it possible the King should thinke no more of the seruices I haue done him? doth
 hee not remember the conspiracy at *Mantes* and the danger hee had runne if I had
 had

After condem-
nation all dis-
cours is vaine.

Men condem-
ned may speak
any thing.

Passion
transports
the tounge.

Clemency
a royall
vertue.

A had intelligence with the Conspirators, who found nothing that did hinder the effects 1602.
 of their desseigne then my loyaltie, nor a more ready meanes to attayne vnto it then in
 causing me to be flaine? There is no veine in my bodie which hath not bled for his ser-
 uice? He shewes that he neuer loued me any longer then he thought him selfe to haue
 neede of me. Hith he forgotten the teage of *Amicus*, where they haue seene me to of-
 ten covered with fire and bullets, and to be in so many dangers eyther to giue or to re-
 ceiue death. Hee now quencheth the torch in my blood after that he hath vsed it. My
 Father exposed himselfe to a thousand dangers, and purchased death to let the Crowne
 vpon his head. I haue receiued fure and thirty wounds vpon my body to prelerue it for
 him, and for my reward, hee takes my Head from my Shoulders. Let him beare
 B least the Iustice of God fall vpon him. He shall finde what profit my death will bring
 him, it will nothing assure his affaires, but impair the reputation of his Iustice. Hee
 doth loose this daie a good Seruant, and the King of *Spaine* a great Enemy. I am
 not put to death for that I treated with him, my courage rayfed mee vp, and my
 courage ruines me.
 It is not lawfull for a man condemned to dispute of that which hath beene iudged
 against him. And therefore the Chancellor sayd, that hee should not torment himselfe
 any more against his Iudgement, that they had done him that Iustice which a Father is
 bound to pronounce against his owne Sonne if he had offended in the like sort. At that
 word, choller makes him to breake forth, saying. What Iustice? I was neuer heard but
 C once, I could not deliuer the fiftith part of my Iustification. What Iudgement vpon
 the testimony of the most wretched and most execrable man in the world, who neuer
 came neere me but with inchantments, nor went from me but he had enchanted me?
 He bit me by the eare, & made me to drinke enchanted waters, calling me his King, his
 Prince, his Lord. Hee cannot deny but hee made me to see an Image of waxe which
 spake these two words in Latin. *Thou shalt die wicked King*. If he hath this power ouer a
 sencelesse Image, what might he not do vpon me whole will he did tirannize vpon by
 his witch-craft, forcing me to do what he pleased. But *la Fin* sayes, that he knowes not
 what this Image meanes. If it be true, these words discover the Diuills pollecy, who
 D speaks the truth in his misery that trustes vnto his lies, and intangles him still with
 inscrutable ambiguities. So hee deceived *Crasus* when hee told him that the Riuier
Nylus should loose a great power, meaning his, not that of *Cyrus*, against whome hee
 went to fight. So the Diuill ment not any other King then hee whome *la Fin* saluted
 by the name of King, calling the Duke of *Biron* his Prince and his King. At euery
 word nowe he vttered some execration against *la Fin*, taxing the Court of Iniustice, to
 haue condemned him vpon his accusation. The Chancellor sayd vnto him that the
 Court had considered aduisedly of his answers and his letters. It is true sayd the
 Duke of *Biron*. I haue written some, but there are some that by an odious wickednesse
 premeditated haue bene counterfet. Those that were of my hand writing were not
 my intention. I disauowed them when I sent them. There are some that can coun-
 E terfet letters so arteificially, as they that are charged therewith are confounded, and
 beleene they had written that which they neuer thought. The Marques of *Vernueil*
 confessed to haue written that which was not her hand nor euer in her thought, and
 when she had red the letter, she cryed out, that her hand had betrayed her Heart, hauing
 neuer any thought of that which was contrayned therein. The Chancellor would
 haue interrupted his discourse, but he prest him in such sort as there was no meanes to
 make any way. He spake of the Kings pardon which hee had granted him, as if he had
 relied vpon his word, not speaking any other assurances. He told what letters the
 King had sent him to perswade him to come, and the pollecy of the President *Janin*
 to drawe him therevnto, to deceiue him as hee sayd, calling him a Deceiuer, the aduice
 F of his friends constring him not to come, with many other vnecessary discourses.
 The Chancellor to interrupt him sayd, that the King demanded his Order, the
 Duke of *Biron* drawing it out of his pocket, deliuered it vnto him, protesting and swea-
 ring vpon the saluation and perill of his Soule that he had neuer broken the oth which
 he

The Duke
of Biron re-
poches.

A con-
demned
man may
not dispute.

There is no
charme nor
violence
that can
force an
honest
man to doe
ill.

The Diuill
answers
are deceit-
full.

Suppositi-
ono. let
tuis.

The Duke
of Biron de-
liuers vp
the Kings
order.

1602.

he had made in taking it. It was true that he had affected Warre more then Peace. A
make himselfe necessary, and to maintaine the reputation which he had gotten by the
practise of armes. It seemes hee had not well obtained the articles of this Order, by
the which no knight of the Holy ghost might take any Pension, Entertainment, or
Money from a forraigne Prince, nor tie themselves to the seruice of any other person
during the Kings life, but should faithfully reueale all which they knewe did import
his Maiesties seruice. The Chancellor would haue had him to reade his sentence
beseeched him not to intreate him with that rigor, that hee knewe what it did import,
but the King should content himselfe with his Life, and suffer his Goods to go with his
kinf-folkes, ending his paine with his death. The Chancellor sayd that he doubted not
but the King like a Prince full of bounty would let his kinf-folkes knowe that hee had
loved him. Although the losse of life is nothing comforted by the preservation of
goods, yet this gaue him some consolation, so as the fume of his cholier was suddenly
dispersed. The Chancellor sayd, *That hee had brought two Diuines to comfort him and to
prepare him for death.* The prisoner sayd vnto them, *That he was already prepared, and had
his soule in that tranquillity, as the night before he had spoken with God, and that his gard
had heard him laugh in his sleepe.*

The Chancellor who had much forced his patience, sayd vnto him, wee will bidde
you farre-well. *What farre-well sayd the condemned?* I will come and see you againe
after dinner, answered the Chancellor, As he went forth he intreated him to graunt him
the last consolation that remains for men that are dying, when they may haue their
wills to passe after their deathes, and to suffer him to make his Testament. It was granted,
and he disposed thereof with a spirit free from all perturbation. Hee remembered
his seruants and friends, not forgetting the Baron of Lux whom hee lamented aboue
all. He drewe three rings from his fingers and deliuered them to *Baranton* to giue vnto
his Sister of Saint *Blancart*, desiring her to weare them in remembrance of him. Hee
had about three hundred Crownes when hee was taken prisoner, a part he playd, the
rest he gaue away to the poore. Eight or ten of his gard came to take their leaues of
him with teares in their eyes. He gaue them Apparell Shirtes, Cloakes and all that he
had in his Coffers. So when the table is taken away, they giue the meate that remains,
to them that haue waigred. *Garnier* the Kings preacher and now Bishop of *Mompel-*
lier, with *Magnon* Curat of Saint *Nicholas* of the field, presented themselves to comfort
him, to take from him the violent fites which the opinion of his innocency did giue
him, and to with-drawe him from the affections of the world. *Voisin* told him that it
was the course of Iustice to reade the sentence, & that he must kneele downe before the
Altar. *Reade it saies hee, I wil be as suppl: as a gloue.* It was read in these termes. The Pro-
cessie beeing extraordinarily made, and examined by the Court and Chambers assem-
bled, & by the Presidents and Councillors that were deputed, by letters patentes of the
18. and 19. of Iune, at the request of the Kings Attorney generall, against *Charles*
Gontault of *Biron*, knight of both orders, Duke of *Biron*, Peere & Marshall of *France*, Gouver-
nor of *Bourgoigne*, prisoner in the *Bastille*, accused of treason: interrogations, confessions &
& denials, confronting of witnesses, letters, aduises & instructions giuen to the enemy,
confessed by him, and all which the Attorney general hath produced. A sentence was
giuen the 22. of this moneth, by the which it was decreed in the absence of the Peeres
of *France* (being called) they should proceed to Iudgement, the conclusions of the Kings
Attorney generall beeing giuen, and the prisoner beeing heard by the Court vpon the
Crimes wherewith he was charged, al considered it was sayd. That the sayd Court had
declared and did declare the sayd Duke of *Biron* guilty of heigh treason, for his conspi-
racies against the Kings person, enterprises against his Estate, & Treacheries and Treas-
onies with his enemies, beeing Marshall of the Kings army. For reparation of which
crimes, they deprived him of all his Estates, Honors and dignities, & condemned him
to loose his head vpon a Scaffold at the *Greue*, declaring all his goods mouable & im-
mouable wheresoeuer, to be confiscate vnto the King: the Seigneury of *Biron* to loose
the name & title of Duchy and Peere for ever, with all other goods held immediately
of

He is suffered
to make his
will.

The Duke of
Biron kneels
to heare the
sentence of
death.

The crimes
for the which
the Duke of
Biron was
condemned.

1602

A of the King to bee vnto the Crowne of *France*, decreed in the Court of Parlia-
ment the last day of Iuly 1602. and signed by *Bellugre* Chancellor of *France*, and *Flen-*
ry Councillor in the Court and Reporter of the processe. Hee grewe into cholier
thrice in the reading of the sentence: when they sayd that he had attempted against the
Kings person, hee protested with great Imprecations that it was false. That he had ne-
uer made any Cospiracy, that he had his head troubled with some enterprises of State,
for that he would not liue idly in Peace, but giue some employment to men of war.
But it was about two and twenty monethes since hee had any thought of it; desiring
that *Voisin* might raze that out of the sentence. When hee heard that hee should be
executed at the *Greue*, he sayd he would not goe thither, but would rather be drawne
with foure horses, and that it was not in all their powers to leade him. *Voisin* sayd, that
they had provided for it, and that the King had done him the grace to change the place
of his execution, hauing appointed it at the *Bastille*: *What grace answered the Prisoner?*
The third point of his sentence was, that hee was troubled for the reunion of the
Duchie of *Firon* to the Crowne, the which hee sayd, could not be forfeited to the pre-
iudice of the substitution of his Brethren, and that the King should be satisfied with his
life. The Diuines after the pronouncing of the sentence spake more boldly vnto
him of death, and to free himselfe of all worldly cares as he had done of his goods, and
that he should haue no other thoughts but of his Soules health. Hee then grewe into
cholier, swearing that they should suffer him in Peace, and that it concerned him only
to thinke of his Soule, with the which they had nothing to do. It is the order in Cym-
nall executions to deliuer the party condemned into the hands of the Executioner as
soone as his Iudgement is read. They would haue done so with him: but *Voisin* went
to speake vnto the Chancellor, to know if they should not distinguish him from other
prisoners. The Chancellor was in doubt whether they should binde him or not. Hee
asked *Sillery* what he thought, who vnderstanding by *Voisin* that the party condemned
was well pacified, sayd, it was to be feared that in seeking to binde his hands they
would cause him to breake the bonds of patience, and enter into newe furies, for that
they which are in that distresse, are distempered for small matters. Yet the Chancellor
would haue the aduice of the first President, who was in another Chamber, for that
D he had dined before he came vnto the *Bastille*: Hee sayd that it was dangerous to suf-
fer his hands free, and therefore they must binde him. Every one was of *Sillerys* opi-
nion, who considered not so much what should be done as what might be done, for
the Party condemned would neuer haue suffered himselfe to haue beene led bound to
the place of executiō but in Fury & Dispaire. The Executioner (who sayd since that a
young hangman and not experienced would haue died for feare) had beene in danger
to endure that which hee would make him to suffer. In this liberty, his spirit was al-
wayes free in his thoughts for the last disposition of affaires. The Diuines intreated
him to consider that he was no more what he had beene: that within an houre or two
he should be no more: that he must leaue this life to liue for euer: that his Soule must
go before the fearefull Throne of the liuyng God, to be rewarded with a more happy
and perfect life then that which hee had past in this world, or condemned to infinite
paines, in cōparison wherof, that which he should suffer was but a light pricking, in re-
spect of the burning flames of the diuine Iustice. He then entred into the examinatio of
his Conscience, in the which he remained aboue an houre. This action required an
Humble, Penitent and a Contrite heart, and yet hee seemed much more carefull of
worldly things, and of the affaires of his house, then of his Soules health, and as it were
a yong apprentice in the first prayers of his Religion, praying vnto God not as a deuout
Christian, but as a Soldiar, not as a religious Man, but as a Captaine, not as *Moses* or
Elias, but like to *Iosua*, who, on horse-backe and with his sword in his hand prayed
and commanded the Sonne to stand still. His confession beeing made, he walked vp
and downe the Chappell, still casting out some exclamation for his Innocency, and
some execration against *la Fin*, asking if it should not be lawfull for his brethren to
cause him to be burnt.

Hee is into
cholier after
the reading of
his sentence.

After sen-
tence pro-
nounced they
ste to bind
their hands.

Hee confesseth
himselfe.

1602. Hereupon *Voisin* comes, who tells him that the Chancellor and the first President were A
 very glad of the constant and generous resolution hee had to die, and that they would
 come presently to see him. He answered that he had beene long resolute, and that it
 was not the paine of death, but the manner that did amaze him. Whilest he attended
 them, there were many notes brought him, touching his affaires, whereunto he an-
 swered without trouble or passion. Hee recommended the payment of some debtes
 which he did owe to gentlemen, that had nothing to shew for it, and among others, to
 the Ambassador in *England*: when the Chancellor had dined, hee came to see him
 with the first President, & found that as a troubled water growes cleere being teled,
 so the time which he had given him to thinke of his affaires, had takē from him the vio-
 lent agitations of his fantasie, & freed his heart from the feare of death. he cōmanded al B
 that were in the place to retyre, and they sat downe together about halfe an houre, but
 their discourse is unknowne. In the ende the Chancellor sayd vnto him, I should doe
 wrong vnto your courage, if I should exhort you vnto death, shee hath presented her-
 selfe vnto you in so many places, as it is not in her power to trouble the Constancie
 and Patience, whereunto I beleue you are disposed. You find it hard to die in the flow-
 er and vigour of your age, but if you consider that our dayes are lymited, and
 that they depend of the fore-sight of the Gouernor of the whole world, you will re-
 ceue this death as by the will of God, who meanes to retyre you out of this world for
 your owne good, before that some great and long miserie shall send you. As we may
 not desire a death which is farre off, so may we not reiect that which offers it selfe. No
 no answered the Partie condemned, labour not (my Lords) to fortifie me against the
 feare of death, these twentie yeares it hath not feared me, and knowing not where she
 would take mee, I haue expected her euery where. You haue given me fortie dayes to
 thinke vpon it, yet I could not beleue that beeing not in the power of my enemies to
 take away my life, I should be so miserable as to be seized on by death, with the con-
 sent of my friends. The King (said the Chancellor) hath cutt of al that might be shame-
 full and ignominious. He then asked him if hee would speake with any one. Hee sayd
 that he desired to see *La Forse* and *Saint Blancart*. They told him that they were not
 in the Cittie, but there was a gentleman of the Lord of *Badesous*, and after that he had
 demanded for *Preuost* (Comptroller of his house) and that they had answered him that
 he was gone three dayes before to a house of his in the Countrey, he then sayd, that hee D
 ought not to haue bene there, that he had all his blankes, adding therunto these wordes of
 Compassion. *All the world hath abandoned mee. In these crimes friendship is dangerous,*
friends faule, and the disease is taken by acquaintance, as well as by infection. He is wise that
knowes no man, nor no man knowes him. At these wordes the Chancellor and the first
 President tooke their leaues of him with teares in their eyes. He intreated them to re-
 ceue a good opinion of his life, by the assurance which he gaue at the point of death,
 that he had neuer attempted any thing against the King, & that if he would haue vnder-
 taken it, the King had not bene liuing three yeares since. The Chancellor went out of
 the Bastille with the first President and *Sillery*, & stayed in the Arceuall vntill the execu-
 tion was done. The Duke of *Biron* intreated the Knight of the Watch to go after him, E
 & to request him that he would suffer his Body to be interred with his Predecessors at
Biron, for although Nature hath prouided that no mā shal die without a Graue, yet mē
 thinke curiously thereof before they die, and imagine that as glory preserues the repu-
 tation of the life, so the Graue maintaines the remembrance of the Body. He that had
 seene him, would haue thought hee had not bin readie to die, so little care hee had of
 death, or els he promised to himselfe some vnexpected effects of the Kings mercy, or to
 escape by some miracle. There is no such deceit as imagination frames in these extre-
 mities, when shee flatters her selfe with vaine hope, imagining that God doth greater
 wonders, and that they haue scene a pardon come berixt the Executioners sword and
 the Prisoners necke. *Voisin* asked him if he pleased to say any thing else that might serue
 to discharge his conscience. The Preachers exhorted him not to conceale any thing,
 & to consider that they could not giue him Absolution but for what he should confes-
 He answered that although the King did put him to death vniustly, yet he had so much
 loved

He resolves
to die.

He desires to
see his friends.

The Chancel-
lor takes his
leave of him.

A loved his seruice, and had serued him with so great loue & obedience, neuer diuiding
 the one from the other, as he felt in his thoughts of death, those of his loue, to be so liue-
 ly and ardent, as he would not conceale any thing that he knew to be against his persion
 or State, for all the world, no nor for the assurance of his life hee would not speake
 any thing that was not true. He drew *Voisin* and his Confessors a part and whispered
 some thing vnto them, the which was presently written. Having continued with his
 Confessors halfe an houre (being neere five o' the Clocke) one came and told him that
 it was time to part, *Go we*, sayd he *seeing I must*. He then kneeled downe before the Al-
 tar, makes his prayer and recommends him selfe vnto God, before hee goes out of the
 Chappell. He asked if there were any one that belonged vnto the Marques of *Rhoisy*,
 B *Arnaud* was there, whome he willed to present his commendations vnto his Master, in
 remembrance not so much of him that went to die, as of his Kins-folkes which remai-
 ned alieue, and to assure him that he held him for a good seruant to the King, and profit-
 table and necessary for his seruice, and that he was sorry he had not followed his Coun-
 cell. Hee knew one that followed the Duke of *Mayenne*, and intreated him to say vnto
 him, that if in his life he had giuen him some cause not to loue him, yet he desired him
 to beleue that hee died his seruant, and the Duke of *Esguillons* and the Earle of *Som-*
merues his Children. Hee charged *Baranton* to deliuer his last words of loue and affec-
 tion vnto his Bretheren, cōmanding them to keepe the faith which bound them vnto
 the Kings seruice, not to apprehend his misfortune, nor to come at Court vntill that
 C time had wome out the Skarres of his ignominious death. Hee intreated one of them
 that had garded him to go tel the Earle of *Auvergne* that he went to die without griefe,
 but for the losse of his friendship: that if God had giuen him a longer life hee would
 haue done him more seruice, beseeching him to beleue that he had sayd nothing at
 his Arraignment that might hurt him, if it were not that hee had more want then bad
 meaning. The Count of *Auvergne* receiued this far well as from a true friend, & with a
 feeling worthy of his friendship, he intreated him to leaue him a bafe Childe of his the
 which he would bring vp with his owne. Going out of the Chappell the Executioner
 presented himselfe vnto him. He asked *Voisin* what he was. *It is* (sayd he) *the Executioner*
of the sentence. Retire thy selfe (sayd the Duke of *Biron*, *touch me not vntill it be time.* And
 D doubting least he should be bound he added, *I will go freely vnto death, I haue no hands*
to defend my selfe against it, but I shall neuer be sayd that I die bound like a Thiefe or a Slave,
 and turning towards the hangman, hee sware that if he came neere him he would pull
 out his throat. Hee could not endure the sight of the Executioner: He had reason, for
 they torment the body, as Diuills be Executioners of the Soule. And although they be
 Men and the Instruments of Iustice, yet they are held execrable, and had no dwelling
 house allowed them in *Rome* by the Censors Lawe. The two Preachers led him downe,
 intreating him to resist his impatience, which did but distemper his minde, and made
 him loath to leaue the place which hee could not hold against his will. Coming into
 the Court he went five or six paces without speaking a word, but *ha, ha, ha*. He cast his
 E eyes vpon the Lieutenant Ciuill in whose house *la Fin* was lodged, to whome he sayd,
I am your friend, beware you be not abused with Sorcerers and Magicians, if you free not
your selfe of them, you will repent it. They had made a Scaffold in a corner of the Court
 of the Bastille before the portall going into the Garden, six foote heigh and somewhat
 longer there were five steps to go vnto it. There were no Ornaments, no Tapistery, no
 Distinction. The most stately death is not the least troublesome, the greater the prepa-
 ration is the more remarkable is the infamy. It is no great honor to kneele vpon a vel-
 uet Cushion, vpon a Scaffold spred with Tapistery, & to haue by him an Executioner
 clad in black veluet, and Crimfon Silke, with the sword of gold of *Helogabalus*. The
 death which is least ceremonious is the best.

F The beholders were some at the windoes, some in the Court. There were the Pro-
 uost of Marchants, foure Sheriffes, three or foure Masters of *Requests*, some Presidents
 of the Chambers of Accounts, and some Counsellors, the Lieutenants Ciuill & Cry-
 minal, & the kings Attorney general. The Duke of *Biron* coming to the Scaffold knee-
 led vpon the first step, praying in fewe words, and his eyes lift vp to Heauen. Hee was
 exhorted

Hee prays be-
fore he goes
forth of the
Chappell.

He sends
commendati-
on to the
Count of Au-
vergne.

He grows
into chol-
ler
when he sees
the hangman,

He goes to
the Scaffold.

1602. exhorted to kisse the Crosse in remembrance of his redemption. Hee was attyred in A russet taffara with a blacke hatt. He cast a furious looke vpon the Executioner. *Voisin* perswaded him that it was an other, but he knew him well, saying, *that they sought to deceive him, but he commanded him to stand by, and when it were time, he would call for him.* He threw downe his hat, and cast his hand-kercher to a boy, and presently called for it againe to vse it, seeming in this act, that he had not the courage to looke vpon death with open eyes. He put of his dubler, & cast it to the same boy, but the Executioners man got it, and kept it. The Executioner offered him a cloth to put before his eyes, the which he reiected, saying, *That if hee toucht him, but to giue him the stroake of death, hee would strangle him.* Hee sayd vnto the souldiars which garded the Port (shewing them his naked brest) that he should be much bound vnto him that would shoote him with a B Musket: what a pittie is it sayd he, *to die so miserably, and of so infamous a stroake?* They might see by his hollowe eyes, that his thoughts were disordered. At these wordes the teares fell from the souldiars eyes. All those of his profession sware by his Spirit, & by his good Angell, as the Ancients did by that of their Prince. The poorest souldi- ar was cherished by him, at the least he had some good words to assure him of his good liking. The Hargubuziers did wound him at the Heart, through the extreame compas- sion they had of him. So were the souldiars of *Eumenes*, moued when they see him bound and manacled intreating them to kill him. He asked if there were no pardon, and directing his words to the standers by, he sayd, *that he had made his Soule ready to present it before the face of God,* but he tooke pittie of the Kings soule, who put him to C death viuently, that he died an innocent, and that this death was the recompence of his seruice: *Voisin* sayd vnto him, *That it was the manner to reade the sentence* He was an- gry that they would make him to feele death, and to die so often before his death, for he fealt himselfe to die cruelly in the repetition of the crimes of his condemnation, be- ing sufficient that they had brought him thither where he was ready to obey, and that they which did see him were not ignorant of the cause. When as the Register answered him that it could not be otherwise, hee gaue him leaue: but vnderstanding the words: That he had attempted against the Kings person and State, hee sayd that it was false. That God was his Iudge, that he would be depriued eternally of his grace, if it were true, that for two and twenty monethes past he had neuer any thought of it, and that D the King had pardoned him. Hee talked all the while that *Voisin* red his Iudgement, so as neither the one nor the other could bee vnderstood, the Auditors not knowing to whom to giue eare. The party condemned protesting still, and coniuring the Assistants to remember that these two and twenty monethes he had not attempted any thing a- gainst the Kings seruice. No man doth at any time condemne himselfe. You shall see few of these great Spirits, that die by their owne confessions, although they be found guiltie. Some confesse the Fact, but they hold it no Cryme, as that yong gentleman who was one of them that murdered the Duke of *Milan*, being readie to receiue the stroake, he cried out, *that the Death which he suffered was troublesome, but his Reputation should bee euerlastingly glorious.*

Stantem im-
peratorem ex-
cedere terris
deceat.

His Iudgement being read, the Preachers perswaded him to call to God for helpe, and not to thinke any more on Earth, but to yeeld his Soule to the immortal dispositi- on of the Creator, and to leaue his bodie to that which Iustice had decreed. He asked what he should doe, and takes his hand-kercher with the which he blinds his eyes, at- king the Executioner where he should set himselfe: He answered him, there my Lord, there. And where is that? Thou seest that I see nothing, and yet thou shewest mee as if I did see plainly: and therewith being in choller, he pulled away his hand-kercher to see: He blinded his eyes againe, and for that it is a kind of grace to be soone dispatcht, and a great crueltie to languish in the expectation of a paine, he commanded the Ex- ecutioner to make an end. He desired to die standing, according to the aduise of *Ves- pasian*. The Executioner answered him that hee must kneele, that hee might doe no- thing out of Order. No no, said the Duke of *Biron*, *if thou canst not doe it at One, giue Thirtie. I will not stirre.* They prest him to kneele, and hee obeyed, willing the Execu- tioner

A sooner to dispatch, then he start vp sodainly againe, casting his eyes vpon the Execution- 1602. ner, and looking vpon the standers by, hee asked if there no mercy: It was imagined, that either hee would haue layd hand vpon the Executioners sword, or that hee presumed that when he should be readie to receiue the fatall stroake they would bring him his pardon, and that the King would doe him no other harme then feare him, as *Papirus Curfor* did one of his souldiars for breaking of his ranke. The Executioner in- treated him to suffer him to cut his heire. At that word he grew into choller againe, he vnbandd himselfe, and sware that if he toucht him hee would strangle him. You may see in two persons, two extreame passions. Feare retyred the Executioner within him- selfe. Choller transported the Duke of *Biron* beyond himselfe. The one trembled for B feare, the other for rage. *Voisin* sayd vnto him, *that he had too much care of his bodie, which was no more his owne.* He turned to him in choller with an oath, saying, *I will not haue him touch mee, so long as I shall bee liuing: If they put mee into choller, I will strangle halfe the company that is here, and will force the rest to kill mee, I will leape downe if you thrust me into dispaire.* His colour did rise, and shewed a distemperature in his face. Those that were vpon the scaffold went downe. The Executioner remayned amazed, fearing death more then he that was to die.

He swears
and growes
into choller.

But this choller preuailed nothing, it was like vnto *Ctesiphon*, to kicke against the Moiles heeles. Restie horses get nothing but spurring, they are neither freed from their burden, nor from their iourney, hee must resolue to goe this way, the which he must C passe at length. *Voisin* intreated the Preachers to goe vp againe, and to pacifie him, fear- ing least he should fall into dispaire, for his Soule being much troubled, with the vio- lence of so tragicall an end, (entring into these furious motiues) was subiect to great distemperatures. They goe vp againe, and speake some good wordes vnto him in his eare, the which doth temper his furious rage, and calmes the choller which the Execu- tioners presence did thrust him into: Hee had alwayes liued in Warre, he could not die in Peace. All men found these furious passions strange in the last act of his life, the which required a great constancie of mind, and a perfect Iudgement to know God, and to call to him for mercy, and to pray him to intreat his Soule more fa- uourably then Iustice had done his Bodie. Hether to they beleueed, that although hee were entring into death, yet hee thought not to die, and that hee would cease D vpon the Executioners sword. Sodenly hee resolues to free this passage, and ha- uing receiued his absolution, hee sayd, *My God, my God, my God take pittie on mee.* Then turning to the Executioner, hee takes the binder that was in his hand, trusses vp his haire behind, and binds it vpon his fore-head, and with his hand-kercher hee binds his eyes, and so kneeles downe. The Preachers comfort him in his last resolution, assuring him that his Soule was readie to see God, and to bee par- taker of his glory in Heauen. I sayd he, *Heauen is open for my Soule.* And this done he bends downe his head, presenting it as willingly vnto the sword, as *Agis* did his vn- to the halber, saying vnto the Executioner. *Strike, Strike, oh Strike.* This was to die in E commanding, and to command in dying.

The Executioner hauing seene him to rise, and to vnblinde himselfe thrise, that in turning towards him being not bound, hauing the sword in his hand, hee might wrest it from him, thought that there was no way to execute him but by surprise, and therefore hee sayd vnto him that hee must say his last prayer to re- commend his Soule vnto God, intreating the Preachers that were gone downe to caule him to say it. At which wordes the Executioner made a signe to his man to reach him his sword, with the which hee cut of his head, euen as he was speaking. The blow was so sodaine, as few men perceiued it, the Head leaped E from the scaffold to the ground. The Preachers prayed for the happie departure of the Soule, from so unhappie a Bodie, the which was presently stripped into his shirt, and couered with a sheete. His heart panted, as if in rising against the Head, it had sayd as *Apolodorus* thought that his did when hee drempt that one did heu

He cuts off his
head.

1602. hewe it in peeces. *It is for thee that I suffer.* This Head full of the fumes of Ambition, was the cause of the Hearts death. The Executioner stroke him so heigh above the Nape of the Necke, as he glaunced vpon his Iawe-bones, and left a great rube of hayre on his Necke. Being dead, hee shewed Choller in his Countenance, as they write of the Souldiars which died at the Battell of *Cannas*. Euery one departed, commending the Kings Iustice, and lamenting the misery of so Valiant a Man, becoming that of long time they should not see his equall. His Kinsfolkes would thinke themselves happy, if the Glory of his Life, might wipe away the Infamy of this Death, if the shining of his first actions, were not obscured with the Darknesse of the last; that for a recompence of all his Seruices which haue made him so famous, they might obtaine the fauour that they would neuer speake of him. But there is no Lawe of Forgetfulness, to deface the memory of that which hath bene, and of that which is. About nine of the Clocke at night, he was carried to *S. Pauls* Church and buried in the midst of the Body, before the Pulpit, the Celestins hauing refused to geue him buriall, hauing had no permission nor commandment for it. He was not distinguished from others by his Funerall Pompe, nor by the number of Ensignes (like vnto that Great Captaine at *Granado*), but by the Holy water which the *Parsons* did cast hourly vpon his Graue. Such was the ende of the Duke of *Biron*. There is no Calme but hath a Storme: one would haue said to haue seene him at the height of his prosperities; *That he had fixed a Naylor on Fortunes wheele, that it might not turne*, and yet he is sodainly cast downe. There past but one night, betwixt his Glory and his Ruine. This Flower being so sodainly blowne, the first Northern winde did wither it, and carry it away. His Honours and Greatnesse were the meanes to ruine him, like vnto *Abolons* long Hayre, by the which hee was hanged. King *Lewis* the 11. did alwayes say; *That Pride carried Ruine behinde him*, A Heart which knowes from whence the good comes which it inioyeth, is alwayes an enemy to Pride. So there is but a moment betwixt Glory and Ruine. Great Trees are long in growing, but are rooted vp in an instant. And it is true, if the Duke of *Biron* had had a Brayne, he had not lost his Head, and had not brought it into the handes of his Princes Iustice, whom hee had so much offended.

The Marshall
is: 993 Virtues.

His Vanity &
Glory.

A comparison
betwixt *Sylla*
and the Duke
of *Biron*.

His Credit and
how hee was
esteemed.

This Marshall had goodly parts, communicable to fewe, his Valour was admirable, and happy in all his encounters; of an inuincible Courage, infatigable and neuer tired with any toyle, continuing ordinarily fiftene dayes together on Horse-backe. He was not inclined to Voluptuousnesse, nor much to the loue of Women, sober ynough, the which began to quench that furious humour, as Intemperancy & greatnesse increased, or that Rest did moderate his boyling passions. He was extremely Vaine-glorious, yea sometimes he would refuse his meate, and content himselfe with little to feede his Fantasie with Glory and Vanity. He was of a meane stature, Blacke, reasonable grosse, hollow eyd, and rough in speech and conuersation. He was aduenturous in War, Ambitious beyond all measure. The excesse of his Ambition made him to braue it without iudgement. He became so presumptuous, as he thought that the King, nor *France* could not subsist without him. He was become ill-tongued, speaking ill of all the Princes, threatening the Parliaments, and the Officers of Iustice, some with death, and to dispossesse others of their places. He was aduanced from the meane to the highest degrees of Honours of a simple Souldiar, hee became a Captaine, then a Colonell, afterwards Admirall and Marshall, and in the ende Lieutenant of the Kings Armies, and in his Heart he aspired to be Duke of *Burgundy*, Son in Lawe to the Duke of *Sauoy*, and Nephew to the King of *Spaine*. If *Sylla* were Reformed, Cruell, and Bloudy, he yeelded nothing to all men together: If he were Valiant, this man exceeded him by ten degrees, and all the *Romaine* Princes together. Their Actions and their ends were almost alike, but that *Sylla* died after he had vanquished: this before he could vanquish, and in the midst of his Course, did feelee the Vengeance of Gods wrath. Howsoeuer he had wonne the Souldiars hearts, to whom hee gaue all liberty: he purchased credit with them that had neuer seene him

(for

1602

A

B

C

D

E

F

Shame fol-
lowes Pride.

He went to a
Mathematicians
to know his
Fortune.

For they that had seene and felt him wished him at the Indies) and made Strangers admire his valour: the Constable of *Castille* in the *Franche-Comté*, the Archduke at *Amiens*, and the Marquis of *Waranbon* in *Artois*, whom he made to pay forty thousand Crownes for his ransom, with many *Spaniards* which he caused to be hanged sodainly, for that they had called him Baron. Moreouer the Kings exceeding fauours, the prayes wherewith he did publiquely honour him: his admirable fortune, his coming to the restoring of the last ruines of the State, like to an other *Camillus* to deliuer the Capitoll, had made him not onely famous throughout all *Europe*, fearefull to all the neighbours, but necessary for *France*. Behold a man that was happy, full of content, which held Fortune captiue, withall her treasures: he commanded the felicities of this world, he had Glory, Honour, Riches, & those gifts which Fortune imparts to her darlings, He was raised to the top of Fortunes wheele, but he fell, for he that gouerns the Helme and all her motions, could no longer endure his insolency and vanity. *Sequitur superbus vltor a tergo Deus.* The causes of his ruine are infinite; the contempt of piety is the chiefe: this ground taken away, all vices abound, and as the Tertian said to King *Atræus*, *O Prince, follow the infallible way of Piety, & your Scepter shall be durable*: for wher as Faith & Holines hath no place, there is no happines; the reason is, for that without God we hold all things indifferent, the Law folly, Iustice frensie, and Faith a fantasie; we hold the words of vertue & vice to be idle, wheras the feare & trust in God, limits our passions & insatiable desires, so as gouerning our actions by a iust proportion we cannot erre. He was oftentimes seene to lye at the Masse, & to laugh at the Reformed Religion, with whō he had bin bred vp from his infancy. For at the age of eight yeares the Lady of *Brisambourg* his Fathers sister being of the reformed Religion did so affect him for his actiue disposition, as she demanded him of his Mother, the which she granted, & frō that time she made him her onely heire. Vntill the age of 16 yeares he was called *Charles of Gontault* (for then he had an elder brother which died since at the Duke of *Alançons* voyage into *Flanders*) & bred vp at *Brisambourg* nere vnto *S. Jean d'Argely*, where he was nothing giuen to his booke, but wholly inclined to Armes, for which consideration, his Father the Marshall *Biron*, a Martiall Man, & then a Catholike, tooke him frō his Aunt & led him for a while with him through the Countreies of *Xaintonge*, *Aulins* & *Angoulmois*, where he caused him to be instructed in the Catholike Religion: but vpon false principles which he did learne of some Courtiars, he did often mocke at all Religion. The second cause of his ruine was the alteration of his Fortune. After the death of his elder Brother, his father caused him to be called Baron of *Biron* & brought him to Court, where at the first he had a quarrell with the Lord of *Carency*, son to the Earle of *la Vauguion*, the which was ended by a Combat of three against three, *Biron*, *Laigne* & *Lenissac* of the one side, *fluc Carency* *Estissac* and *la Bastie*: their quarrell grew for the heyer of *Caumont*, which either of the affected in marriage, yet neither of the had her. The Duke of *Espernon* got his pardō, the which was confirmed through the credit which his father had the in Court. Some say that being thus in trouble, he went disguised like a Carrier of Letters, vnto one *la Brosse* a great Mathematician whō they said to be skilful in casting of Natiuities, to whom he shewed his Natiuitie, drawn by some other. And dissembling it to be his, he said it was a *Gentlemans* whom he serued & that he desired to know what end that man should haue. *La Brosse* hauing re-versed this figure, said vnto him, *That he was of a good house, & no elder then you are*, said he to the Baron, asking him if it were his? the Baron answered him, *I will not tell you: But tel me (said he) what his Life, his meanes, & end shall be.* This good old man who was then in a little Garret which serued him for a Study, said vnto him, *My Son, I see, that he whose Natiuitie this is shall come to great Honours, by his industry and Military valour, and may be a King, but there is a CAPUT ALGOL which hinders it: And what is that (said the Baron of Biron?) Aske me not (said la Brosse) what it is. No (said the Baron) I must know it.* In the end he sayd vnto him; *My Son, it is, that he will do that which shall make him loose his Head.* Wher vpon the Barō (as they report) did beat him cruelly, & hauing left him halfe dead he went downe, & carried away the Key of the Garret dore, whereof he bragged whē he was gone. They say he had conference with one *Casir*, who was a Magitian at *Paris* who

1602. who told him *That onely a backe-blow of the Bourguignon would keepe him from beinge a King*. He remembered this prediction beinge a Prisoner in the Bastille. And increased one that went to visit him, to learne if the Executioner of *Paris* were a *Bourguignon*, and hauing found it so, he said, *I am a dead man*. During these last Ciuill Wars, his Father beinge Cominander of the Kings Army, of a young Baron hee was become a made a Capraine and Marshall of the Campe. After his Fathers death at *Epernay*, he was Generall and Admirall of *France*, then Marshall and Lieutenant of the Kings Armyes: the defeat of the *Spanish* succors at *Laon*, with his employes in *Burgundy* and *Picardy*, made the King lo to loue him, as he onely was in credit: there remained nothing but to vse his happinesse modestly. Doublelesse hee did great seruices to the King and to the Crowne, but he was rewarded with great fauours, and aduanced to the greatest Dignities and Honours of the Crowne, the which if he could haue vied temperately euen in the height of his Fortune, he had beene too happy. He reported that his Father sayd vnto him seeing his haughty disposition; *Baron I would aduise thee when a Peace shalbe made, to go and liue priuately at thine owne house, else thou must leaue thy head at the Greue*. All Princes that were allied to the Crowne of *France* reioyced at the discouery of the Duke of *Birons* Treason. The Queene of *England*, and the King of *Scotland* sent their Ambassadors vnto the King to congratulate that God had so happily preuented this last Conspiracy. The King of *Spainne* did the like by *Taxis*. The Archduke layde all the blame vpon the Count of *Fuenteles*. The Duke of *Sauoy* sent the Count of *Viesque* vnto the King, as well to obserue howe the Duke of *Birons* death had beene taken in Court, and in that Great City whereas there was diuersity of Humors and Opinions, as to excuse him from the Imputation which was layd vpon him to be the first Architect of this Conspiracy.

The Marshall
Birons words
vnto his Son
when he was
but Baron of
Biron.

Ambassadors
sent to the
King to con-
gratulate.

The Kings
Letter to
Montfaucon de la
Gaulle the 1.
of September.
1602.

Birons of war
after the death
of the Duke
of *Biron*.

The Ambassadors of *England*, *Scotland* and *Sauoy* were receiued of one day at *Montceaux*. The King in receiuing of them made a great difference, for hee receiued them not with one Countenance. The last was not vied like vnto the first; the King leaning vpon a Window, shewed by his gesture, that he was not pleased with his excuses, and that words alone could not repaire so bad effects, nor make him beleue that the Duke of *Sauoy* had not beene an Actor to corrupt the Duke of *Biron*. The Dukes Ambassador made his excuse with a great Grace and Boldnesse, although it be a very hard thing to discourse of a subiect to one, that can giue no beleefe vnto it. The Count of *Viesque* passing through *Lions*, visited the Gouvernor, and gaue him a Letter from his Maister, the which he sent vnto the King who was very well pleased with his proceeding, and writ vnto him in this sort. *It was not needefull to send me this Letter, but onely to giue mee a newe Confirmation of your loyalty, which I hold so assured, as it needed neither that, nor any other. But the wisest do alwayes obserue the ancient formes, whereof that is one of the principall, not to see nor heare any thing from forraigne Princes without the priuaty and permission of his Maister*. The King parted from *Montceaux* to go to *Paris*, where he dispatched the Ambassadors. That of *Sauoy* came to his Maister being newly returned from *Vercel*, where he had visited the Duke of *Saxony* E brother passing into *Italy*. He presented him with eight Horses richly furnished, and a Hat-band with a Iewell esteemed at twelue thousand Crownes. Soone after hee went to *Riuoly* for his pleasure of Hunting, leading *D'Albigny* with him to whom hee made shewes of extraordinary Loue. Mens coniectures were not able to peece into the secrets of that which they treated of together; but they will burst forth before the yeare shall end. The Count of *Viesque* came to *Riuoly* in the beginning of October. Euery man said at *Thurin* that his Ambassage was Gracious, and that the King was well pleased with that which the Duke of *Sauoy* would haue him beleue, yet all *Sauoy* was full of Souldiars and no man knew howe they should be employed. Some sayd that the Duke of *Birons* death would breed a newe storme in *France*, but all the choller and threats of them that repined thereat, was but a fantastick lightning. The Count of *Fuenteles* would haue done his best to haue bred a storme: his spirit which hath no rest but in exercise, thinking (with *Teres* father to *Sistales*) that nothing doth

disturbing

A disting with him from the rest of his Maisters seruants but War, was so much discontented for this death, as he could not sleepe. He did meditate of reuenge, and the King was well aduertised thereof. It was thought that vnder colour of passing a newe army ouer the Alpes, hee would discouer some desseine, and the King was aduertised from many parts, that the Cittie of *Lions* was not the last, nor the least in his chollenke thoughts. That three and twentie companies of *Spaniards* (in the which were at the least three thousand men) had past the Mountaines, and were disperced in *Sauoy*: that the Duke of *Sauoy* had at *Romilly* fine hundred men, vnder the Regiment of *Calaisers*, and at *Ariffy* 1500. Neapolitains; that they attended some Lanqueneers: that neere vnto *Genoa* their were thirtie Companies of *Spaniards* landed: and that they fortified B Saint *Genis* (against the last Treatie of Peace) a fit place to execute any desseine vpon *Lions* or *Vienne*. The King therefore foreseeing that if they fought any aduantage vpon *France*, it should be rather for *Lions* then any other place, hee therefore lodged in the Bastions of Saint *John* and Saint *Clair* fine Companies of the Regiment of *Bourg* L' *Espinasse*, and those of *Nereftan*, at *Montlael* and *Seiffel*.

The opinions of this new Armie were as diuers as their desseins were secret, yet it seemed that the Duke of *Sauoy* feared, least his Countie should be force Pagaine by the Kings army, and that hee should not haue so good a composition as the first, and therefore he provided for all his places in *Sauoy*, but this hatched another great desseine whereof we will speake in the end of this yeare. The King was much troubled to search into the depth of the Duke of *Birons* conspiracie. *La Fin* was not acquainted with the last resolutions, the partie condemned, would neuer discouer his Complices. All this practise was well knowne to the Baron of *Lux*, who came vnto the King vpon the assurance of his Maisties word to goe and come freely: yet hee was aduised not to approach neere vnto the Court of Parliament, who would not intreat him more mildly then they had done the Duke of *Biron*. seeing hee had beene imbarcked with him in the same vessel, and to consider that Princes promise any thing, to discouer a Treason, but they neuer trust the Traitors, and if happely they fauour them for a time, the hatred which followes after, is more violent and irreconciliable. That they vse men, as a Countreiman doth his Bees, when they haue drawne out the Honey and Waxe, D they chase them away with Fire, and Smoake. The King was so well satisfied with that which the Baron of *Lux* had sayd vnto him (hauing talked long with him) as entering into his Carosse, hee tould the Count *Saksions*; and the Cardinall of *Loyenze*, that hee would not for two hundred thousand Crownes; but haue spoken with the Baron of *Lux*. His pardon past in the Parliament at *Paris*, and hee was receiued in that of *Dijon*, with the same honours hee had before, and his charge of Lieutenant in the gouernment of *Bourgogne*, and of the Countie of *Bresse*. His wife-dome did conduct him in a stoumie Sea, to a safe Port, and made him to auoyd some dangers, whereas any other would haue lost both Card and Compasse. The greatest indiscretion which the Duke of *Biron* had committed, (next to the giuing E care to the promises and perswasions of Strangers) was that hee had writen his intentions, and had imparted them to another. It is a Maxime in matters of Conspiracie, not to commit any thing to writing, but all must goe by mouth. They could not haue condemned the Duke of *Biron*, but by his owne Letters. And of all those of whome hee spake in his Letters, there was noe thing found of theirs in writing. Letters serue indifferently for an assurance of the faith that is giuen, and for a prooue of infidelitie.

Hee would die with that content, that none of his friends should be toucht but himselfe. *Hebert* his Secretarie indured the Racke, and his patience did iustifie him, but the Kings words were a more violent torture vnto him, drawing the truth from him, the which hee would not confesse vnto the Court. The Baron of *Fontauelles*, (who was found to haue had intelligence with the Duke of *Biron*) was broken vpon Racke, and the wheele by the decree of a great Councell. *Mem-barrat* Gouvernor of *Rennes* was committed to prison. Such as had knowne him during the last troubles full of resolution

The King
of the Duke
of *Biron*
was in the
Court of
Genoa.

The Baron of
Lux comes to
the King

Hebert the
Duke of *Biron*
Secretarie
put to the
Racke, and
Fontauelles
broken vpon
the wheele.

1602. solution and affection for the reducing of *Brittaine* to the Kings obedience, lamented A his misfortune. The Earle of *Auvergne* continued two monethes in the *Bastille* after the execution of the Duke of *Biron*. The King set him at liberty and receiued him into fauour, after three or foure daies that he had purged himselfe and discharged him into conscience to the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Rhospny* and to *Sillery*. Hee grewe presently familiar with the King, as if hee had neuer bin sequestred from his presence, wherein appeared his Maiesties good nature and his generous spirit, which doth neuer remember any Iniuries. But the Duke of *Bouillon* considering what had beene done in the *Bastille* vpon the person of so great a Captaine, would not trust to this great mildnesse, although he had as great prooffe thereof as any other. The King sent for him, and he desired to iustifie himselfe in the Chamber at *Castres*. The King let him vnderstand B that the pretext which hee tooke to flie vnto the Chamber at *Castres* for Iustice, was without ground, for he was not called into question, and when he should do it, it could not bee therefore that hee depended not of that Iurisdiction, neyther could they take knowledge thereof without Commission from his Maiesty. He attended not to vnderstand his pleasure more particularly by the President *Caumartin*, whome hee resolved to send vnto him, but tooke the way to *Genoua*, and so to *Heidelberg*. The Subiect may neuer capitulate with his Prince, but if necessity doth require it, it must not be betwixt two Barres, like to the Constable of *S. Paul*, but as farre off as he can.

The Duke of *Bouillon* beeing in his *Viconte* of *Turenne*, when as the King sent for him, he answered him with this letter. Sir, hauing vnderstood by that of your Maiesties owne hand of the 18. of this moneth, that I had beene accused by those which C had beene examined in Councell vpon the Conspiracies of the Duke of *Biron*, and that you commanded me to repaire presently to Court to iustifie my selfe, I sent away him presently that came, with answere to your Maiesty that I would followe instantly, the which I had done, if I had not receiued certaine Intelligence who were my accusers. The which made mee to change this resolution, and humbly to beseech your Maiesty to consider that the Treacheries and Disloyalties against your Person and State are so fully proued against my Accusers, as it disables them to accuse mee, and much lesse to D condemne mee. They haue not, nor cannot haue but lying tongues in their accusations, the which hauing sayled them in the execution of their intention (being preuented by your Maiesties happines and wisdom) they employ them to make you suspect the second Officer of your Crowne, and your house-hold seruant, who hath neuer sought any glory in this world, but what proceeds from your Maiesties grace & fauor, & who hath so long serued you. It is to bee presumed that hauing an intent to hurt mee, they haue incensed your displeasure against mee, by the most horrible crimes they could inuent. They would make mee the Instrument of that which they haue promised to the E enemies of your Estate to preiudice you. And seeing they cannot now suborne any others, they will accuse them who in the like affaires haue made prooffe of their Innocencies, by so many circumstances, as it is not to bee beleueed they would haue any thought to the contrary. They do ill acknowledge your mercy, to continue still culpable, chaging only their offence. Seeing that since they are become false witnesses I will say vnto you my Lege, as the Psalmist sayd vnto God. *Lord come not neere mee, untill I bee fortised*. I must confesse that I feare your Countenance (hauing admitted such men to accuse me) seeing that your Maiesty demands my Iustification, the which hath F retayned me, nor that my conscience doth accuse me of any fault that is worthy of such an examination. Seeing it doth import your seruice, it is requisite I should satifie your Maiesty, your Realme & mine Honor, and free them of my Relligion from the scandal which they should receiue, if my crime were not punished, & mine Innocency known. For the attayning wherof, I assure my selfe that your Maiesty would not deprive me of the liberty, which all your subiects of the Relligion enioye, and the rather, for that no Iudges can be more interested in these affaires, seeing the question is of the decaye of your Realme to augment that of *Spaine*, where in all your subiects haue one comon losse; but those of the Relligion (whereof the Chambers do consist) haue a more particular: the which they esteeme more deare then their liues, which is the losse of their exercise

A exercise. They will therefore bee seuerer Iudges rather then milde. If they shall finde mee guiltie, they will hate me more then any other, from whom they did least expect it. I most humbly therefore beseech your Maiesty, to send my Accusers & Accusations, thinking the imputation which is layd vpon me heauie, & the time tedious, vntill your Maiesty may be fully satisfied of mine Innocencie, for the speedy effecting whereof I will attend at *Castres* the Iustification of my fault or Innocencie. Iudging that the time which I should haue spent in going to your Maiesty, would haue but prolonged the affliction of my Soule remayning accused, seeing that your Maiesty was to send mee backe to the Chambers, to condemne or absolue me, being the Iudges which your Edict hath giuen me. That it would therefore please you to releue my minde B speedily in giuing mee the means to make my Innocencie knowne, and that by this prooffe you may rest assured of my faithfull seruice, and I of your fauour, the which shall bee about all things desired of your most Humble, most Obedient, and most Faithfull Subiect, and Seruant.

Henry de la Tourne

The King caused the Prince of *Ginulle* to be committed to the Duke of *Guise* his brother. *Sillery* examined him very carefully, his Maiesty relying vpon his wisdom and integrity. He advertised the Gouernours of Prouinces why he did it, vsing these words. I haue committed my Nephew the Prince of *Ginulle* vnto my Nephew the Duke of C *Guise* his brother, for that he had rashly and indiscreetly giuen care to certaine propositions, that were made vnto him against my seruice: I will hold him in the same guard vntill that matters be made plaine. But I assure my selfe it concerns him only, wherein those of his house haue no share, neither is there any one named or comprehended with him, whereof I thought good to aduertise you. The King hauing since bin satisfied of the truth, he returned againe into fauour. There came 15. or 16. Deputies out of *Daulphine* to *Paris*. This Prouince was giuen to the Crowne of *France*, by *Humbert* Prince of *Daulphiné*, vpon condition, that the Kings eldest Son, (the presumptiue heire of the Crowne) should be soueraigne thereof from his birth. Hauing made great ioy for this blessing, and to see that which they had not seene since King *Charles* the 8, they made D choise of some out of the three Estates of the Country, to go & performe their first duties of subiection, & to know their Soueraigne Lord. *Ierome* of *Villars* Archbishop of *Vienne*, was the cheefe of this Ambassage, the which he gouerned and ended happily, and with honor. Hauing done their duties to the King and Queene, and let them vnderstand the charge which he had from the States of the Countrey with the other Deputies, hee was led to *S. Germans*, to see their new Prince, who was vnder a cloth of Estate in his Cradle, vpon a little bed. The Count *Soissons* Gouernour and Lieutenant generall of *Daulphiné*, his Gouvernesse and his Nurse were by him. The Archbishop of *Vienne* spake vnto him standing, al the rest kneeled of one knee. The substance of which speech was. That the ioy of *France* had beene infinite by his birth, foreseeing that her E felicitie should be imperfect without it, and that the blessing of Peace could not continue without his Birth, who should bee the death of all pretexts of Ciuill warres, but your Prouince of *Daulphiné* hath farre greater cause of ioy, for that it feesles in effect, that which the rest of the Realme hath but in hope. Those which haue beleueed that felicitie could not be in the infancie of a Child, seeing it requires a continuance of years and a constant knowledge of virtue and fortune, ment it not by Kings Children, and about all of the first borne of the Crowne of *France*, at whose first birth wee see all the fauours raigne vpon his head, the which Heauen can powre vpon them whome it will make happy. The same day my Lord, that you saw the light, the Sunn did salute you F a great Prince, and the Sonne of a great King, you are borne our Soueraigne Lord, and wee are become your faithfull vassalls, and most humble Subiects, so as this Prouince which amidst so many afflictions hath sighed about a hundred yeares, for the day when it should see borne that sacred bud of the Royall flower, holds it the greatest point of glorie and felicitie, not to know any power more absolute and soueraigne then

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1602. then yours, and to obey you before that you know what it is to command. This
 „Cradle (my Lord) about the which the Eternall Providence (which hath a speciall
 „care ouer this Realme, and hath appointed his Angells for your grad) is the
 „Throne wherein wee adore in your lyuing Image the inuisible Maistie of the li-
 „uing God. The rocking of this Cradle hath seled the filicitie of *France* which be-
 „gan to bee shaken by furious and dangerous attempts both without and within.
 „It is an extreme greefe vnto vs that the lawe of this Cradle, will not suffer vs to heare
 „you, & make vs so happie as to vnderstand you. And if you vnderstand not but by the
 „Laguage of Infants, which be Tears, you shal knowe the affection of your peoples Haies,
 „by the tears of Ioy which fall from their eyes, praising God that it hath pleased him to
 „giue them a Prince issued from the first Crowne of the world, who carries in his Heart
 „the generosity of his Father, and in his eyes the sweetnes of the Mother. A Prince
 „which in greatnes of courage and in reputation of braue and immortal Actions, shall
 „exceed the glory of all the Princes of the Land and Sea, as the *Daulphin* in lightnes and
 „swiftnes passeth all the Creatures, both of Land and Sea. We acknowledge you for
 „our Prince and soueraigne Lord vnder the King your Father, and the Queene your
 „Mother, and wee doe now offer vnto your Heighnes, our Liues, our Persons and our
 „Fortunes, for homage of our most humble & faithful subiection. These Goodly words
 „were accompanied with a Ritch present. It was a Cupberd of Plate richly wrought
 „and beautified with sondry figures of *Daulphins*, being valued at twelue thousand
 „Crownes. All that attended vpon the Prince had Presents of some value, or else Me-
 „dailles made for that purpose.

A Present
giuen vnto
the *Daulphin*.

The Govern-
ment of *Bour-
gogne* giuen
to the *Daul-
phin*.

Renouation of
the *Pancarte*.

The Sonnes present serued for the Mother. The King was the better plea-
 sed with this Deputation, for that it was in the first yeare of his Sonnes Infancie: and it
 is certaine that of al the proofs of Duty & Affection which the Subiects can yeeld vnto
 their Soueraigne, those are most commendable which are done without desseine.
 As *Daulphiné* doth acknowledge this Prince for their Soueraigne Lord vnder the
 King: soe *Bourgogne* and the Countries of *Bresse*, *Baugy*, *Valromey*, and *Gez*,
 (which are annexed vnto it) had him for their Gouverneur: But during his Infan-
 cie, and vntill hee were capable to vndergoe the functions of that Charge, the
 power of Lieutenantie was giuen to *Roger of Bellegarde*, first Gentleman of the
 Chamber, and Maister of the Kings Horse, who tooke his oath in the Kings
 hands. His Pattent was read in the Parliament of *Dijon*, the Cittie receiued him
 with all sorts of honours, and went to fetch him at the Carthusians where he made
 his abode, attending the preparation for his reception.

The Kings desires being seconded with so many prosperities, it pleased him
 of his owne bountie to take pittie of the Ruines and Calamities of his Subiects,
 in reuoking the Imposition of the Sublzypon the Lyure (or two shillings) which
 they called the *Pancarte*. Hee would not that this great releefe should surprize
 his peoples hearts, declaring his pleasure some monethes before it was put in
 practise, to the end that things being first expected before they were enioyed,
 might be the more acceptable. The King raised his coynes of Gold and Siluer,
 the Crowne to sixe shillings and sixe pence, the quarter of the Crowne to fixe-
 teene Soultz, and the Franck to one and twentie and foure Deniers, that the coynes
 of siluer might bee valued after the rate of threescore and foure Soultz to the
 Crowne. And as that which is held good and profitable at one time, is not so at
 an other, the counting by Crownes (found in the yeare one thousand siue hun-
 dred seuentie and seuen, profitable and now verie preiudiciall) was forbidden,
 and that of the Lyure brought into practise in Contrasts, Obligations, and Acts
 of Iustice, as it was before, since King *Philip* the faire, *Francis* the first, and *Hen-
 ric* his Sonne.

There sprong vp a new ioy for all *France*. The Heauens which in former times
 did raine gold at *Rhodes* for the birth of *Minerva*, doth now power forth a great
 showre

A shower of Ioye for the birth of the Kings first lawefull daughter. The Queene was
 happely brought in bedde on the two and twenty day of Nouember in the mor-
 ning, and thankes were giuen vnto God according to the vsuall Custome. The rest
 of this discourse is referred for accidents which are neuer found so perfect nor to hap-
 pie, but they haue still some contrariety, miseries are like vnto bad plants, which grow
 of themselves, the good must haue much paine & labour to make them growe: I here
 is great occasion to complaine in all places. The famine is so great in *Lithuania* and *Bo-
 rusia*, as heretofore in *Bohemia* and *Polonia*, they did runne vnto the places of execu-
 tions to take them downe that were executed, and to bury them in their lyuing bow-
 ells, although they were Censured as vnworthy to bee buried among the dead. The
 Riuer of *Saonne* was ouerflowed in that sort as the Townes that were seated vpon the
 bankes, were in great danger of this Inundation. The Bridge at *Lions* was to be shaken, as
 if it had not bene fortified by the waight that was layd vpon it, the two Townes had
 bene diuided by the riuer.

There was no worthy act in *Hungary*, but the remembrance thereof was fatall and
 shamefull for the Christians. They had the yeare before taken *Alba Regalis* by the va-
 lour and vertue of the Duke of *Mercur*, they are nowe shamefully expelled. As the
 French had the first glory at the taking of it, so nowe by dispaire and furie going to serue
 the Turke they had the pointe of the assault. All that were with in it were put to the
 sword. They with in the Castell sayd that the cowardise and small resistance of them
 within the Towne, was the cause of the losse of it, desiring to haue the like declaration
 from the Generall of the Turkes, to saue the Honour of their Capitulation. The
 Generall sent them word, that seeing they had bene resolu'd not to yeeld the place,
 vnlesse the Souldiars had forced them therevnto: It was reason they should remaine,
 so as hee caused the Souldiars to depart presently, and kept the Captaines prisoners.
 They found all the Artillery there which they had left, and twelue newe Cannons,
 foure hundred thousand weight of Powder, a great number of Bullets, two hun-
 dred Tunne of Meale, foure score of Biscuit, siue hundred of Salt, and tenne thou-
 sand Florins in ready Money to pay the Souldiars. (The Great Turke was so troubled
 for the losse of this Towne, and so much transported for the recovery thereof, as
 hee promised the Great Visier, his Aunt in Marriage, if hee could take it.) After the
 which he sought to take *Pesla* but in vaine. The Imperiall Army about the ende of
 September, attempted *Buda* and carryed it in recompence of the losse of *Alba Re-
 galis*. It was thought at *Rome*, that the taking of the Towne, would cause the Cas-
 tle to yeeld, and that there was no other place of strength but *Belgrade*, not onely
 in all *Hungary*, but euen vnto *Constantinople*. For this good newes which was but
 halfe true, the Pope went in Procession with all his Colledge of Cardinalls, from
 the Church of *Minerva*, vnto that of *de l'Anima*. The tege of *Buda* not succee-
 ding according to his desire (the Christians hauing bene repulsed at a great Assault
 which they gaue about the ende of October, and the Duke of *Neuers* sore hurt with
 shot in the Shoulder) hee fell lame of the Gout, and other accidents for a whole
 moneth the which kept the Court of *Rome* in great suspence.

The season of the yeare forced our men to leaue *Buda* and to retire to *Strigonia*.
 They left a good garrison in *Pesla*, a Towne which is seperated from *Buda* by the Ri-
 uer of *Danoue*. They are so neere Neighbours as it is impossible they should contin-
 nue long enemies. The extreame cold in the beginning of the yeare did so freeze the
 Riuer of *Danoue* as the one passed ouer on drie foote to the other, and skimming
 some-times vpon the Ice. A Captaine of the garrison of *Pesla*, hauing intelligence
 that some of the chiefe of *Buda* were gone forth with many women to the Bathes
 which are neere vnto *Buda*, he past the Riuer with threescore shot, and surpris'd them
 in such sort, as hee died the water of the Bath with their blood, not sparing any but a
 little Childe borne to one of the chiefe of *Buda*. The women were so amazed, as
 they fled naked vnto the Towne, the feare of death was more powrefull in them
 then shame.

Alba Regalis
yeilded to the
Turke.

A great boot-
y at taking of
Alba Regalis.

1602.

Cigale goes
forth of Con-
stantinople.

The Turkes had the aduantage this yeare both by Lande and Sea, they recou-
red what they had lost in *Hungary*, and disapointed the enterprises of the Sea Army
of *Spaine*, the which were more grounded vpon the words and assurances of the King
of *Fez* to deliuer *Algier* vnto them, then vpon consideration of their forces. *Cigale*
went out of *Constantinople* with fifty sayle to obserue and followe them in their
course. In the end *D. Iohn* of *Cardona* was no happier then the Prince *Doria*. It had bin
a miracle if the *Africans* had intreated the *Spaniards* better then the *Portugalls*. One
may say of the as was sayd of the *Romaines*. What may a man hope for of *Rome* which
hath ruined *Alba*, from whence it is issued? What may one expect of the Kings of
Fez, if for the desire of raigne the Sonne hath not spared the Father? Whilest that
Muleasses was with the Emperour *Charles* the first to treat of his Protection, *A. B*
mides his Sonne made him selfe master of the Realme.

Graue belee-
ged.The Admirall
retreat.A mutiny in
the Admiralls
Army.A Protestati-
on of the mu-
tinies.

The olde father returning with forces to enter into *Thunis* was taken in a passage
where his Sonne had layed an Ambuscadoe, and with him two of his Children, which
done, this barbarous wretch pulled out the eyes of them all three. Many thought
that this Armie had had no desseigne, the Treasons of *France* being discovered:
they had neede of it in *Flanders*, & many wondred to see the *Spaniards* seeke after new
Conquests when as the affaires of the Lowe Countries were in so badde Estate.
Ostende was not yet readie to yeelde. Count *Maurice* had besieged *Graue*, to drawe
the Arch-duke from *Ostende* if he might. There were in *Graue* fiftene hundred sould-
iars besides the Inhabitants. The Archduke commanded the Admirall of *Aragon* C
to succour the besieged with all speed, who gathered together what troupes he could,
and made many attempts vpon Count *Maurices* trenches, the besieged fallying forth
of the Towne at the same times, but finding that all his enterprises were in vaine, hee
made his retreat in the night, sending his baggage away before, and after that hee had
stayed some dayes at *Venlo*, (the Inhabitants refusing to receiue the garrison which he
would haue giuen them,) hee marched towards *Vtrecht*, hauing lost all hope to
raysethe siege of *Graue*: considering that a great part of his troupes were slip away,
especially the *Italians*, which yeelded themselues vnto Count *Maurice*, some continu-
ed and serued him, others tooke Passports from him and returned into their Countrie.
The siege of *Graue* continued still with all violence, the Walls and Rampers were D
so battered, as they scarce durst shew themselues, and the besieged being bearen
from their fortifications, seeing all things readie to giue a generall Assault, they
made a composition to yeeld the nineteenth of September, vpon certaine condi-
tions. The Count *Maurice* viued the souldiars with all humilitie, suffering them to car-
rie away their Armes, Enseignes, and all other Mouables.

The best troupes of the Admiralls Army were mutined, pretending that there
was thre millions of *Liners* due vnto them, demanding their pay in a very vnseasona-
ble time, seazing vpon the Castell of *Hoochstraten*, at such time as the Arch-
duke thought to succour *Graue*. He held this as a revolt, infidelitie and intelligence
with the Enemie, for which cause hee proclaymed them guiltie of high Treason, E
permitting all men to Kill them without feare of punishment, promising tenne
Crownes in recompence for euery souldiars head, a hundred for an Officers, two
hundred for a Captains, & fise hundred for that of the *Electo*. The *Mutinatedos* publish-
ed a declaration with iniurious tearmes and reproaches, saying that the Archdukes
would pay them with Prescriptions and Banishments, a kind of pay and entertain-
ment that doth neyther feede the Belly, nor couer the Backe: that in demanding that
which was due vnto them they had done but as others had done in the like occasions,
forced by necessity, being no Cameleons to liue of the aire. That to condemne the to
die, which had no feare of death, & which had meanes not only to defend themselues,
but also to offend, was absurd. That their heads being set to sayle at ten Crownes a
peece, they did hope to defend them so well as their Highnesses should see but fewe F
of them. Thus the Mutiners complayned, but in the ende they found that all com-
plaints were vaine against their Superiors. The Arch-duke was engaged in a second
warre

A Warre against his owne troupes, the which was no lesse trouble-some vnto him
then the enemy, his discontent was much augmented by the defeat of the Galleies
of *Spaine* that came into *Flanders*. 1602.

The Galleies
of *Spaine*
commended
by *Spinola*.

This yeare their were eight Galleies rigged at *Siuille*, vnder the Comande of *Fre-
deric Spinola*, there were 400. men in euery Galley, besides the slaues, and 800. men
which they tooke in at *Lisbonne*. These Galleies went toward the Coast of *England* be-
ing sent by the King of *Spaine* to ioyne with others which the Arch-duke had, to hin-
der the trafficke of *England*, *Holland* and *Zeland*, and to keepe *Ostend* from ali reliefe.
Two of them, the *Trinity* and the *Occasion* were sonke by Sir *Richard I.uson* vpon the
Coast of *Portugalle*, about the Cape of *Sicambre*, these Galleies were discovered the 3.
B of October by two Shippes of Warre of the States, who had them in chate. The
same day Sir *Robert Mansel* discovered them beeing a thwarte *Calis*, giuing aduice vnto
the States shippes which lay vpon the Coast of *Flanders*, by discharging of his Can-
non. The States shippes finding them about the pointe of *Douer*, pursued them and
fought with them, they flying as fast as they could to recouer some of their Portes in
Flanders, but they were so ill intreated as foure of their Galleies were sonke, the other
4. which remayned were so hotly pursued as two of them were cast away vpon the
Coast neere vnto *Nieuport* and an other neere *Dunkerke*, and the eight wherein
Spinola was, ranne a shoare at *Calais* and was saued with great difficulty, where the
Galley slaues being set at Liberty, euery one went where he pleased: and *Spinola* with
C his Gentlemen and the rest that he could saue, went to the Arch-duke to *Bruxelles*.

The Admirall of *Aragon*, hauing sayled in the reliefe of *Graue* (and a part of his Ar-
mie beeing mutined for their pay, and seized vpon *Hoochstraten*) retired him selfe in-
to *Spaine*, where hee was receiued with small grace and countenance, hauing serued
his Master ill in the Lowe Countries.

This yeare all the Elements did contribute to the prosperity and blessings of the
Peace, the Earth did let the King see a newe production of his Treasor. They disco-
uered in many partes of the Realme mines of Gold, Siluer Copper and Lead. Mines of gold
discovered.

In the Country of *Lionois*, neere vnto a village called *Saint Martin* the plaine, which de-
pends of the Country of *Saint Iohn* of *Lions*, there was a Mine of Gold found by a
D Countryman who laboring in his Vineyard found a flint stone intermixt with Gold,
whereby they gathered an infallible assurance that this member was not without a
bodie. *De Vie* Superintendant of the Iustice at *Lions*, had commandement from the
King to set some to worke in it. The first production was admirable, and among ma-
ny goodly peeeces, one was shewed vnto the King very riche, in the which the Gold
did appeere and put forth like vnto the buds of a Vyne as fine as that of *Carauana*,
so as it might bee sayd that these fise thousand yeares the Sonne had made nothing
more perfect in the bowells of the Earth. For it was not Gold in *Pepin* nor in *Poul-
der*, as in the running streames of the newe found Land, nor mixt with sand as in *Bo-
hemia*, but in *Stoanes* and in *Rockes*, all pure Gold or pure Siluer: for alwaies the one
E goes with the other, perfect of it selfe without mixture of any other metrels.

The King immitating his Predecessors who had alwaies fauored the workes of Mines,
which bring infinite commodities, made a generall Edict for the ordering of the
worke and worke-men. Hee created a great Master and a Controuller generall ouer
all the Mines of *France*, with priuiledges to drave in forraine worke-men which they
could not want. *Bellegarde* was the first great Master of the Mines, who resigned
it to *Rafé Beaulieu* Secretary of State. *Bellingin* first grome of the Kings Chamber,
was Controuller generall.

An Edict for
the ordering of
the Mines.

The newe allyance with the *Suisses* beeing concluded, they deputed fortie two
among them, to whome they gaue power to sweare the obseruation thereof. They
F came into *France* in September beeing honorable receiued in all places. The fourth
of October they came to *Charanton* a League from *Paris*, where they were Royaly
feasted at the Kings owne charge in *Senamys* house. After diner the Duke of

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Montbazou

1602. *Montbazou* and the Lord of *Montigny* Gouvernor of *Paris* went out of the City with A a hundred or sixscore Gentlemen to meete them and to welcome them in the Kings name. At *S. Antonies Gate*, *Bargelone* Prouost of Marchants, with the Sherffes, Councillors of the City, Quarter-Maisters, chiefe Bourgeses, and the three Companies of the Archers of the City, received them, and conducted them to their lodging in *S. Martins Streete*. The next day they dined with the Chancellor, after Dinner he went to his Maiefty to the *Louure*, desiring them to haue a little patience, until the King sent for them. Soone after the Duke of *Esquillon* accompanied with fifty young Gentlemen of the best Houses that were then in Court, went to fetch them and to conduct them vnto the King: entring into the base court of the *Louure*, the Duke *Montpensier* with many Knights of the Holy Ghost, and Noblemen of make, B received them in the Kings name: at the Stayres foote going vp to the Hall, the Count of *Soissons* with many Gouvernors of Prouinces, and old Knights of the Order, receiued them, and so conducted them into his Maiesties Chamber, where they did their obeysance, the King taking euery one of them by the Hand. Then the *Aduoyer of Bearne* who was their speaker, said vnto him in his owne language, *That the cause of their coming, was to sweare the renewing of the Alliance, and to assure his Maiefty of their faithfull seruice.* *Viger* did interpret vnto the King, who after hee had answered them, and witnessed the content which he had of the Declaration they had made in the behalfe of their superiors, he told them, that they were welcome, from thence they went to kisse the Queenes hand, who was in her Chamber, with all the Princesses C and Ladies of the Court, presenting their seruice vnto her, and the good affection of their Superiors, for the which she thanked them.

The Swisses demands.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Before the oath was taken, they intreated the King that it would please him to heare some particular charges they had from their Superiours. The Chancellor was appointed to heare what they demanded: the which the *Aduoyer of Bearne* deliuered vnto him in three Demands. The first was, that it would please his Maiefty to augment the summe of foure hundred Crownes, which was appointed to be distributed euery yeare among them, being not sufficient to pay their interests. The second was that the priueleges of thole of their Nation, which trafficked in *France*, might be confirmed. The third was, to giue them the declarations that were promised, as well vnto the five petty Cantons, for the continuance of their alliance with *Milan* and *Sauoy*, D without infringing that of his Maiefty, as to the Protestant Cantons, that they might not be forced to giue men to make Warre in *France* against them of the Religion. To the first his Maiefty made answer, that the ciuill and forraine Warres where-with his people had bene ruined, would not giue him meanes to do better yet, and that they must content themselves with that which had bene promised. The second and third were granted, and the declarations required by them, signed. Sunday the 12. of October was appointed for the swearing of the Alliance in our Ladies Church whether the Ambassadors were conducted by *Monsieur de Vie*. The King being come to the Church and set in State, the Princes of *Condé* and *Conty* went to fetch the 42. E Ambassadors in the Bishops Hall and conducted them to their places. All being set, the Archbishop of *Vienne* approached to his Maiefty, carrying a booke of the Euangelists in his hands, and at the same instant the Ambassadors drew neere also. Before them was *Vagner* Secretary of State at *Soleure*, betwixt *M. de Sillery* & *de Vie*, he carried betwixt his armes a Cushion of Crimson Veluet, garnished with Gold, on the which were two treaties of the Alliance, the one in *French*, the other in the *Germane* tongue, sealed with his Maiesties seale, and those of the Cantons and their Allies. After they had all done their duties and saluted his Maiefty, *Monsieur de Sillery* faide vnto the King: That these Treaties of Alliance were the same which his Predecessors had made with the Seigneuries of the Cantons: and that whatsoever was added, was for the honour and profit of his Maiesties seruice. The *Aduoyer of Bearne* who deliuered the speech, said; that the Seigneours of the Cantons their Superiors, had held it for a great honour, the desire the King had of their alliance, for the which thin- F king

Treaties of Alliance presented to the King.

The Aduoyer speech vnto the King.

A king themselves much bound, they had enioyned them to thanke his Maiefty, & to offer him on their behalfe their most humble seruice in all occasions that should be offered, and of all might be expected of true and faithfull allies & confederates, according to the Treaties of their alliance. That they were also sent by their Superiors for the performing of the oth, to the end they might faithfully obserue what was conteyned in the Treaty, and to beseech his Maiefty to do the like for his part, as it belongs to good & loyal Friends, Allies, & Confederats. That by his Maiesties comendement they presented themselves for the performance of the oth, praying God to poure out his blessings vpon so good an alliance, to the content of both the Estates: with praieres that it would please God to preferue the King & the *Daulphin* their new Allie, in all prosperity, long life & happy raigne. The King hearing him, stood vp with his hat on, & answered him with a great Maiefty. That he had desired to renew the treaty of Peace & alliance with the Seigneurs of the Cantons, for the great esteeme he made of the valour of their nation, who had alwaies bin parteners of the honor of his victories, and had made better trial thereof then any of his Predecessors, hauing bin happily assisted by them. That he did accept the offer of their succors, & did in like sort promise to assist them with all his forces and means against any one that should seeke to oppresse their liberty. The which he desired them to beleue, with assurance, that hee had neuer sayled in his promises: being ready to sweare the Treaty of alliance with them, and to obserue it inuolably. The Chancellor made a long speech vnto them to the same purpose, which done the Ambassadors presented themselves to sweare the oth, laying their hands by order of their Cantons vpon the holy Euangelists, to euery one of the which, the Chancellor sayd, *You sweare & promise vpon the holy Euangelist, in the name of your Seigneurs & Superiors, well and faithfully to obserue, the Treaty of alliance made betwixt his Maiefty and your Superiors, without any contradiction or breach directly or indirectly.* The order which the Ambassadors held in the oth was, first, The Cantons of *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Zurich*, *Schwits*, *Vendervald*, *Zug*, *Glais*, *Basle*, *Fribourg*, *Soleure*, *Schaffuse* and *Appenzel*. Allies, the Abbot of *S. Gall*, and the Towne of *S. Gull*. *Grisons*, the Canton of *Grise*, the *Cades*, the Canton of *Droitsuaes*, *Walais*, *Mulkuff*, *Rotweil* and *Brenne*. After all the Ambassadors had taken the oth, the King likewise sayd. *That hee did sweare and promise to obserue the treaty as it had bin agreed.* Which done they dined in the Bishops pallace. The Prince of *Condé* sat at the bords ende, the Princes of *Conty*, *Soissons* and *Montpensier*, the Constable, the Dukes of *Neuers* and *Esquillon*, the Counte of *Auvergne* and *Sommeiue*, with many others were on the right hand, and the forty two Ambassadors with some French gentlemen on the left. About the end of diner, his Maiefty (who had dined apart) came to see them, commanding euery one to keepe his place, then he called for wine, and dranke to all his Friends and Allies, and so went presently to the *Louure*: towards the euening bonfires were made and twenty peeces of Cannon shot of in signe of ioy. During there aboad at *Paris* they were feasted by the Prouost of Marchants the Count of *Soissons*, the Constable, & the Duchesse of *Longueuill*, & the Friday after the ceremony of the oth, they toke their leaue of the King, who gaue to euery one a chaine of Gold, and what was appointed for their voyage, stay and returne, and so they returned into their Country. Of all religious Orders that haue bin instituted for the defence of the Christian faith, and to oppose against *Mahomets*, thole of the Hospitall of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem* are the first, and which alone by the diuine providence of God haue maintayned themselves in their beauty, & profession: the Knights and religious of that order exposing themselves continually to infinit dangers, the Island of *Malta* which is now their place of residence, seruing for a strong Bul-warke against the incursions of *Turkes* and Barbarians, the Common enemies of Christendom. The enterprise vpon the Towne of *Affricke*, was plotted & managed by the aduice of *Adolfe of Wignacourt* great Master of *Malta*, who being loth to suffer the season of the Sommer to passe away without some worthy exploit, made a dessein vpon this place of *Mahomet* being 350. miles distant from *Malta*, being strong & well peopled, in former times besieged by the King of *Thunes* with twelue thousand men, and sence attempted by the Prince *Doria* with forty Gallies but could not take it. The

1602.

The Kings answer to the Swisses.

The Ambassadors.

The Towne of Malta.

1602. The great Master intending to execute this desseigne in the moneth of May, was A diverted, the King of *Spain* having required them to assist him with five Gallies for the transporting of his footemen from *Naples* to *Genoa*, from whence they returned not until the end of July, being come to *Malta*, they prepared all things necessary for this execution with such speede, as the fourth of August following they set sayle with some Fregates, for the easier landing of their men. And bending their course towards the Island of *Lampedouze* (being distant from that of *Malta* about 120. miles) they came thither the first daie in the night: one of the Fregates being set in gard, discouered two Turkish Boistes, the which the Gallies followed and tooke in lesse then three houres with fifty and eight Turkes in them. The sayd Gallies following their Course, the winde grew B heigh, and being to enter into the gulfes of *Mahomet* which was threescore miles long (being so called by reason of the sayd Towne) they kept aloofe attending the Calme, because they would not bee discouered, so as they arrived there the thirteenth of the sayd month, being about an houre after the breake of day, which was contrary to their intents, desiring to come in the night for the better landing of their men, and at the pointe of day to begin the execution of their enterprize. The Knights notwithstanding fainted not, but hoping of a happy successe, they landed neere vnto the Towne, notwithstanding the difficulty of the place, where there was scarce any footing, and the Artillery which plaied continually vpon them, yet they put themselves into good Order, being (besides those that were left for the gard of the Gallies) seauen hundred men, among the which there were two hundred and forty Knights, being all led by the C Commander *Mathan Auvergnac*.

The Knights
of *Malta*
land neere to
Mahomet.

This small troupe marching couragiously and in good Order towards the Towne: the Knights of *Beau-regard* and *Canremy* aduanced, hauing severall charges to plant Petards to two gates, whereof the one was towards the Sea and the other to the Land, eyther of them being followed by twenty Knights and Souldiars. There did two squadrons aduance to support them, eyther of them consisting of fifteene Knights and five and twenty Souldiars, the one of them was commanded by the Seigneur of *Harlem* Sonne to the Lord of *Saint Luc* deceased, great Master of the Artillery of *France*. In the meane time the Knights who had the charge to plant the Ladders were diligent, so as both the one and the other contemning the infinite number of shot which came D from the Towne, in the which there were 800. fighting men to defend the walles, in a short time the gates were forced and layed open with the Petards. Then came they to handie blowes with the enemies, as they did in like sort that were appointed, for the Scaladoc who recovered the Walles notwithstanding any resistance the Turkes could make: but the Christians increasing both in number and courage, forced them to abandon the Courtine and to retire into the streetes and houses; then the bodie of the Christians aduanced, which entring slewe many Turkes, who seeing themselves still forced, got vp to the toppe of their houses, from whence they did much annoy the Christians with Arrowes, Darts and Stones, desiring rather to be flaine then to yeeld themselves Captiues: so as after foure houres fight, the Christians E were Masters of all the Towne. During this time, some Turkes and Moores had fortified themselves in the *Sangiacs* house, whether the Seigneur of *Harlem* came with his troupe, hee entring the first into the house, the which by his and their valour was soone forced: but neglecting to put on a Cuirasse, hee was unhappely thrust through the bodie with a Lance, and died six houres after, being much lamented of the Christians. His body was buried at *Malta* with a funerall Pompe worthy of his name & reputation. The Christians hauing no knowledge of a false Port, there were about 2000. persons that escaped, so as there remained but 396. prisoners. The Towne was sacked, and not being able to keepe it for many wants, especially of victuels, they fired it, and made an honorable retreat to their Gallies, in the vewe of a great number of F horse and foote that were come to succor the Towne, returning to *Malta* the sixteenth of August.

The Seigneur
of *Harlem* S.
Lues sonne
flaine at *Malta*.

The great Master went presently with all his Knights to the chiefe Church, praising and

A and thanking God for so notable an assistance in so dangerous an enterprize, hauing lost but foure Knights, and five and twenty souldiars: and about fourecore and ten hurt; and of the *Mahometans* there were about three hundred flaine vpon the place. But let vs returne into *France*, and obserue the tragicall History of two famous Murthers, which happened this yeare, by reason of Adultery: the one in *Burgundy*, the other at *Paris*. The first of a Gentlewoman, which caused her Husband to bee flaine, and his Nephew, by her Ruffians: and the last of a Gentleman which slew his Wife and her Adulterer, finding them in bed together. Murthers happened this yeare for Adultery.

In the Iurisdiction of the Towne of *Langres* (in a Village called *Apres*) *Claude Berenger* Lord of *Pont*, and *Guillemette* of *Metz* his Wife made their residence, hauing also a Nephewe of the sayd *Berengers* with them named also *de Pont*. This Woman being suborned by a Chanons Bastard of *Langres*, named *Chauvitey*, *Nicholas Tourne* and *Iohn Pernet* called the youth, to satisfie their fleshy lust without suspition, and at more liberty, they resolved with her and a Maide of hers to make away her Husband and his Nephewe. This plot being layd, they found an easie meanes for the execution. These three Adulterers seeing the Gentleman gone to *Langres*, got a hunting with his Nephewe, whom they slewe in the thicke of a Woode, and threwe him into a deepe hollowe place betwixt two high rockes, out of the which he could neuer be drawne. These Murtherers seeing themselves ridde of this poore young man, reported vnto the Gentlewoman what they had done, concluding with her to cut her Husbands throat at his returne from *Langres*, the which they put in practice the same night that hee returned, for this poore Gentleman hauing receiued a kisse (of this daughter of *Indas*) being very weary, went to bed and slept, the which shee knew, and presently brought these Murtherers into his chamber, who comming easily to this poore yong mans bed, being a sleepe, they cut his throte, and burye him abroad among the Rockes. After this Murther they giue it out, that the Lord of *Pont* was flaine in his voyage to *Langres*. His Wife puts on a Mourning weede, and makes a counterfeite shewe of heauinesse: but God suffers not such offences to be vnreuealed, a poore man found out the hole where they had buried him, and gaue notice thereof vnto the Iustice, who went to the place, and caused the Gentlewoman D to be brought thither, who at the first seemed not to know him, but seeing that he was knowne by euery one, and vanquished by apparent signes, which they shewed her, in the end shee knewe him. But the Officers did not proceede against her with that dexterity that *Lugoly* did to the wife of *Claude Anthoine* a Marchant of *Vines* at *Paris*, who had also caused her Husband *Anthoine* to bee flaine comming from a house of his, by Souldiars whom one named *Iumeau* (her Adulterer) had suborned, for the Wife of the saide *Anthony* was hanged, and *Iumeau* broken aliue at the place *Maubert*: but this Gentlewoman *du Pont*, seeing the Iustice to proceede against her by Informations, and that they intent to apprehend her, she made an escape with all her Complices and her Seruant, and could neuer after be taken; yet through E their contempt their processe was made, and all of them were hanged in *Picture*. The other accident happened at *Paris*, of a Gentleman which slew his Wife and her Adulterer lying together, in this manner. This Gentleman called *Seigneur Scipio*, being aduertised that his Wife (a fayre young Gentlewoman) did abandon her selfe to lust, and defiled his bed with a yong man: he admonished his Wife, and said vnto her; That he did willingly pardon what was past, but if she returned any more to her sinne, he would kill her with her Ruffian, if he found them together. The Gentlewoman skornes this aduice; and to an other giuen her by a Wife and Vertuous Gentlewoman; That if shee did not carry her selfe more discreetly, without doubt her Husband would do her a shrewde turne. She answered her, That her Husband was too very a F Foole to attempt it.

Seigneur Scipio aduertised of the Impudency & lewd behauiour of his Wife, takes his horse, & makes a show to go into the Country: his wife goes to the Sermon at *S. Germain l'Auxerrois*, *Scipio* returnes, and shuts himselfe into his Closet vnknowne of

One *Scipio*
at *Paris*
slew his Wife
& her Adulter
er together.

1602. of any one. The Sermon being done, she returned presently to her house, and advertised her Adulterer of her Husbands absence, who sayled not to come at the nation she gaue him, and then they went into the Husbands bed: who comming off his Closset, found them naked together, and slue them, the Adulterer had wounds, and the Woman seuen and twenty: and to their detestable sinne was added by the view of their dead bodies, the which were brought before the Iustice, being a lamentable thing, and pittifull to behold. The Husband did easily obtaine his pardon, the which proceeds from the Kings bounty. It is a iust griefe the which may be to transport a Husband, finding his Wife with an other, as these poore unfortunate wretches were. The King about this time pardoned all those, that had bene of the Duke of *Birons* Conspiracy, so as they came & declared themselves within two moneths, and caused their Pardons to be confirmed. The Towne of *Emden* as we haue said, was in quarrell with the Earle of *East-Friseland*, the which increased in such sort, that the Inhabitants seeing the Earle to hinder their Nauigation, hauing built vp Forts in diuers places, and by this meanes to force them to Obedience: being thus prouoked they demand succors from the States of the Vnited Provinces, they which they easily obtaine. Entering into the Earles Iurisdiction with these succors, they bring all vnder their command, and presse the Earle in such sort, as he is forced to go and purge himselfe of that which was imputed vnto him before the States at the *Hage*, & to request them to be a meanes to end their Controuersies, the which they did at his request, making by this meanes a Peace would be soone made betwixt them. Afterward there was a Complaint made to the Electors of the Empire, (for that *Emden* is of the inferior Circle) vnto whom the States sent to lay open their reasons of the assistance which they had lent to the Inhabitants of *Emden*. That it was well knowne the Earle was greatly fauored by the *Spaniard*, and that he pretended to deliuer the Towne of *Emden* to the Archduke, to be Maister of the Sea by that meanes, and to annoy the Estates, with their Allies and Confederates. That therefore they held it a part of their duties, to mediate a good accord betwixt them, the which they had propounded at *Delfe*, where with the Earle in the beginning was well pleased. But since he brake off, and hath built Forts vpon the River of *Amise*, the which was neuer tollerated in any of his Predecessors. That they might iustly suspect him, for that one of his brethren followed the Archduke, who had of late sent him into *Spaine*. That the Archduke pretended to be Earle of *East-Friseland*, as it appeares by the Peace of *Vernins*, where he giues himselfe the Title.

Moreouer they were duly aduertised of the said Archdukes praistises against them who sought all meanes to surprize them, and that it had bene resolved on at *Bruxelles*. They therefore required the sayde Electors to take in good part what they had done, hauing no intent to preiudice the rights of the Empire, but to assure their Provinces by all meanes, and in like sort to helpe their Neighbours and Friends, to maintaine their Liberties and Freedomes. Their excuses were held by some of the Deputies for variable, and by others, that they were not to bee regarded, notwithstanding, haueing consulted vpon all the points, and considered of the reasons on either side, the Treaty of Peace was continued betwixt the Earle and the Inhabitants of *Emden*. The Discourse of the enterprises and intelligences which the Duke of *Sauoy* and his Father haue had, to surprize the City of *Geneua*, with their pretensions, and their defence on the contrary side to maintaine their Liberties, would make a good volume. They relied vpon the publike assurance of the Treaties of *Vernins*, *Paris* and *Lions*, in the which they held themselves to be comprehended, and so assured from all the defeignes of their neighbours. The Duke of *Sauoy* did not hold himselfe tyed by the Peace, not to seeke the meanes to become Maister thereof, and to raigne there as his Predecessors had done, and that there was no danger to breake his Faith with People of a contrary Religion. This City doth so much import his Estates, as it deserues, if not to breake the Peace, at the least to straine and wreste it. It is situated at the end of *Lake Leman*, which serues for a Ditch on the North part: The River of *Rhofne* passeth

A Pardon promitted to all that were of the Duke of *Birons* conspiracy.

The trouble of *Emden*.

The Earle goes to purge himselfe at the *Hage*.

Excuses made by the States of the Vnited Provinces.

The Duke of *Sauoy* enterprised vpon *Geneua*.

The situation of *Geneua*.

A passeth by the Towne on the West side, and vpon the East and South is the Countrey of *Sauoy*, the Great and Rich Playnes of the Baylewikes of *Thonon* and *Ternier*, and the Countreies of *Chablais* and *Faucigny*. The Duke had great pretensions to it, as the Dukes Soueraigne of the Countrey of *Geneua*, and Vicar perpetuall of the Empire. Hee maintained, that if the Bishop of *Geneua* had any absolute authority, it was without preiudice to the Soueraigntie, the which hath alwayes remained to his Predecessors, as Earles of *Morienne* or Dukes of *Sauoy*.

The City of *Geneua* (who to maintaine her liberty findes all propositions of seruitude troublesome and strange, hath alwayes detested the *Sauoyards* command) sayes; That the Bishops of *Geneua* haue bene alwayes soueraigne Princes of their City, and that the Earles of *Sauoy* and *Geneua*, haue often done homage to the Bishops of *Geneua*, for the Barronyes of *Ternier*, *Remilly*, *Montfaucon*, and for the County of *Geneua*. That the Duke of *Sauoy* can pretend no right, as Vicar perpetuall of the Empire, being granted by surpris, and reuoked after examination of the cause by the same Emperor, who vpon complaint made vnto him by a Bishop of *Geneua*, called *Ardutius*, declared that hee had bene surpris'd in that behalfe, and disannul'd all that hee had giuen to the Earle of *Sauoy* his Cousin, forbidding him to contradict this reuocation, vpon paine of his indignation, and a thousand Markes of pure Golde. The parties differing vpon the mayne point, the question could not be decided without prooffe. The Duke would haue no other production, but his Title of Duke and Soueraigne of *Geneua*, to maintaine the which hee beleegged the Towne, and brought it to extremity, as hath bene shewed elsewhere. It is true, that without the Kings protection this city could not long resist the forces of the Duke of *Sauoy*. Being abandoned by the King, there is no defence for them, but will proue weake, against so mighty a Neighbour, who shall bee alwayes assisted by the greatest Forces of *Italy* and *Spaine*. And if they bee succoured by them of *Bearn* with whom they haue an equall alliance, they shall ruine the hazard of Common weales, which in the ende haue bene recompensed with a forced subiection. The *Suisses* propound not bare words in their Amities, they ground them vpon equality of profit. The humor of this City is to bee free, there is not any Cittizen but speakes freely to any Prince howe great soeuer, as *Demosthenes* sayde, when they talked of the milde and easie commande of *Anipater*. Wee will haue no Maister howe gentle soeuer. The Inhabitants of this City haue an hereditary hatred against the Duke, the which is so rooted in them, as if hee did presse them by force to the extremities of a Seege, they would resolue with them of *Xanthe* to mingle their Ashes with the smoake of their Houses. The Duke hauing attempted what he could by Force, resolues to surprize them nowe by Policy.

Hee made an enterprize as full of proofes of his Courage, Iudgement and good Condukt, as of his Misfortune. It had bene long in hand, and yet nothing was discovered, yet was it well knowne, that hee had caused Ladders to bee made. That from all parts hee drew vnto him Men of Resolution; that hee had good numbers at *Chambery* well payd, and well intertained, attending the full ripenesse of this desleigne, and yet they knew not howe hee would employ them, preparing onely their Hearts and Armes for the execution of their Princes Commandments, referring the Condukt thereof to his wisdom. Yet could they not beleuee that this desleigne was against them of *Geneua*, for that hee Treated with them of the Liberty of Trafficke, hauing some fewe dayes before sent President *Rachette* to let them vnderstand that it was expedient to Treat of some manner howe to liue for the ease of the people. They were so well pleased with this motion and his assurances, that although Citties of this condition doe not easily beleuee them that make Warre against them, yet they were lulled a sleepe therewith, and neglected their preservation, thinking that there was nothing of more power to defend them,

Q9999

then

1602.

The Dukes pretensions.

The defence of the *Geneuois*.

The Vicar obtained by the Earle of *Sauoy* in the year 1306. & reuoked in the year 1383.

1602. then the Treaties of Peace betwixt *France*, *Spaine* and *Sauoy*. In like sort the Dukes A
Subjects went so freely to *Geneua*, as the Eue before this execution, certaine Gentle-
men who knew something of this desseigne, being come into the City to buye Hor-
ses sayde. *That they would come the next day to conclude the bargain*: and others had
viued the like speeches for other Marchandize, beleeuing that the victory was assu-
red: but Heauen which laughs at the presumptions of these Imaginations, had
resolved to humble them.

The Gouverneur of *Lions* had speedye intelligence, that the Duke of *Sauoy* was
come on this side the Alpes, and that he had brought scaling Ladders: he aduertised
the King thereof, and made provision for the City of *Lions*. D'Albigny Lieutenant
Generall for the Duke on this side the Alpes, had drawne them downe, and lodged B
them in Townes neere to *Geneua*, The Rendezuous was at *Chambery*, the time of
the execution was referred to the Generall. The Troupes began to march about six of
the clocke: *Brignolles* Gouverneur of *Bonnes* had bin a chiefe actor in this desseigne, hol-
ding it so certaine, as he said. *He would die if he did not live in Geneua*. D'Albigny had set
gardes vpon all the waies to stay all passengers, that no report might go before them,
and that the Duke of *Sauoyes* marching might be vnknowne, to who they represented
the execution to be so easie & certaine, as he would needs be there himselfe in perso-
C
to reape the fruite, and the triumph which his Grand-father had begon. He past the
Alpes but with fife in his company, & came the same day neere vnto *Tremblieres*, a
village but a league distant fro *Geneua*. They which should execute the enterprize and
attempre first, went along the river of *Albe*, that the noyse of the water might keepe
the Sentinells from hearing them as they marched. Two things happened that were
Bad signes. predictions of bad successe. There appeared vnaccustomed fires in the ayre. A Hare
crossed them many times in their way, and gaue them a false Alarum. Manie
things were seene that night that troubled their imagination, causing them to take
Groues for squadrons of Men, & Thistles for Lances, as it happened once before *Pa-
ris*. About eleuen of the clocke at night, they discouered certaine stakes, on the which
the Serge-makers of *Geneua* did drye their Serge. Those that were in the foremost ranks
would haue charged them, thinking it was some Ambuscado. From thence they
D
passe along the River of *Rhose*, placing the body of their Troupes in the meadowe
of *Plainpallais*. *Brignolet* with those that were appointed for the Scaladoe, fol-
lowe D'Albigny who leades them into the Ditch by the Counterscarpe, on the
side of *Corratiere*, without beeing discouered by the Sentinells, although the
Dukes in the Ditch made what noyse they could to awake them of *Geneua*, as
the Geefe had done at *Rome* against the *Gaules*. They passed the Ditch vpon
Hurdells, and planted three Ladders against the Walles, they were of a strange
Inuention, beeing portabie vpon Moyles, and to bee made as long and as short
as they pleased, and yet they were as stronge as if they had beene but of one peece.
If they had beene as fortunate, as they were well furnished of all things necessary,
they had executed their desseigne happely. They had made provision of Hatchets, Ha-
mers and Pincers, to cut in fonder Chaines of Iron, breake open Lockes and to pull out
E
great Nails and barres of Gates. They had many Petards, and iewe that could vie
them. Fortune which is powerfull in such enterprises fayled them, after that shee had
brought them into the midst of the Towne, and made them Masters of the streetes a-
boue two houres. There were almost two hundred men mounted by one of these Lad-
ders. *Brignolet* was the first, carrying himselfe more valiantly then wisely. Having reco-
uered the Wall, he surprisid the Souldiar that stood Sentinell, he got the Word from
him and slewe him, and cast him into the Ditch, staying in his place for him that
went the Round, that he might do as much to him, the which hee effected, com-
F
ming to giue him the word in his care. The Boy which carried the Lanthorne
fled, and aduertised the Corps de Garde what had happened to his Maister, where-
with notwithstanding they were not greatly mouued.

The first dis-
covery of the
surprize.

This

A This was betwixt one and two of the clocke, attending the houre of foure, for then
they had propounded to begin the execution, meaning to giue more time to them
that were to second them, and to haue the day draw neere, for that in all executions
of warre which are done in the night, there is confusion. The Assaylants had a good
houres respight to mount, and as much time more before they incountred any that
made resistance. It D'Albigny had bene within to vse the benefit of the time, and to
dispose more wisely of things, then *Senas*, *Brignolet*, or *Attignac* had done, they might
bouldly haue said the Towne had bin wonne. Halfe an houre after two of the clock,
a sentynell in the Tower of the minte, hauing heard some rustling in the ditch, short
off his peece to giue the Alarum, and forced *Brignolet* to discouer himselfe, charging

B all that were at the Corps de gard of the new gate, to plant the Petard there, and to
make an entrie for the bodie of the armie which was in *Plainpallais*. They forced the
Corps de gard being but fife and twentie men: but against the Maximes of warre, which
commands them to kill all, they let one escape, who ran vp and let downe the Port-
cullis. to make their Petard vnprofitable. The Towne was full of cries and fearefull
exclamations, wherof the *Sauoyards* should haue made their profit, & increased their
courage, as it did daunt the Inhabitants, who knew not which way to runne, some cri-
ing to one gate, others running to another. But the Assaylants lost themselues in the
appearance of so happie a successe. Those without should haue giuen an Alarum at
some gate, to diuide the forces of the Towne. Those that were within, made no vse

The Portcullis
at the new
gate cut
downe.

C of their Hatchets, Hammers, and Pincers: they did forget to fire some houses, and
they were surprisid with a dulnes of spirit, thinking more of booty and spoyle, then
to make perfect their Conquest. In the meantime, the Confull cries as they did
sometimes at *Rome*. *Hee that loues mee, let him follow mee*. Some Countymen of
the neighbour villages which kept gard in the Towne-house by turnes, being led by
some Captaines and Townesmen, presented themselues to the new gate, they were
valiantly repulsd, and yet the first shot they made, slue their Petardiar, who was bur-
B
sic about his Petard. This first charge had not dilodged them, if the whole strength
of the Inhabitants had not come, and charged them so furiously, as they began to giue
way, shewing neither conduct nor courage. Necessitie which breeds assurance, euen
D
vnto them that are borne without courage, made the Townsmen so resolute in this
defence, as the *Sauoyards* did presently turne their backs. The nimblest were forced
to returne to their ladders, which now could no longer serue them, for a Cannon plan-
ted vpon the Bulwarke de l'Oye against the ditch, had broken them in such sort, as
they left foure and fiftie dead vpon the place, along the Curtyne of *Corratiere*, and
thirtene that were taken aliue. If the Townsmen had had souldiars inough to haue
made a sallie in this Confusion, those that were at *Plainpallais* had not returned in soe
good order. There were thirtene taken aliue, vpon promise that was giuen them that
they should bee prisoners of warre, for else they would haue preferred an honorable
death, before any promise that was made them, to take them aliue, and to disarm
E
them.

Brignolet slaine

Attignac was among them, who fought couragiously, and gaue the order of
Saint *Maurice* (which he wore) to his seruant, willing him to saue himselfe, being re-
solued to die with his sword in his hand. It had beene better for him to haue bin slaine
at the Combate of *D. Philippin*, then to be reterued for so ignominious a death.

The resolution
of the Bri-
gon of Attig-
nac.

The Seigneurie would not intreat them as prisoners taken in the warre, but like
theeues that had entred the Towne by the wall, against the Law of Nations, and the
publike faith. They sayd that the Duke was too noble a Prince to aduow so wicked and
treacherous an Act. There were many opinions vpon the Iudgement of their death.
The most modest concluded to haue them put to ranfome, others to keepe them pri-
soners, that they might serue for exchange if occasion required, through the continu-
F
ance of the warre: but the most violent stirred vp the people, representing vnto them
their Religion, the rauishing of their Wiues, and Daughters: the Murther, Sacke and
perpetual slaueerie concluded against them, and the lamentations of their Widowes &
Children that had bin slaine, the which being well considered off, made the mildest o-

The prisoners
are intreated
like theeues.

1602. pinions seeme vniust. So as they were condemned to be hanged. They requested their A
 Heads might be cut off like Gentlemen, the which was granted them, but it was af-
 ter they had beene strangled. The threescore and seuentene Heads, as well of
 those that had beene hanged, as of the others that had beene slaine, were planted
 vpon the Galloes, and their bodies throwne into the Riuer of *Rhose*. On the Tewiday
 after they made a generall Fast for their deliuey. They presently sent to al their neigh-
 bours for Succors. They published in all places, the wonders of this deliuey. They
 write vnto the Gouvernor of *Lions* in this manner. My Lord, you haue vnderstood
 heretofore, by many of our Letters, how his Highnesse of *Sauoy*, notwithstanding
 that he knew, and had confessed, that we were comprehended in the Peace made in I-
 nuary 1600. betwixt his royall Maiesty of *France* and him: yet he hath oppressed vs in B
 sondry sorts, not onely by the detayning of our Reuenues; forbidding of trafficke and
 other Violences and Exortions, yeelding nothing to the many and iust admonitions
 of his Maiesty, but also hath attempted often to inuade and surprise vs in this time of
 Peace. So it is, that to glut his pernicious desleigne, the Lord of *Albigny* on Saterdag
 last the eleuenth of this month, about Mid-night, had brought before our Towne, on
 the side of *Plainpalais*, about two thousand choise men, Horse and Foote, and had
 cast about two hundred into our Ditch, nere vnto the old Gate of *Corratiere*, and
 hauing planted Ladders one within an other, hee had caused them to mount about
 three of the clocke on the Sunday morning the twelfth of the month, encouraging C
 them, being himselfe in the Ditch, so as being entred into the Towne, some went to
 the Newe-gate to plant the Petard, and to drawe in the body of theyr Troupes,
 which made a stand in the Meadow of *Plainpalais*, others would haue seized vpon
 the Minte-gate, and so haue entred into the midst of our Towne. But it pleased
 our good God to looke vpon vs with a fauourable eye, and to giue courage to our
 Men, so as they haue repulst them so valiantly, as they haue slaine the best part of
 them vpon the place, and some others haue beene taken, and since hanged by our
 commandment. The rest haue cast themselves head-long downe the Valles, so
 as wee heare that manye of them are dead or grievously hurt. But it is likely that
 the Lord of *Albigny* will continue his hatred against vs; hauing also intelligence,
 that his Highnesse is not farre from vs. Wee therefore most humblye pray and D
 intreat you withall our affections, that it woud please you duely to consider
 the preiudice which the taking of our Towne would bring vnto his Maiesties ser-
 uice, and to continue your fauour towards vs, and assist vs, with your Wife and
 Graue aduice. &c.

Many Iudged of the ende of this enterprife by the beginning, and were more dilli-
 gent to write then they had beene to execute it well. The King had intelligence, that
 the Duke was Maister of the Towne, and the manner of the execution was represen-
 ted with so great ease and happines, as there was lesse reason to doubt it then to be-
 leue it. The truth was not knowne but by Letters from the Gouvernor of *Lions*, the
 which came before any discourse that was published by the Towne that was deliue- E
 red. The Duke repast the Mountaines in post, his Troupes remained a league from
Genewa in three places, at *Toumon*, *Essigny* and *Termier*. He commanded his Ambal-
 sador to giue the Senate of *Berne* to vnderstand, that he had not made this enterprife
 to trouble the quiet of the Cantons, but to preuent *L'Escliquieres* from beeing Maister
 thereof, who intended to deliuer it vp afterwards vnto the King, who had beene too
 mighty a Neighbour, and would haue giuen them alltogether occasion to feare him.
 The issue of this Enterprife did shewe, that God will not haue Treaties violated, for
 the assurance whereof his Name hath beene inuocated, notwithstanding any pre-
 text of Religion. Witnesse *Lewis* King of *Hungary* in the vnfortunate battell of *Varne*
 against the *Turkes*, where he had broken his Faith. F

The King pro-
 mised to lac-
 eour them of
Genewa.

The King aduertised of the successe of this enterprife, hee sent word vnto the Ma-
 gistrates of this Common-weale, that if their Enemy did attempt by a seled scege,
 or by open Warre any thing against them, hee would assist them, and employ all
 his

A his forces for their defence, commanding the Gouvernors and Lieutenants General 1603.
 of the neereft Prouinces, to ayde them all they could. The Cantons of *Bearne* and
Fribourg allied to *Genewa*, being aduertised of this attempt, sent twelve hundred *Suis-
 ses*, and the King who had an interest that it should not fall vnder the command of any
 other Prince or Common-weale, sent also fixe hundred *French*. All prepares to
 Warre, the *Genewois* made some courses into the Duke of *Sauoyes* Countrye, and
 surprised *S. Geny of Aouft*, they imagined vpon a little good successe, to extend
 theyr limits vnto *Mont Cenis*. The King commanded *De Vie* his Ambassador in *Suis-
 serland*, (who returned then to his charge) to passe by them, to assure them, that hee
 was not of their humors, which frame not their affections, nor binde not the duties
 B of friendship but vpon good euent, louing Friendes no longer, then they draw
 profit from them. That he would neuer sayle them for their defence and protection
 desiring to know of them, what meanes they might haue to make an offensive War,
 to the end, the succours he should lend them, might bee profitably employed. They
 receiued *De Vie* with a publike applause, sending forth the *French* Horse and Foote,
 to meete him: but as hee was deceiued in this vnexpected Ceremony; so were
 many others which thought that hee came to encourage them to Warre. They
 heard his Propositions in a priuate Conference, exhorting them rather to a long
 and durable Peace, then to a short Warre. They intreated him to propound the
 like in their generall Assembly, which no man else durst doe, euery one holding it a
 C Crime, and a signe of Basenesse, not to preferre the Councells of Warre, before any
 Accord, and not to enter in Hostile manner into the Dukes Countrey. Some
 which had neuer seene War, but in the *Idea*, conceiued Victories in their imagi-
 nations, building vpon the Snowe of *Mont Cenis*. That it would not continue a-
 boue fixe months; that the Warre would bee no lesse profitable for the good of
 their Common weale, nor lesse happy, then it had beene to their Neighbours, in
 the time of Duke *Charles*: and that all that had any interest in their preseruacion
 would assist them. That all those great Spirits which delighted in the exercise
 of Warre, would come and offer them their Armes and Liues.

De Vie through the trueth and excellency of his discourse, gaue them to vn-
 derstand; That Peace was so necessary for them, and Warre so preiudiciall, as
 they had great reason to imbrace the one, and to flye the other. That although
 the causes of Warre, be alwayes goodly, and the meanes made casie, yet the ef-
 fects were no lesse terrible, the successe being not alwayes answerable to their hopes.
 That a forraine Warre was profitable, and to be vndertaken when as Ciuill Wars
 could not be otherwise auoyded: but a well seled Estate, which hath alwayes liued
 happily by Peace, should not seeke these stormes, nor take delight to bee at Warre
 with her Neighbors. Thus he perswaded them to imbrace Peace, but a Peace with
 these three qualities, Assured, Profitable, and Honourable. A Peace confirmed by
 an equall Commerce of all Commodities, and which should roote out all occasions of
 Warre. They entred into some Truce with the Duke, but hauing required assurances
 for the obseruation thereof, it beeing not honorable, they proceeded no farther, and
 the Duke gaue them to vnderstand that it was indifferent to him, whether they were
 his friends or enemies. The King who is a Prince full of Iustice and Integrity, foresee-
 ing that this Warre would not be ended by them that did begin it, Desired to main-
 taine the Peace which was so necessary for all Christendome, for the which hee had
 layd aside Armes, when as he might hope for most fruite for the increase of his Estates
 His Ambassador therefore in *Suisserland* perswaded the Cantons of *Glaris*, *Basle*,
Soleurre, *Schaffhouse* and *Appenzel*, as least suspected and interested, to be the mediators
 of this Accord. There was some difficulty, but the Seigneury wearied with a Warre,
 the profit whereof could not repaire the ruines which the want of Peace should cause,
 and hauing tryed that all the profit they could hope for, depended on their neighbors
 succors. That hope which is not maintayned but by forraine supports, is alwayes rui-
 nous: That they had no meanes to reuenge the wrong that was done vnto them:

Qqqqq 3

That

Monsieur le
 Vie, lentico
 Genewa.War is pleas-
 ing to men
 that knowe
 not.The Cantons
 of the *Suis*
 mediators of a
 Peace.

1603. That there was no likelyhood that the Catholike *Swisses* would breake with the Duke A of *Sauoy* for their respect: That being so neere they must of force apply themselves to some quiet and equall kinde of lyuing: They yeelded to the persuasions of their friends and Allies, and by their aduice relinquished many demands which their Councell had resolu'd, and the Duke had reiect'ed as vniust and dishonorable.

Genarate-
solues to a
Peace.

A Peace con-
cluded be-
twixt the
Duke of *Sauoy*
and the
Towne of
Genoua in Ju-
ly 1603.

A Priuledge
granted to the
City of *Lions*.

The King will
not haue this
priuledge to
be the cause
of any diuisi-
on.

The King de-
clares that his
meaning was
not to exclude
his subjects
but strangers
only from the
office of
Counsell.

The Conference of the Treary was at *Rouilly* with *D' Albigny*, and the Conclusion at *Saint Julien*, berwixt the deputies of either part. If the issue hath bene happy and profitable to both parties, they are bound to none but the grace of God and to the Kings wisdome, who desiring to entertaine the publike quiet hath made a peacefull vnion of those willes that were so much diuided, for at his Instance the *Swisses* had laied a side more Mulkets and Pikes which they had provided, then had bene scene in *Sauoy* B in ten yeares before, and they of *Genoua* did moderate their demands, nor so much for any respect of their enemy, as to please the King, yet the malicious gaue it out that the King had incensed them to Warre by his Ambassadors. The Consulate of *Lions* had obtrayned of the King (at the *Queenes* intreaty, and in consideration of the Honor done her at her entry) a Priuledge, by the which none might come to be Sheriffes, that were not Towne-borne Children, it was the same prerogative which *Pescenius Niger* had giuen vnto the *Romaines*, forbidding any person to bee admitted to publicke charges that was not borne and bred a *Romaine*. Euery Priuledge which causeth an inequality among Cittizens (lyuing vnder the same Lawes) is the Apple of discord and cause of diuision, like vnto that of the *Bianchi* and *Neri* at *Florence*. This newe distinction of persons must needs cause dangerous innouations in a Cittie, where the inner part is mote to be feared then the outward. Those which pretended to be from their beginning, by birth and affection of the Country of *Lions*, seeing themselves perpetually excluded from the most honorable charges within the City, had recourse vnto the King, laying before him the inequality of this Priuledge, the disgrace which they receiued, and the ruine which should fall vpon the Cittie, when the Inhabitants should abandon the place of their abode, and that they might not remaine in a place where without offence or any iust cause, they were for euer depriv'd of that little Honor they might hope for, after they had serued the Publike in many burthenfome charges. Those which were originally borne at *Lions* sayd, that the Inhabitants of the Coun- D ty conuincing thether, labored more for their own profit, then for the good of the publike, & did not much affect the publike good, if they did not hope for their owne private commodities, hauing no hands but for themselves. That it was neither profitable nor commendable to impart the chiefe Honours, and to commit the government of the City to newe men, for many reasons which haue bene set downe by the wise, but especially least they confound the ancient Order & Gouernment with strange Customes and Manners. The King considering that a smal matter doth trouble a multitude (as the encounter of a ditch doth disorder the ranks of an Army when it marcheth) hee gaue them to vnderstand that he desired they should agree together, sending them to *la Guiche* the Governor of *Lions* to reconcile these willes diuided only vpon this subiect, but vnited in all other points that concerned the obedience and seruice of his Maiesty. This diuision began to decreafe when as they vnderstoode that his Maiesties pleasure was to content both parties, to reduce things to the ancient order wherein they had liued happily, and not to suffer the good correspondency which had bin betwixt the Inhabitants of one City, to be lost by the inequality of this Priuledge, the which by fruitlesse Inno- uations did alter that which the Ancients had allowed & maintayned. The King there- fore commanded that the reasons of either part should be carefully examined & considered of in his Councell. The President *Ianin* was reporter of this Controuersie. The Councell hauing vnderstood the Kings intention, and considered of the Governor of *Lions* aduice, thought, that as they might not change the Ancient Customes in the which they had liued well, so it was iust and reasonable to gratefie the Originall families of the City, for that they had suffred most in these last troubles, and had opposed themselves most resolutely against the faction. They therefore thought it

At good that there should remaine a distinction with some marke or prerogative of 1603.

honor, reseruing the charge of Prouost of Marchants for such as were Cittizens borne, and that those of the Countrey which had continued there for tenne yeares Heads of families, should bee capable of the Consulship, to enter indifferently with them that were borne there. By this Declaration both the one and the other had part of their demands. The King sending them backe, recommended vnto them Obedience, & Respect to their Gouvernor, and Concord and Vnitie among themselves. And for that in the last Consular Elections there had bene something done indiscreetly, the Chancellor vsed some words vpon that subiect, both Graue, iust, and worthy the greatnes of his Charge. It is my opinion (sayd hee) that as the King hath an interest

B that none should be choien for Maiestrates of a Towne, but those, of whose Loyaltie his Maiesty is well assured, so the more the libertie of election is left vnto them, the more obedience should his Maiesty, the Gouvernors and Lieutenants Generall of Provinces finde in the Inhabitants, in that which it should please him to command them: The King desiring to increase the comodities of the Realme, and to enrich his Subiects, hauing tryed in his royal houses of *Fontainebleau*, *Madril*, and the gardens of the *Tuelleries*, that silke wormes might be bred and brought vp as happily in France, as in any part of Europe, he resolu'd to add the arte of silke to the felicities of the peace, a speedy and fit remedie to auoyd the transport of gold and siluer. Hereupon hee had the aduice of Commissioners deputed for the establisshing of the trafficke, the which he had choien as well out of his Councell, as of the Soueraigne Courts of Parliament, C Chamber of Accounts, and Court of Ayds. They gaue his Maiesty to vnderstand, that for the more speedie bringing in of this new worke, he must of necessitie begin by the planting of Mulberrie trees, to feed the wormes that weaue and make the silke. And therefore some expert in that Art, did bind themselves to furnish a great number of white Mulberrie trees, and graynes to make Nurseries, in 4. parts of his Realme, at *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Tours*, & *Lions*, who were bound to make their diuisions by the first day of Aprill this yeare, with instructions how to sowe and plant Trees and Kirnells, to gouerne the wormes, to draw and spinne the silke, to prepare it, and make it readie to be sold. There could not be found in this age a more profitable husbandrie. The people D of *Languedoc*, *Prouence*, & *Daulphiné*, haue found this labour so successefull within these few yeares, as the onely reuenue of silke doth now bring more money to these Provinces, then the Corne, Oyle, and Woode, although they haue great abundance. It doth also begin very happily at *Lions*, and if it continues, this Cittie wil be as famous for silke, as *Tire* and *Bulis* were for Scarlett.

The Chan-
cellor:
speech.

Inuention to
make silke in
France.

The profit of
the art of silke.

The beginning of this yeare was remarkable by a great and tragicall Mutine in the great *Turkes* Court. In *Turkie* all the mischeefs which fall out in the publike government, the *Spahis* and *Iannissaries* impute vnto the *Baschas*, and if they do not their duties, they blame him from whome they haue their authoritie. The *Seriuano* who commanded in *Asia*, being reuolted against the great *Turke*, had found such weake resistance

Rebell on in
Asia against
the *Turke*.

E as he thought nothing could faile him in his enterprise, so as resolution which is tryed in war, more then in any other action did not faile him. He was so hardie as he came in armes within 3. or 4. dayes journey of *Constantinople*, wherewith the *Spahis* and *Iannissaries* were so moued, as they thought this boldnes proceeded, for that hee had too much of that, whereof their Emperour had too little, and from the treacherie of his Ministers. They conceiued so great a dispight, as they assembled to the number of thirtie fise thousand with the people, and presented themselves before the *Diuane* or Tribunall of Iustice, the which is held in the great *Turkes* Pallace, the foure first dayes of the weeke. Hauing set gards at the gates, that they might execute their resolution more safely, they named tenne *Spahis*, and tenne *Iannissaries* to deliuer the reasons of this mutinie, and what they desired. As soone as they were entred before the *Baschas*, whereof the most couragious was not without feare, thinking that the greatest courtesie they could expect from these *Barbarians*, was that which *Plisses* attended of *Poliphemus*, to be deuoured last. They first demanded to haue *Assan Bascha* deliuered

1603. deliuered vnto them, who thinking his head should serue for a sacrifice to pacifie this A
 furie, went all amazed through this mutinous multitude, protesting of his Innocency,
 and calling vpon his Prophet to discouer the truth. Hauing heaped iniuries and re-
 proches on him, they asked him rudely whence it proceeded, that whilest the chiefe
 forces of the Empire were in *Hungarie* to recouer *Alba Regalis*, they had altogether
 neglected to stay and ruine the proceedings of the Rebels in *Asia*. Hee answered
 that hee had done his dutie whilest that he had the charge of the armie in *Asia*, but
 seeing himselfe readie to die, he desired that his death might profit the publike, and
 that in discharging his Conscience, hee might declare the causes of these ruines. Hee
 sayd that it proceeded onely from the bad gouernment of the Emperours Mother,
 and of his *Cypriaga*. At these words they demanded to speake with the Emperour, B
 who presented himselfe in the Imperiall seat with the high Priest of the Lawe or
Mophy: the Emperour hauing commanded the *Mophy*, Presidents, the chiefe of
 the Iustice, and the Doctors of the Law to sit downe, (to great respect is to men
 of that sort, in a Nation of so small respect) the *Baschas* standing vp, the chiefe of the
 seditious presenting himselfe, demanded leaue to speake, which being granted, hee
 sayd thus. Great, Mighty, and most Happie Emperour, the *Spahis* and *Iannissaries*
 your obedient slaues, full of greefe and compassion to see your Highnes Estate in dan-
 ger to be lost, desire to know the cause why your greames doth not remedie it, and im-
 ploy the means which God hath giuen you. They suppose that the Rebels courses
 in *Asia* are vnknowne vnto you, seeing they haue bene so hardie as to come in C
 armes so nere vnto your Imperiall aboad, without lett or resistance. They desire to
 know, if all hath bene made knowne vnto him, and if hee will take vpon him the care
 of the gouernment of this Monarchie, the which by his negligence, is like vnto great
 members well proportioned, but haue little or no vigour, or if hee be contented that
 all be dismembred, and euery one to take what share he can.

The Iannissaries power in
 Turke.

The *Iannissaries* are they, which may speake boldest in *Turkie*, they are the reynes
 of the Empire: the Princes children acknowledge no other Father, nay rather the
 great *Turke* is their Creature, for they rayse them vp vnto the Empire, and are bound
 vnto them, as a Cup of gold is vnto the file, the fizers, and the hammer that workes
 it. If *Mahomet* had done as one of his Predecessors aduised in the like mutinie, if hee D
 had opposed vertue and courage to this furious multitude, it had disperfed of it selfe.
 Hee carried himselfe too couldly, and framed his countenance with a Maiestie full of
 mildnes, smoothing the choller hee had in his heart, with the best words his tongue
 could deliuer, imputing the disorder of his affaires, to the Infidelitie of his Ministers,
 and the disguising of the truth. That before their complaint, hee had resolved to re-
 dresse it, and to take from them all occasion of complaint, or to vie any such speech,
 which was not befitting them, whose example of obedience and respect, should pro-
 fit the rest of his Subiects. Then they demanded of *Assan Bascha*, why he had not gi-
 uen an account of the Rebels proceedings vnto his Highnes? Hee answered that he
 had neuer sayled of his dutie, but that the *Cypriaga* had alwayes hindred him from E
 doing it, saying, that it was not needfull to giue him that distaste, but to repaire the
 disorders as well as they could. That the cause of all the disorder, proceeded from the
 Empresse his Mother, and from his *Cypriaga*. Then the mutiners sayd, that they were
 there assembled to require their heads, being resolved to take a courte if he refused
 it, meaning thereby to make an other Emperour. The great *Turke* answered, that
 hee would not for their humors, put such as they demanded innocently to death, but
 they should rest contented to haue it examined by Iustice, if they deferred death:
 and then he would giue them his owne Sonne if he were culpable. The Mutyners
 replied, that hee had not put his Brethren to death by Iustice, but for the preferua-
 tion of the State: that those which they demanded, were soe guiltie, as the deferred F
 not to haue their Proesse made; that the Lawes how iust fouer should bee vn-
 profitable, and Iustice iniurie, if they did not punish them, and therefore it must be
 so, else they would prouide for it themselves. As for the Empresse his Mother, they
 were

A were contented she should bee confined to some place a farre of. It is a strange thing 1603.
 to see a Prince forced by the sedition and mutiny of his subiects, to deliuer an Officer A Prince forced
 at their discretions. It had bene more Honourable and iust to haue suffered them to edipitate a
 take him by force, or to haue giuen him means to escape. The violent resolution of multitude
 these mutiners, made the Emperour wisely to yeeld to what they demanded, causing
 his *Cypriaga* and the others to bee brought forth: who presented themselves like men
 halfe dead. The great *Turke* doth what he can to saue them, and the mutiners made a
 terrible and fearefull crie to haue them dispatche. When as they saw their heads, they
 were satisfied and commended the Princes Iustice, who being moued with the losse
 of them that were so deere vnto him, hee commanded the Executioner to proceede,
 and that he should do vnto the chiefe *Baschas* (who hee knewe were beloued and re-
 spected of the *Iannissaries*) as hee had done vnto his *Aga*, but their murmures and
 mutiny were doubled, and the Emperour was forced to temper his choller with pati-
 ence. The Emperours Mother was referred for the seede of an other reuolt, shee
 alone commandes in this Empire whilest the Prince doth drowne the warlike vertues
 of the *Ottomans* in Delights and Voluptuosnesse. The King of *Persia* considering the
 authority of his resolutions, insteade of sending an Ambassador to his Court, two
 yeares since sent a great Lady, supposing that being brought into the *Serrailia*, shee
 of her selfe in speaking to the Empresse should do that which Ambassadors could not
 Treat but by the participation of many. A woman sent
 in Ambassage.

C This Accident was seconded soone after by an other much more tragicall. The
 great *Turkes* wife being of an Ambitious and insolent humor, (qualities common to
 that sexe, especially when it is accompanied with great power) seeing these ordinarie
 mutines against a Prince of small courage and of lesse reuenge, shee cast forth some
 words amonge her familiars to knowe if her sonne should succede his Father. This
 was reported vnto *Mahomet*, who beleued that shee carried more the desire of a bad
 Wife then the affection of a good Mother. It thrust him into choller, and choller
 into such fury, as hee imagined she had an intent to poison him, and condemning her
 (of that whereof nothing but lealoufie and his suspition did accuse her) he caused her
 to be drowned, and his Sonne to be strangled in his own presence, with some men and
 women to the number of foureteene that did serue them. Hee sought to disguise this
 D cruelty with an other reason, saying, that finding the disability of his Sonne for gene-
 ration, hee would not haue him succede in the Empire, to the ende that the race of
 the *Ottomans* which had held the Scepter so many yeares, should not fayle for
 want of a successor, and that the Lawe of his Prophet, which doth allowe the *Turkes*
 (like vnto the *Medes*) to haue as many Wiues as they can maintayne should not bee vn-
 profitable to him.

The great
 Turkes cruelty
 to his wife and
 Sonne.

A prodigious lealoufie of soueraigne Command, more violent among the *Ottomans*,
 then among all the other Princes of the world. They cannot endure the iust hopes
 of their Children, and deprive themselves whilest they live of that content which the
 Father reapes by the presence of his posterity, being the Images of his life. It must
 needes be an extreame passion, when as it forceth them so brutishly to teare in peeces
 the Lawes of Nature, & thrustes both Fathers & Children on to such horrible crimes.
 Parricides and Fratricides are not strange in *Turky*. It seemes their Empire was built vp
 on this barbarousnes, to murder all that might hinder their Commande, as you may
 E reade at large in the Turkish History. This blow being giuen to the greatest person of
 the Empire, amazed all the rest. The *Seriuano* seeing this Prince to seeke him by all
 milde courses, durst not refuse it, fearing to trie his cruelty, and as the one promised to
 forget what was past, so the other sware all obedience & fidelity to come, and to serue
 him against the Emperour in his Army in *Hungary*, whether he marched by the straight
 of *Dardanelles* with twelue thousand men, hauing first taken possession of the gouern-
 F ment of *Bosne*, wherewith *Mahomet* did recompence his conuincing in, and his returne.
 The taking of *Lepante* did as much amaze the great *Turke*, as the losse of a Battaille
 in the same place did his Grand-father.

Parricides and
 Fratricides ordi-
 nary in
 Turke.

The *Seriuano*
 reconciled.

They

1603. They beleagued at *Constantinople*, that *Don Iuan* of *Austria* (whom *Spain* calls the terror A of the Turkes) was risen againe. All that made resistance, were slaine, and all that yielded to saue their liues, lost their liberties. This was the third victory gotten by the valour of the great Master of *Malta* and of his Knights, in the third year of his Commande.

The voyage
to Metz.

The King went to *Metz* and tooke the Queene with him. The cause of his voyage was the badde Intelligence betwixt *Sobole* commanding in the Cittadell, and the Inhabitants of the Towne. The Duke of *Espernon* shew ed in this trouble, as in many other more dangerous, that of the two best things of our life, Happinesse is the first, and Wisdome the second. *Sobole* was one of them to whome he had yeelded a part of that great and incomparable fauour which he had during the raigne of the deceased King. B Having the Gouernment of *Metz* from the King, hee made *Sobole* his Lieutenant of the Towne and Cittadell, in whome hee had as much confidence, as he had vowed his affection vnto him. As the great troubles in the year 1589. had made *France* like vnto a troubled Riuer, fit for Ambitious men to fish in, so those which held places of importance began to raise their authorities as high as the liberty of the time, and the forgetfulness of the *French* would suffer them. Two or three yeares after the Duke of *Espernon* was troubled in Prouence, and his credit crackt with the King. They say that *Sobole* began then to carry himselfe more proudly then he was wont, vsing no moderation, which is the perfect ornament of prosperity. He suited himselfe to be called Governor. A title which did adde nothing to his profit and commodity, and did breede C him Icalousie with his equalls, badde opinion in the Iudgement of his Superiors, and hatred and feare in the hearts of his Inferiors. There was an other occasion which made his carriage more odious, which was the Pursuite he made against the principall of the Towne, for Treason and Conspiracy. They were freed from prison being Innocent, but they tooke this resolution to free themselves from the command of *Sobole*. It is the humor of the people to write any good they haue received vpon the Water, and to ingraue the wrongs are done them in brasse. The Duke of *Espernon* passing by *Metz* to go to the *Spaw*, heard great complaints against *Sobole*, the which hee did but heare, finding that there was some Icalousie of his aboad at *Metz*, for as often as hee sent for him to eate or play with him, and to bring his Brother with him, the one or the other remained still in the Cittadell. Yet the Duke of *Espernon* entered into the Cittadell, and was receiued with all the honors he could desire, *Sobole* presented him the keyes at the gate, protesting of his affection, and complaying of those which sayd he would refuse him the entry: the souldiars stood with their pikes vp, and their Harguebuses and muskets vpon their shoulders, and the Halbards behinde them.

The Duke of
Espernon goes
againe to
Metz.

The Duke of *Espernon* returned to Court, to vnderstand the Kings pleasure touching these troubles. Hee made a second voyage to *Metz*. Their murmuring against *Sobole* was turned into publike complaints, and their complaints into Barricadoes betwixt the Cittadell and the Towne: the Inhabitants were transported with so strange a passion, as they submitted themselves to any thing, so as they might not be commanded by the two Bretheren. This commotion had not lasted long, if it had not bene supported. The presence of the Duke of *Espernon* gaue them courage, who else would haue bene much amazed. The King first sent *Boissize*, and then *Varanc*, both which serued his Maiesty according to his intentions, and disposed *Sobole* to do whatsoever hee should commande him, declaring notwithstanding that he would not deliuer the place but to himselfe. This was the occasion of the Kings voyage, who went thither in a very vnseasonable time. Vpon the brute of his going many Princes of *Germany* sent to take vp their lodgings at *Metz*, who notwithstanding (hearing that the King would make but small aboad, and the time being troublesome) came not out of their Stoues, so as there came not any but the Duke of *Denn Ponts*, the *Landgrane of Hesse*, & the Prince of *Brandebourg*. The King finding the hatred betwixt *Sobole* and the Inhabitants to bee irreconcilable, was aduised to giue the charge of the Cittadell to *Arguen*, Lieutenant of the Coronells Company, of the Regiment of his Maiesties guards, and

A and the Lieutenantcy of the gouernment of the Towne and of the Country of *Messin* 1603. to *Montigny* his Brother, to hold them as Lieutenants of his Maiesty in the absence of the Duke of *Espernon*.

The King would not enter into *Metz* before that *Sobole* was out of the Cittadell. Some thought hee would not haue bene so obedient, but he shewed hee had no desireigne beyond his dutie. This was a disgrace vnto him: He blamed his Fortune, and Fortune accused his bad carriage. The way hee tooke to maintaine himselfe, overthrew him. Men must hold great Commands like simple Commissions, and not as Inheritances. They must desire them without Passion, and receive them without Infidelity. The King past the feast of Easter at *Metz*. Where he herd the Iesuits requests B for their reestablishment. They could not finde a better opportunity to speake vnto the King, then that which *Varenne* (controller generall of the Postes of *France*) gaue them. Four Iesuits giuing them Intelligence that the King would come to *Metz* and there spend the Easter. Herevpon foure Iesuits of *Pont a Mouzon*, were deputed to go and do their dutie vnto his Maiesty, and to renew the request for their returne vnto those places from the which they had bene expelled. They came to *Metz* on the Wednesday before Easter day, and the next day in the after-noon they had audience in the Kings Cabinet, where as the Duke of *Espernon*, *Villeroy*, *Genre* and *Varennes* were present. The King receiued them graciously and would not suffer them to kneele, but commanded them to stand vp: and although he takes no delight in long speeches, knowing that they come C prepared with goodly words. Yet he herd father *Ignace Armand* with patience and attention, who made a long and eloquent Oration as you may reade at large in the Originalls. The King answered them very graciously, *I wish no harme to the Iesuits, and all the ill that I wish to any liuing Creature, let it happen vnto my selfe. My Court of Parliament hath done some thing against you, but not without good consideration.* Hee received that in writing which they had deliuered by mouth, deliuered it to *Villeroy*, and hauing considered thereof, he declared vnto them expressly howe desirous he was, and what care he would take for their returne. *If your business* (sayd he) *were not in the Popes hands, I would dispatch you presently, but you know it is not expedient to do any thing without him. I will haue you. You are profitable for the publike and for my Estate.* He added moreouer that being at D *Paris* hee would thinke seriously of their affaires. They demanded if his Maiesty would not be pleased that the three Prouincials of their Company in *France*, accompanied by three others, should attend there at his returne, and receiue his Commandements. There needes not so many sayd the King, it shalbe sufficient that you and father Cotton come. The King made this voyage partly to pacifie some trouble growne betwixt the Cardinall of *Lorraine* and the Prince of *Brandebourg* for the Bishoprike of *Strausbourg*, and this was the cause of their quarrell. The Bishoprike of *Strausbourg* becom void by the decease of their Bishop (who was a Catholike) the Cardinall of *Lorraine* obtrayned the grant thereof from his Holinesse. But for that they of *Strausbourg* since the sturres in *Germany*, had held the confession of *Aufbourg*, the deceased Bishop had retired himselfe out of the City, and liued at a house of his in the Country in his Religion. & yet notwithstanding he receiued his temporall reuenues from them of *Strausbourg*. On the other side the Marquis of *Brandebourg* Elector of the Empire, had obtained an Election from them of *Strausbourg* for one of his Sonnes, who being named to the Bishoprike and receiued by them of *Strausbourg*, he will inioy the Bishops rights without any other ceremony. The Cardinall on the other side hauing obserued the accustomed Order therein, demanded the Bishops rights of them of *Strausbourg*, such as his Predecessor inioyed, who died a Catholike, and according to the Article of the *Interim* set downe by the Confession of *Aufbourg*. Herevpon they of *Strausbourg* made some difficulty, & the rather for that being neighbours vnto the Duke of *Lorraines* territories, they haue often many controuersies to decide as it doth comonly fall out betwixt Neighbours. They had also giuen their consent to the nomination of the Prince of *Brandebourg* for Superintendent or Administrator, that is to say Bishop after their manner, for these and other priuate reasons they refused the Cardinalls demande.

The

1603. The Prince of *Brandebourg* gets possession, and prepares to withstand the Cardinal, A
all things tending vnto Armes. Many and great Leuies of men were made on eyther
side. Those of *Strasbourg* were also in Alarme, seeking to preuent al disorders if it were
possible, yet fauoring the Prince of *Brandebourg* more then the Cardinal of *Lorraine*.
The Emperour had written vnto them both, declaring that his Intention was, that nei-
ther of them should haue wrong. The King was intreated to interpose his authority as
a Friend to both parties, for the auoyding of all scandall. The Prince of *Brandebourg*
named Bishop of *Strasbourg*, was come into *France* some monethes before: And they
say hee remayned some daies at *Troyes*, vntill his Maiesty had assigned him a time and
place to haue the Honor to come & kisse his hands, the which was done at *Loges* neere
to *Saint Germain in Laye*, where the King gaue him audience, and so the sayd Prince B
was dispatched, with promise of all fauour, to compound the Controuerfie betwixt him
and the Cardinall.

During the Kings abode at *Metz*, the sayd Prince of *Brandebourg* came accom-
panied with the *Lantgrau* of *Hesse*, the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, and a Deputy from the
Arch-bishop of *Treues* Elector of the Empire: and by their aduice it was determi-
ned, that the Cardinal should haue a portion out of the sayd Bishop-ricke, and
the rest should remaine vnto the Prince, and by that meanes they should conti-
nue friends as before. Thus a Peace was made betwixt them, the which might elie
haue bene preiudiciall to the whole Empire and to all Christendome. The King went
from *Metz* to *Nancy* to see the Duchesse of *Bar* his sister, and the Duke of *Lorraine*. At
that time a marriage was concluded betwixt the Duke of *Deux Ponts* and the Ladie
Katherine of *Rohan*, remaying then with the Kings sister, and so hauing provided for
all things necessary for the frontier, hee tooke his way to *Paris* the 7. of Aprill. It is a
signe of a happy Raigne when the subiect reioyceth to see his King: *Prouence* had been
possessed with this desire fifteene yeares, beeing the onely Prouince of all *France* that had
not yet seene the King. He was expected there with great Impatiency, hauing promi-
sed after his returne from *Metz* to go thither. As it was reasonable to giue comfort to
that Prouince, so was it necessary to fortifie that Coast, and to haue an eye to the de-
seignes of the Sea Army of *Spaine*, which vnder collour of attempting some-thing vpon
upon *Alger*, might fall vpon that Coast, by which the Emperour *Charles* the first held it
the easiest to inuade *France*. The Honour of Christendome made all men to wish that
this enterprife had bene more happy then the rest. But as oftentimes bad desseignes
prosper better then good, the successe depending much vpon blinde fortune, this en-
terprife of *Alger* had no better successe then the two former. It was managed by a
Franciscan Friar, who promised vnto him selfe as great Glory in expelling these petty
Kings of *Affrike* as *Aratus* receiued hauing purged *Sicily* from Tyrants. Hee had a
promise from the King of *Cuccio*, not onely to fauour it, but also to declare himselfe o-
penly, and to reduce *Alger* to what extremity they would. Vpon this assurance the
Vice-roye of *Maierque* approached with foure Gallies. Hee landed foure score men to
deliuer forty thousand Crownes vnto the *Moors* vpon the bargain, and to put their
desseigne in execution, but they were, (eyther by hazard, or for that they wanted cou-
rage to do as they had sayd) taken and deliuered vnto the enemies. Many thought it
was a grosse Treason. Treachery is as inseperable to a *Moors* Heart, as blackenesse
is to his Body. It was wisely done of the Vice-roye to retire himselfe, without brag-
ging. This disapointed the Kings pretended voiage into *Prouence*. It is true that the
passage of the three Princes of *Sauoy* into *Spaine*, wherof the Duke gaue the King intel-
ligence by the Count of *Viesque* reuiued many Icalousies. The Duke was at *Nice* with
them expecting the commodity of their imbarcking, the Princeesse *Marguerite*, his el-
dest Daughter commanding in *Piedmont*. They attended the Kings commandements
at *Barcellona*, and were there receiued with all the Honours that might bee doneto
Princes so allyed. The King of *Spaine* sent *D. Henriquez Guzman* vnto them, to con-
gratulate their arriuall, and to aduise them to make small iorneyes for the heate of the
season. He gaue vnto Prince *Victor* the Dukes second Sonne, the Vice-royes place of
Portugall,

The King re-
turnes to Pa-
ris.

The King re-
solved to go
into Prouence.

This Iourney
of *Alger* ma-
naged by a
Franciscan
Friar.

The Princes
of *Piedmont*
go into *Spaine*.

Portugall, the Portugalls reioycing much to see the fruites of *D. Beatrix* of Portugall 1603
his great Grandmother. At the same time report which carries all things abroad
without distinction or iudgement, did publish throughout *Europe*, a Newes hap-
pily false; which was that the King had bene extremely sicke. Hee was indeede
sicke, but not so extremely as they should so iudge of him. Hee was soone resto-
red to his naturall health, and returned to his ordinary manner of Lying. The ac-
tions of Princes must be alwayes great: not busying themselves in making of Lan-
thornes like to that King of *Macedonia*. They must alwayes hold their Subiects in
this opinion that in doing nothing, they doe some great worke. It was a great pre-
cept, which the Emperour *Charles* the first, gaue to King *Philip* his Sonne, alwayes to
B exercise himselfe in some vertue, agreeing with the dutie of a King, to hold the sub-
iects as it were in admiration of his effects, and not to giue their thoughts any time
to fill them with other affections. When occasions of Warre cease, they must
aplie themselves to those of Peace, as to the administering of Iustice and ording of
his Realme. To conclude, all the actions of a Prince must tend to the good and
helth of his people, for whome hee liues more then for himselfe, as the Sonne doth
not shine and giue heate but for Men and the Elements. During the Warre no man
enquired what the King did, his great affaires, provided store of worke, the ende
of one enterprife was the beginning of another. Nowe that these seditious stormes
are appeased, that the waues are smooth and the Sea calme; that Peace giues him a
rest worthie of his labours, that so many paines past, make his pleasures more sweete,
C and that the rewarde of vertue makes his Triumphes seeme more glorious, their pas-
seth no day but some one asketh, what doth the King? They neede not studie for an
answere, hee is alwayes in action farre from Idleness. The cheefe action is neuer to
bee without action, hee hath bene so bred vp from his Cradle, hee cannot be other
wise: Bees neuer become droanes, great spirits doe neuer degenerate, wee shall
see him on Horse-backe at the age of *Massaniusa*, hee will be fearefull to his enemies
as that of *Agesilaus*, hee will shewe himselfe in the head of his Armies at the age of
four score yeares, like vnto *Phocion*, his valour will neuer growe olde no more then
his memorie.

D Hee contents himselfe notwithstanding to inioye the fruites of Peace, and not to
thinke any more of Warre vlesse he be wronged. One of the greatest contentments
the Peace doth yeeld him is that of his buildings, and there is no exercise more wor-
thie of a King then to repaire the ruines of time, when as they bee buildings which re-
gard the Glory of the Prince, and the common profit of the people, when as the Mor-
tarter is not made with the bloud and sweat of his poore subiects. At one time the
King had Masons in diuers places, in the great Church of *Orleans*, at *Fontainebleau*, at
Saint Germain, at *Monceaux*, and at the newe bridge at *Paris*. A'l great workes, whe-
ther that wee consider the building by the desseigne, or the desseigne by the building.
Among manie merueilles of his life that was admirable, that hee did bulde and
E make Warre both together. The first daie hee entred into the *Louure* hee did de-
seigne and set downe what he hath since continued. He hath made *Saint Germain* and
Fontainebleau (two houses of the Kings his Predecessors) royall and stately Pallaces. He
finished in the hottest of the Vares and forraine tempests, that which they had vn-
dertaken in a calme and Peacefull season.

Wee haue seene what the King does, wee must also knowe where vnto the Court
is inclyned. Howe can they liue without Warre, that thinke it a dishonor to die in
their beddes, who are accustomed to triumphe ouer Idleness, and rest not but to take
newe breath. What doe so many Noblemen, which cannot endure rest but with im-
patience? Some goe a hunting, others dwell and die among Ladies: Many giue
F themselves to the knowledge of Tongues and the Mathematikes: the most quarre-
lous stripp themselves into their shirtes, notwithstanding any prohibition of Duells
or Combats: the most temperate retire themselves from great expences. Some
there

Brute of the
Kings sickness.

The exercise
of a Prince.

Building is a
worke wor-
thy of a
Prince which
is at Peace.

Exercise of
Noblemen in
Court.

Rrrrr

1603. there are who loth that ease should triumph ouer their reputations goe out of the Realme with the Kings permission. It is a signe of a great and Noble courage to go and make Warre vpon a forraigne Theater, and to see the diuersity of People and Nations, that hee may settle his Iudgement and Arme himselfe with experience. When wee speake of them that haue well imployed the ease and libertie of Peace, we must remember the Duke of *Newers*. He went into *England*, *Flanders* and *Hungary*, and through a great part of the North. Hee past to the King of *Denmarke*, who (for the respect of those two great and famous houses, of *Gonzage* allied to the greatest houses of Europe and of *Newers*, which carries the title of Dukes of *Brabant* and *Limbourg* but much more for the Loue of this Crowne) receiued him with great and famous Honours.

A League concluded between the Venetians and the Grisons.

The King was aduertised that the Seigneury of *Venice* would renew a negotiation which they had attempted and left vnperfect twenty yeares since, which they nowe sought to conclude. *De Vic* Ambassador for the King in *Suifferland* hauing discovered that both parties had begun without the King, gaue them to vnderstand that they could not synish nor conclude that without his Maiestie. The Count *Fuentes* did also crosse it, for that this new League should make him to loose the hope of that which the *Spaniards* had pursued so many yeares. As soone as the King had giuen them to vnderstand that hee was well pleased therewith, it was concluded: neither partie respecting the threatres of the Count *Fuentes*, who sware that hee would take from the *Grisons* the traffick which they had in the Duchie of *Milan*, and the releefe of Come which they receiued from thence. The Articles of this Alliance are sett downe at large in *Peter Mathewe*. The Count *Fuentes* discontented with this League, made the *Grisons* repent it, hauing cut of their Commerce and all commodities which they drew out of the territories of *Milan*, without the which they could not well liue. The two Countries ioyne together, and the Barrenes of the one is supplied by the Fertility and abundance of the other. To bring them vnder the yoke of *Spaine*, and to force them to breake with the *Venetians*, hee built a fort at the entry of their Country, whereof shalbe spoken hereafter.

An Ambassador sent from Venice into France about the same time past by *Lions*, a graue and wife man, and well practised in affaires of State. The Governor of *Lions* did visite him, & among other discourses vnderstood from him that the Seigneuries of that Common-weale did hold themselves more bound vnto the Count *Fuentes* then to any man liuing, for that they had made vse of his threatres to sharpen their courages which time had made blunt and dull. His braueries had made them to take resolutions for the good of the State which they had neuer drempt of, drowning their Countells in the delights of Peace, and presuming that they should not feare any storme in so great a Calme, but hauing seen the Counts humor to stirre vp Warre in *Italie*, and that he bragged hee had Instruments to draw them in that had no will to dance, they had so well provided for their affaires, as they feared his hand no more then his tongue.

The navigation of the French to new France or Canada.

The last yeare the Lord of *Pont* had bene in newe *France* (called *Canada*) from whence hee had brought two *Sauages*, which hee presented vnto the King: they learned of them that the great Ruer which they thought to haue bene but a Gulfe (for that it is eightene leagues broad where it enters into the Sea) was about foure hundred leagues long, and past through many goodly Countries and Lakes, into the which many other goodly Riuers did runne, and that hee might goe vp into it in Canowes, which the *Sauages* do vse to sayle in that Ruer. Hee reloued with some other Sea Captaines (with the Kings good liking) to returne, and to search into the hart of the Country by meanes of the *Sauages*, as well as he had discovered along the Sea Coast, where is nothing but Rockes and high Mountaynes, and sands full of Pyntrees, Sapins, Cipres and Holley. He parted from *Honfleur* the 15. of March, carrying the 2. *Sauages* back with him, and the 18. of April he came into the great Ruer of *Canada*, where hauing entred a 100. leagues, in the end he came to *Tadoussac* the 24. where he

A he found many *Sauages* in Cabines. Going on land, he went with some of his compa- 1603. nie to the Cabin of the great *Sagamo*, called *Anadabijon*, where they found him, with some foure score or a hundred of his companions, which made *Tabagie* (that is to say, a Feast) who receiued them very well, according to their custome, and made them to sit neere him, all the *Sauages* being placed one by another on either side of the Cabin. One of the *Sauages* which he had carried with him, began to make his oration, of the good reception which the King had made them, and of the good usage which they had receiued in *France*, and that his Maiestie wished them well, and desired to people their land, and to make peace with their enemies (which be the *Trocois*) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He told them of the goodly Castels, Palaces, houses and people that he had seene, and the manner of liuing of the *French*. The *Sauages* gaue him audience with great silence: When he had done speaking, the great *Sagamo* began to take *Tobacco*, and gaue some vnto the Seignieur of *Pont* Graue of *S. Male*, and to his company, and to some other *Samagos* that were neere him. hauing taken it well, hee began to make his Oration to them all, speaking deliberately, staying sometimes a little, and then beginning againe, he said. *That in truth they had reason to be greatly contented to haue such a King for their great friend*: Wherevnto all the other *Sauages* answered with one voyce, *ho, ho, ho*; that is to say, *I, I*. Then the *Sagamo* sayd againe, *That he was very glad the King of France should people their Land, and make Warre against their enemies*: *That there was no Nation in the world to whom they desired more good, then vnto the French*: Then hee gaue the *Sauages* to vnderstand, what profit they might receiue from his Maiestie.

After that hee had ended his speech, *Du Pont* and his companie went out of the Cabin, and then they began to make their *Tabagie* or feast, the which is done with the flesh of *Orignac*, that is like vnto Beefe of Beares, Sea Volues, and Beauers, which is the ordinary meate which they haue, with great store of wilde-fowle. When they eate, they sitte of eyther side of the Cabin, euery one hauing a Dish made of the Barke of Trees: the meate being foddren, there is one that giues to euery one his portion in his Dish, where they eate very grosely, for when their hands are greasie, they eyther rubbe them vpon their hayre, or vpon their Dogges, (whereof they haue great store to hunt withall. Before they eate they dance about their Pannes, and after they haue eaten, they returne to their dancing, euery one taking the head of his enemy which hee hath slaine in Battaille, the which hangs behind him. They made this Feast together, for the victorie which they had obtained of the *Trocois*, of whome they had slaine some hundred. Three Nations of *Sauages* were there assembled, that is to say, the *Estechemins*, *Algonnequins*, and *Montagnez*, to the number of a thousand, all enemies to the *Trocois*, against whome they make cruell warre by surprise, for that they are more in number then they. The 13. day of the Moneth, the sayde *Sauages* which were then at the point of *Saint Mathew*, came to Campe at the Port of *Tadoussac*, where the *Frenchmen* were. At the breake of day, their great *Sagamo* going out of his Cabin, went about all the other Cabins, crying with a lowd voyce, that they must dislodge to goe to *Tadoussac*, where their good friends were. Sodenly euery one pulled downe his Cabin, and the great *Sagamo* beganne first of all to take his Canow, and to carrie it to the Ruer, in the which hee imbar- ked his Wife and Children, with great store of Furrres, so as they were neere two hundred Canowes, which goe exceeding swiftly, for although *Du Ponts* Shippe Boate were very well manned, yet they went faster then it. There are but two persons that doe rowe, the man and the woman. Their Canowes are eight or nine paces long, and one broad, they are very subiect to ouer-turne, if they be not well guided: They are made of Barkes of Trees, strengthened within with little hoopes artificially made, and they are so light, as a man may carry one easily: and euery Canowe will carry the weight of a Pipe. Their Cabins are fowe made like Tents, couered with Barkes of Trees, leauing a hole open in the toppes, to let in the light: Rrrrr 2. they

The *Sauages* Canowes.

The manner of their Cabins.

1604. *The manner of their Cabines.* they make many fiers in the midst of the Cabine, whereas sometimes they are famelies together. They lie vpon skins one among an other, and their Dogges with them. All these people are of a pleasant humor, they laugh most commonly, yet they are some-what Saturnists: they speake deliberately, as if they would be well vnderstood, and stay soderly, studying a good space, and then they speake againe. They vse the Customes in their Orations in Councel, whether none come but the Principall, which are Ancients, the women and Children assist not. All these Nations endure so much some-times, as they are in a manner forced to eate one an other through the great cold and snowe, for the Beasts and Fowle which they vse, retire themselves into the hotter Countries. They are apt inough to learne to till the ground or any other worke, if they may be taught. Many of them are of good iudgement, and will answer directly to any question. They are full of reuenge and great Liars, in whome there is no trust, they promise much and performe little, for the most part they haue no Lawe, & beleue that after that God had made all things, hee tooke a number of Arrows and stickt them in the Earth, from the which sprong Men and Women which haue multiplied in the world vnto this day, and are growne in this sort. That there is one God, one Sonne, the Mother and the Sunne which shines which are foure, yet that God is aboue all, and that the Sonne and the shyning Sonne are good, by reason of the benefit which they receiue, but the Mother is nothing worth, for that she eats them. In like sort they hold that the Father is not very good. They haue an infinite number of other foolish opinions, and they haue certaine Sauages among them, whom they call *Pilotona*, which speake visibly vnto the Diuill, and tells them what they should do, as well for matters of Warre as other things: to whom they obey at their first command. They also beleue that all their dreames are true, and many say that they haue scene & dempt what should happen, but to speake truly they are illusions of the Diuill which abuseth them.

They talke vnto the Diuill.

Their complexions appareil, marriages and interments.

They are all well proportioned, without any deformity of their bodies, and nimble. Their women are well fashioned, repleat & some-what full: they are yelow by reason of the painting wherewith they annoint themselves, which makes them of an Oliue collour. They appareil themselves with skins, one part of their bodies is couered and the rest bare. In winter they couer themselves with good Furies, wherof they haue great store, where there is great store of snowe, they vse a kinde of racket, the which is wise or thrife as bigge as that of *France*, which they tie vnto their feete, and so go in the snowe without sinking, for else they could not hunt, nor goe in many places.

They haue a kinde of marriage, when a maide is foureteeene or fiftene yeares olde she may haue as many seruants & friends, and accompany with as many as she pleases; then after five or six yeares, shee will take whome she likes best for her Husband, and liue together till death, ylesse after some-time they haue no Children, then the Man, may be vnmarried and take an other Wife. After they be once married they are chaste, and the Husbands are for the most part ialous, giuing presents to the Father or kinfolkes of the Woman whome they haue married. As for their Interments or Burialls, when a man or a Woman dieth, they make a pit, into the which they pural the goods he hath, as Kettles, Furies, Hatchets, Bowes, Arrows, Aparel and other things, and then they put the bodie into the pit and couer it with Earth, on the which they lay great peeces of wood, and one peece they set right vp, the which they painte redde on the toppe. They beleue the immortality of the Soule, and say that they go to reioyce in other Countries with their kinfolkes and friends when they are dead. The Seigneur of *Pont* hauing spent some-time to discouer the great Riuier of *Canada*, and some other particularities of the Countrye, returned the 24. of August, and arrived at *Newe-hauen* the 20. of September.

Dr Pont returned into France.

In the beginning of this year *Moses Sikel* being revolted from the Emperour, entred into *Transilvania* with great troups of *Turkes*, *Tartarians* and *Polonians*. Many Gentlemen of the Country more through base cowardise then through treachery ioyned

A ioyned with him, and through their Intelligence *Alba Iulia* was surpris'd, but God who neuer shewes the greatnesse of his power in small things, and who sends helpe when there is least hope, would not suffer his enemies to be long proud with the prosperity of their affaires. In September *George Basta* and *Raduill Vanoide* of *Valachia*, came to fight with him. The Battaille was furious and bloody. *Basta* sayd vnto his soldiars before the charge, that it was not needefull to perswade great resolutions, but he did encourage them more by his example, pressing into those places where there was most perill, necessity and glory. The Christians had the victory. They had the field, the triumph & the spoyle. They sent a hundred & two & twenty Enseignes to the Emperour being at *Prague*, the which were carried by three and three in a ranke. There were two with the white Eagle of *Polonia*, the which were not set vp for the respect of the *Polonians*. The booty was great in Prisoners, Horses, Armes and Cannon. They had found no place of reuerce, if the victor had not stayed the course of his victory contenting himselfe to preserve that in safety, which hee could not aduance but with danger. They retired themselves to *Temisvarr* a Towne which had been held these fifty yeares by the *Turkes*, wherof the Emperour of *Turkie* neuer speakes, but he giues it the title of Inuincible. *Basta* was resolved to beseege it, or to raise vp his sepulcher vnder the ruines thereof. But hee could not keepe *Buda* from being victuelled, where about the end of September they lost about 2000. men which was the flower of all their horsemen.

The Turkes defeated.

The great Turke (seeing the great exploits which the *French* had done in the Warres of *Hungary* and *Transilvania*) had often intreated the King not to suffer any *French* to go to the Warres of *Hungary*, and to tie him to make a strict Prohibition, he granted all and more then his Maiesty could desire for the reparation of publicke and priuate Injuries, against the liberty of the Commerce, and the safety of the navigation in the *Leuant Seas*, the which were greatly molested by Pirates. Hee sent a *Chaoirs* (which is a Generall or a Conductor of a Carauane) vnto the King in September, with very kinde letters, and of a stile not vsuall for the Princes of the house of *Ottomans*, who speake as *Turkes*, and Glorie to speake proudly and Imperiously to the Potentates of Christendome, giuing him this title. To the most Glorious

D magnanimous and great Lord of the beleefe of Iesus. Elected among the Princes of the Nation of Messias, the Compounder of controuersies which happen among Christians, Lord of greatnesse, Maiesty and riches, and the cleere guide of the greatest, Henry the fourth Emperour of France, that hee may ende his daies with Peace and Happinesse. The letter I omit for breuities sake, being not greatly pertinent to this subiect. And for that the great Turke was informed, that the Pirates of *Algier* and of *Thunis*, made markets of the *French*, which they tooke, and sold them vnto the *Moors* (who were alwaies cruell and mercilesse vnto the Christians, being forced to endure all without complaining, and to murmure against the rigour which Fortune allowses the Master ouer his slaue) hee writ to *Amet* King of *Fes*, and intreates him to preuent this sale, as against the Iustice that was left them by their Prophet, and to set all the *Frenchmen* that were in his dominions at libertie. The King labored to conuert the Warre of *Hungary* into a long truce or an Honourable Peace for the Christians. Hee disposed *Mahomet* therevnto by the dexteritie of his Ambassador; and if the house of *Austria* had trusted that of *France*, they had reaped the fruites of this Negotiation. *Mahomet* to shewe that he had a desire to lay a side Armes, presented the Emperour with Armes and Horses, and to *Mathias* the Arch-duke hee sent a Rich robe for a present.

The Turkes title to the France King.

This *Mahomet* had so abandoned himselfe to all voluptuousnesse and pleasures, as hee had no other feeling but for the tast and delights of the flesh. Hee had a bodie as bigge as a hogshed of Wine, in the which his spirit could neuer bee drie, to make vse of Wisdome and Reason. To this *Mahomet* the third, his Sonne *Amet* the first (being a young Infante) succeeded. There was no take in Court but of the quarrell betwix the Count *Soissons* and the Marquis of *Rhosny*, the which was very hard

A quarrell betwix the Count Soissons and the Marquis of Rhosny.

1603. to reconcile. It grew vpon words reported and disauowed. The Count *Soissons* was much offended, many framed diuers Metheors in their heads, vpon the consequence of this question, some there were that were made damnable vowes, the which were as Odious and as punishable, as those sellers of Funerall stufes that were punished by the Senate of *Athens* vpon the Accufation of *Demades*. The King forseeing that his seruice did suffer in this diuision, gaue him to vnderstand by the Chancellor and *Sillery*, and afterwards by the Count of *Saint Paul*, and the Duke of *Montbazon*, that he desired this trouble were ended and hee satisfied. hee answered them all after one sort, *That hee should hold himselfe unworthy of the honour to bee as hee was a neere Kinsman to so great and conragious a King, if hee had no feeling of so bloody an Iniury*. The King considering that this quarrell did nothing aduance his seruice, he made himselfe the instrument of this reconciliation. Hee sent for the Count *Soissons* and the Marquis of *Rheims* to the Loure. They came both well accompanied. The Presence, Authority, and intreary of his Maiesty, was of Force to smother the remembrance of all iniuries, and to reconcile their willes. Let vs now see what they haue done in the Nationall Synode helde at *Gap*, held by them of the reformed Religion, whereas many beleueed that in giuing audience to Ambassadors, and receiuing Letters from Foraine Princes and Common weales, they had done more then their condition would allowe, and had taken the way to make an Estate in the Estate. I will say no more. The passion of Religion might diminish the beleefe of the Trueth. The Synode began the first of October. C It treated of things touching Doctrine, Discipline, and the Gouernement of the Churches, giuing a good Testimony that there are among them men full of zeale to the aduancement of their Religion, and who in their Resolutions can ioyne Wisdome with Doctrine, causing them to blushe that haue so much suffered the ancient constitutions of the Church to degenerate, and haue so much neglected the Gouernement and Discipline, as the Synodall Assemblies of Diocesses, so necessary and profitable, are nothing but vaine and fond Ceremonies, where they doe onely exhort them to do well hereafter, not caring to correct or amende the ill that is gone and past.

They are reconciled by the King.

A Synod held at Gap.

Peter Mathew

The profit of Synodes.

Of many meanes which the Church (in her infancy) did vse to preserve this spirit of Peace and Charity, which gaue life vnto all the members, and intaintained the Cymment and bond of the whole building, that of these Assemblies hath bene held the most fruitfull, and should bee made twice a yeare, if they will follow the Canons of the Apostles and the Decrees of *Nice* and *Sardinia*. There they conferred of the Order and Direction of all affayres. There the Pastors taking knowledge one of an other enterrayned their friendships, renuyng the bonds of their affections. It serued for a bloud-letting, and a good purgation for badde humours in a corrupted Body, to preserve and keepe it in Health, Puritye, and Chastetye of the Fayth. There they shewed the power of the Spirituall Sword vpon the incorrigible, who in the end found the pappes of the Church drye for them, when through Errour, Malice, or Obstinacy, they made themselves unworthy of the sweetness of her Milke. There in the end they did strayne the strings of the Policy and Discipline of the Church, the which beeing through negligence growne slacke made no Sounde nor Harmony. In this assembly of *Gap*, (after that all the Deputies of the Prouinces of the Realme had shewed their Commissions) they began by the Inuocation of the name of GOD, the which was followed by the reading of the confession of the Fayth, wherein they did expound those things that were not playne enough. The common desire of the Ministers to see the schisme pacified that was betwixt them and the other Congregations of *Germany*, *England* and the Low Countreys, made them resolute that the Assembly should write vnto the Vniuersities both *Lutherans* and *Caluinists*, to devise some meanes to reconcile these contrarieties in some poynts of their confession.

This yeare the King did graue in the register of his vertues, a memorable example of Iustice.

A Iustice. The cause is considerable and the subiect of consequence. A yong gentlewoman of *Normandie* visited and courted by her Brother, did dayned her husband, by whome she had two Children, for that he was some-what aged and made no profession of Armes. This inequality of age together with his condition, made the Coniugall affection like vnto a small Brooke, whereof when the spring is stoppt the bedde remains drie, and there is nothing left but filthe for Toades and Froges. The Greene grasse that was vpon the bankes withereth: yea the trees that were planted along, die. This marriage, hauing lost the radicall humor of Loue, made all pleasure and content to wither, produced nothing but noise, disdain, contempt and quarrell. This miserable woman cared no more for her husband, but to drawe meanes from him to make her selfe more pleasing in the eyes of an other, delighting in Luxurioufnesse and excessse of Apparell, vnder the which the Diuill is accustomed to make open Warre to Chastetie, and to rauish the Honour of a woman, without the which her life is a life without a Bodie, a Bodie without a Soule, a Soule without a Spirit, a Spirit without Breth, and a Breth without Aire.

1603. A memorable example of a crime and of Iustice.

It seemed that the first acquaintance of this woman with her Brother, was nothing but a perfect Loue, such as Honour and that which they were one vnto another might well allowe. Who so had seene the familiarities of this Sister with her Brother, would not haue beleueed that they had made Loue, the Lawe of Nature beeing of greater force then Reason, or Truth it selfe. In the meane tyme this furie prouoked Adultery and Incest, making the Wife to abandon the Company of her Husband to cleaue vnto her Brother, who forgetting nothing that might be layd or done to couer his crime and to auoyde punishment, wandred vp and downe the Countrey with her vnder disguised names, but carrying still in his Conscience the sting and vicer of so execrable a pleasure. She grew bigge with Childe, and beleueing that in hiding her great Beilie, her offence should bee also hidden, shee caused her selfe to bee conducted into that great forest of *Paris*, where she continued with her Brother the exercises of *Cupid* and *Psyche*. The figge leaues could not couer their shame. The all-seeing eye of the diuine Iustice discouers them, and will not suffer that so infamous a Lust should continue. These violent streames beeing runne out, the Mudde and filthe that was in the bottom appered presently. The husband oppressed with so iusta grieffe, (as the Lawe doth not hold him punishable, whom it forceth to kill, the Wife beeing surprisid in Adultery) came to *Paris*, and discouered those which had deprived him both of rest and Honour, hee causeth them to be apprehended and committed prisoners, the one in the great *Chastelet*, the other in *Tour l'Euesques*. The Sister confesseth her selfe guilty of Adultery to free her Brother from Incest, laying the Childe to one that was altogether innocent. Vpon the difficulty of proofes the Lieutenant Criminall condemned them both to the racke. Hee might well haue proceeded to sentence. But considering that they must deliberate well, before they iudge of the life of a Man which is not made without care, he desired rather to proceed coldly therein then ouerboly. The Husband whose heart could not be moued to pittie, by the consideration of his two Children, appeals from this sentence of the racke. The Court considering that mildenesse doth nourish and giues more scope to vice, declares the appellation and sentence from the which he had appealed to be void, and amending it, they iudge the accused sufficiently conuicted of the crimes of Adultery and Incest, for satisfaction whereof they condemn them to loose their heads.

A sentence given by the Lieutenant Criminell.

A sentence of the Court.

The King during the Processe was often sued vnto for their pardon. But considering that in such Crimes it were impiety to shewe pittie: that mildenesse was severity, and clemency cruel, and that the most holie and the most iust of his Predecessors, reuoked a pardon which hee had giuen to a malefactor, falling vpon that verse of the Prophet David in his praier-booke. *Doe Iustice at all times*. Sayd, that hee referred it to the Iustice of his Count of Parliament. The Father desired to change the infamie of the punishment into a death lesse shameful, but longer and more cruell,

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the

1603. the which the Emperor *Opilius Marcius* vsed, causing such as were condemned for crimes to be shut vp betwixt foure Walles. Hee offered all his Lands to procure his Children that manner of punishment. This could not be, for that by the doome of the Iudgement, the execution was to be done at the Greue, where it moued pity and compassion in many, lamenting the youth of the Brother, the beauty of the Sister and the misery and blindness of them both. The yeare ended in Peace as it had begunne in pleasures and sports, there was no newe occasion offered, but the passage of the Constable of *Castille* to go into *England* for the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace betwixt the Kings of *England* and *Spaine*. The King aduertised of his passage by *Bordeaux*, sent to the Marshall *d'Ornano* to receiue him, the which he did, going to meet him with a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Country. The Emperor *Charles* the 5. passing through *France*, admitted the great and goodly Traynes of *Gouernors* of Prouinces which came to receiue him, commending them very much. The Constable of *Castille* (tuller of these *Spanish* fumes) made no great account thereof, and receiued these honours after a *Spanish* manner. The Marshall *d'Ornano* enter-tayning him with the singularities of this Realme, told him, *That hee should see a Country, yea a World in seeing Paris*. He answered him, *That he had left behinde his backe the goodliest Citties of Christendome. But they are not so Great nor so well peopled*, saide the Marshall *d'Ornano*. The People answered the Constable, *Adde nothing to the excellency of Citties, although it helpe somewhat for the strength of the State*. The Marshall asked him, *If he would not see the King*. He thowed by his answer, *That he was not greatly curious, yet must hee see him, with the respect that was due to that Maiesty*. Hee came to *Paris* with a great Trayne. The King of *Spaine* spares no cost in such occasions, and thinks no expences more royall, then those which makes his Golde to glister in the Eyes of strangers. In like sort, his Ministers and Ambassadors seeing themselves so well followed and ferued, take delight in shewing the greatnesse of their Maister, and are not silent when they must publish his power. *Mendoza* who neuer went out off his Lodging but on Horse-backe, in Litter, or in Carosse, with all his Traine, although it were but to go to the Church, the which was very neere his Lodging, hee neuer spake three words, but two were for the greatnesse of his Maister, saying often; *That God was mighty in Heauen, and the King of Spaine on Earth*. An other going out of *Rome* to accompany the Pope, went with sixe Litters, six Carosses, euery one hauing six Horles, two hundred Gromes, and three score Carts for baggage, and all for a small iourney. The Prince of *Parma*s Traine, was admirable and royall, shewing by his equipage the greatnesse of his Maister whom he ferued. The Constable of *Castille* did not hide it, neither in his Wordes, nor in his Traine, hee had alwayes some wordes of ostentation to shewe it.

Mendoza
speech.

The Constable
comes to
visit the King.

He lets him
vnderstand his
Masters affect-
ion to the
Peace.

He shewes the
Queene and
the Dauphin.

He went to the Loure and did see the King in his Cabiner, he entred with a good Grace, but statly and proude, the which was sodenly conuerted into great humility, for approaching neere vnto his Maiesty (who was sitting in a Chayre) he kneeled vpon one knee, and continued so a little longer then hee thought. The King tooke him vp, embraced him, and shewed him a very good Countenance. He spake much to assure him, that the King of *Spaine* held nothing more deere, then the preservation of the Peace; and vnlesse that time should greatly force his will, hee had no other power, but to continue it in this Resolution, and to bring forth fruites of great Loue and Friendship, the which is firme and constant betwixt equal powers. Hee heard from the King wordes of the same affection: then he tooke his leave to go see the Queene. Going downe to crosse the Court, where he was attended by his people with forty Torchets of white Waxe, hee said to some of his Company, *That the King had receiued him with the Maiesty of a King, and had embraced him as his Kinsman*.

Hauing done his duty vnto the Queene, he demanded leaue to go and see the Dauphin. The King caused him to be conducted the next day to *S. Germaine*. Being arriued there, the gaue notice to his Gouernesse, that the Constable was there with a great Traine of *Spaniards*. At that word of *Spaniards*, the little Prince opened his eyes and makes

Amakes them speak it againe. They be *Spaniards* that come to see you, *Spaniards* said the

Prince? *ça ça* giue me my sword. Who so had not known that this word came from his own mouth, would haue thought that they had printed in his fantasie the same opinion which King *Charles* the leuenth, *Lewis* the eleuenth, and *Charles* the eight had had in thier infancie of the *English* and *Bourguignons*. And if the *Spaniards* had heard him, the strangenes of such a word would haue caused them to apprehend new worke, and to feare and beleene that which the *French* souldiar faith, that they must present *Milan* for the first tryall of this yong Eaglet. The Constable admired his constant eye, and his Physiognomie, and was amazed at so great a boldnesse in that age, and so much Iudgement in that Infancie. *Monsieur* the Dauphin told him tales in his language, and

according to his vnderstanding, as *Alexander* did to the Ambassadors of *Perfit*. All the *Spaniards* did meruaile, and the more for that the dore was open for the least of the trayne. They see about him a goodly companie of young Noblemen, *Alexander Monsieur*, the Prince of *Longueuille*, and the three sonnes of the Duke of *Espernon*. The Constable of *Castille* past on to goe into *Flanders*, he came to *Bruxelles* and descended at the Archdukes Pallace, where he was well receiued, and from thence hee past into *Flanders*. Although the subiect ought not to reckon the yeares of his Prince, but to wish him a long and prosperous life, yet we must say that with the end of the last yeare the King began the foure and fifteth yeare of his age, a tearme which *Cato* held to bee ripe and well aduanced, whereunto few Kings of *France* had atteyned, and yet it hath

The King
age.

nothing abated the vigour and strength of this Prince, who is active and disposed, and as liuely as hee was at the age of thirte yeares. Cares and yeares hauing only made his beard white, it is true that now he begins to feele some flux of the gout. A disease which breeds with ease, and which comes to Princes rather by excesse, then by trauell in their youth, and which is sooner gotten by the ease of *Venus*, then by that of *Diana*, there beeing no pleasure in the world which doth not carrie some displeasure behind it. The best course is to repent the euill before they commit it, that is to say, to haue onely intented it, and the meanes to growe old is neither to doe nor to eate any thing through voluptuousnes. A great Condition or Qualitie to whom all things are lawfull that please, will find this rule of gouernment very hard. Great men commit

great excesse, and in the end they tast the fruits which they haue sowne. It is reason that after a time infirmities should cease, and cleere the troubles of their soules, as thunder and lightning doth purge the ayre, that diseases as fore-runners of death, and porters of the prison, wherein they are inclosed, should teach them that are men, and subiect to humane miseries, that they are not raysed vpon the clouds, to be free from a world of miseries, that are disperseed vpon the earth, and that they should remember that the more their delights abound, the more their strength decays, and that hee that doth least, doth least harme, and passeth the last yeares of his life with more content and lesse greefe. The King would not complaine much of that little touch of the gout, for that it had bene but gentle, and when that after his recouerie, the Courtiers did see him to weare furred boots, they sayed it was more to hould the greene in some reputation, then for any need he had. Hee did a publike Act which hath particularities worthe to bee knowne. I doe not forget these occasions, for that they sup-
Peter 222

plie the discourse of this Histone, without the which it should bee constrained to seeke for matter faire without the Realme, for of secret things and which are treated of in the Councel of the Cabaner, we must attend the knowledge therof by the euents which time shal discover, and not trouble our felues to seeke out the springs of *Nilus*. A father how great & powreful soeuer, cannot thinke too soone nor to often, to breed vp the youth of his child in vertue, nor to assure his fortune: I say a child without distinction, for although the Law doth distinguish Bastards from them that are lawfully begotten, yet nature makes no difference. The King hauing determined to make *Alexander Monsieur* (his Bastard Son,) of the order of the Knights of *Malta*, resolved to do it in time, that he might receiue the name & the effect. The great Master reputing it an honor to haue a Prince of their Company issued from so valiant and courageous

a race

1604. A race, sent all necessarie expeditions. The King hauing receiued them, would haue A
 the execution to be accompanied with a sumptuous and stately ceremonie. He caused
 the great Commander of *France* and that of *Champaigne* to come to *Paris*, and com-
 manded them to call the greatest number of Commanders and Knights they could
 thither. The King had cholen the *Augustines* Church for this effect, but the Com-
 mander of *Ville-Dieu* (being Ambassador of their Order) beseeched him that it might
 be in that of their Temple, as one of the cheefe houses of the Order. On the Sunday
 morning the King and the Queene went in one Carosse, hauing *Alexander Monsieur*
 Priors, twelve Commanders and sixteene Knights, who was deliuered by the King vnto the Grand-Prior, who attended
 him at the first gate with all the Commanders and Knights. As the Church was
 hung with the richest Tapestry that could bee found, so was it filled with that which B
 was of greatest worth in *Paris*. The Princes, the Princesses, the Cardinall of *Gondy*,
 the Popes *Nuncio*, many Bishops, the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *Venice*, the Constable,
 the Chancellor, the seuen Presidents of the Parliament, and the Knights of the order
 of the holy Ghost. The Ceremonie began by the blessing of the sword, and by the
 change of his habits, to let the Knight vnderstand that hee did bind himselfe to change
 his life, and to take vpon him the true ornaments of vertue, without the which all the
 pompe and felicitie of the world is but wind and vanitie, for being attyred in white
 tatten, layed thicke with gold lace, the sleeves whereof were garnished with rich Me-
 dailles, a Carkanet of stones crosse vnder his arme, a blacke veluet Cappe with a little
 white feather, and a band couered with great pearls, he put on a roabe of blacke taffeta,
 and was conducted neere vnto the great Altar, being accompanied by the Duke
 and Duchesse of *Vendosme*, and followed by the Commander for the conduct of this
 Ceremonie. *Saincte Foy* Bishop of *Neuers* made him a little admonition, of the great-
 nes and excellencie of the order whereinto he entred. It is the first of Christendome,
 as that of the *Germanes* is the second. Of *Calistrus*, the third. Of *S. Iaqués* in *Spain*,
 the 4. Of *Saint Marie de la Mercede* in *Arragon* the fift. Of Iesus Christ in *Portugall*,
 the sixth. Of *Saint Lazare* and *Saint Maurice* in *Sauoy* the 7. Of *Saint Stephen* in *Tof-
 care* the eight. This exhortation ended, the Masse began, and after the Gospell, *A-
 lexander Monsieur* presented himselfe vpon his knees before the Grand-Prior of
France, with a burning torch of white waxe in his hand, to demand the Order. Hereat D
 the King (who was set vnder a rich cloth of Estate of Purple veluet imbroydred, in
 the midst of the quier) left his place, and comming neere to helpe him to answer, he
 sayd aloud, that he left the ranke of a King to doe the office of a Father. The Grand-
 Prior gaue him the Order after the accustomed manner, and after Masse was done, as
 a new Knight he presented himselfe the second time to make profession. The King ad-
 uanced againe, and promised for him, that comming to the age of sixteen yeares, he
 should make the vowes and profession perfect. They be the same vowes which reli-
 gious men doe make, Obedience, Pouertie, and Chastitie. Hee did his Obedience in
 the same place, and then being disrobed, the Grand-Prior set vpon his brest, a pla-
 stron of blacke tatten, with a great white Crosse, and so the Ceremonie ended with
 great ioy and founding of Trompeters. The new Knight feasted the Grand-Priors of
France and *Champaigne*, with the Commanders and Knights at the Temple, and the
 King went to dine with *Zamet*.

This order hath alwaies affected two kinds of Knights, some for seruice, and others
 for honor, and both for the greatnes, defence, and support of the Order. There haue
 beene children of the greatest and mightiest houses of Christendome, who although
 they doe no seruice in effect, (being dispensed withall) yet they profit their profession
 much, by the entertainment and communication of friendships and respects of their
 houses, to the common good of the Order. Others that are issued from the noblest
 families of all the Nations of the world, are bound vnto actuall seruice in the I-
 land, they haue all the Mediteranian Sea for the Carire of their exercise, and all the
 world for witnesses of their glorie. After that they haue done the seruice which they
 owe vnto the Order, they cannot grow old in pouertie, and in this assurance they goe
 more

The King
 doeth the office
 of a Father.

The Order of
 Malta hath
 of the cheefe
 houses of
 Christendome.

A more willingly to all occasions that demand a prooffe of their valour, being reasona-
 ble to hazard themselves in great enterprises, to merit great recompences. The sea-
 son is fayre vnder the newe raigne of the Emperor of the *Turkes*, who although hee
 were a childe, and entring into the foureteenth yeare of his age, yet he gaue generous
 prooffes of his disposition to War, and the *Turkes* thinke to see spring vp in him the
 Hatred and Fury of *Sultan Soliman* against the Christians, and that hee should begin
 his raigne by the Conquest of *Malitha*, as the other did by *Rhodes*. Although he de-
 fire of these *Barbarians* to subdue the Christians be insatiable, yet if they could gette
Malitha, they would hold themselves content. There is none but this *Morceli* that
 can satisfie them: the Wolfe would be no more a Wolfe if hee were full: but *Solim*
 thinking to swallow it once, had like to haue choked, and so may all they doe, that
 do attempt it. *Amet* then the newe Emperor of the *Turkes*, presently after the death
 of *Mahomet* his Father, (who ended his life with the end of the last yeare) went to
 the *Mosquee*, neere vnto *Constantine* to put on the Sword of his Fore-fathers. By
 their example hee should haue put his brother to death, but hee referred him vntill he
 was of age, to haue children, so as the byrth of the first childe of this Prince, shall bee
 the ineuitable death of the brother. He let them presently see that his youth should
 not be incapable of affaires as they thought. Hee caused his Grand-mother to bee
 tequestred, who would rule, as she had done in the life of *Mahomet* her Sonne, bee-
 ing Ambitious, Proud, and Imperious in her passions: hauing great authority, and
 great Treasure to maintaine it, and to get more: being supported in her desseignes by
 the worst and most factious of the Empire. He said, that he would go to the Wars
 of *Hungary* in person: he made many goodly Orders to reforme the Discipline and
 to ease the people. He fell sicke of the small pox, and kept his Chamber for some
 dayes. After his recovery he shewed himselfe often vnto his people. The present hee
 gaue vnto his Souldiars (as the newe Emperors doe) was of two Millions and a
 halfe; The *Saphis* which are the Horsemen, had ten Crownes a man, and five Aspres
 a day more, to increase their pay, the Janissaries had thirty Crownes, and one As-
 pre more of pay. The cheefe Officers of the Court did also taste of this libera-
 lity. His Father had caused his first *Visier* to bee strangled. *Aly Bascha* Gouvernor of
 great *Caire* entred into this charge, the Fall and Ruine of the one, was the rising
 and setting vp of the other.

There is no place so great among the *Turkes*, as the dignity of the first *Visier*. Hee
 alone holds the keynes and Helme of the Empire. He is the first of the *Baschas*, whose
 name is a Diminutive of *Padachaas*, that is to say, Great Emperor. *Cyale* represented
 vnto this young Prince, the quality of his deserts, to merite this charge: but hee
 was answered; That it was referred for *Aly Bascha*, and that hee should content himselfe
 with the Admiralty of the Seas. That which did much helpe to raise *Aly Baschas* for-
 tune, was the treasure which he brought out of *Egypt*; and the great reputation of Iu-
 stice and Witdome that he had gotten in that Prouince, the gouernement whereof is
 no lesse affected among the *Turkes*, then it was in former times among the *Romaines*.
 In his way he had caused a Rebel of some countenance and authority to bee strangled,
 who had presented himselfe vnto him to haue a pardon. He entred into this charge, &
 settled the affaires with great order, in the conduct whereof hee left great proofes of
 his Witdome and Iustice. But he presently left the place vnto another.

The death of *Mahomet* was not published in the Army of *Hungary* by any other
 then by the Generall. Great accidents may not be sodainly deliuered vnto the peo-
 ple, nor without good consideration, for the Inconueniences which the sodaine
 amazement doth cause. This death did not breake of nor any thing alter the Treaty
 of a Truce or of a Peace in *Hungary*. The negotiation was continued in an Island aboue
Buda and *Pesse*, but with small effect. The Emperor distrusting the King of *France*,
 who onely had the meanes to ende it happily and profitably: But it were to Treat
 of impossibilities to make the Princes of the house of *Austria* trust vnto the Councils
 of

1604.
 The Knights
 neuer growe
 old & poore.

The *Turkes*
 thinke their
 Emperor will
 proue an other
Soliman.

La Vallette
 great Master
 forced *Solim* to
 rule the tege
 in the yeare
 1565.

Amet Empe-
 ror of the
Turkes,
 He leizeth vp
 on his Grand-
 mothers
 Treasure.

1604. of the French, and it is an act of great indiscretion in Christians, to trust vnto these *Bar-*
barians who haue neither Faith nor Truth. The first enemy that shewed himselfe a-
 gainst *Ameth* was the King of *Persia*, who came neere vnto *Babilon*, giuing the *Soul-*
 diars to vnderstand that were within it, that it was onely to deliuer the from the yoke
 and oppression of the *Turkes*, to change their condition into a better, and their ser-
 uitude into Liberty. This made the people of *Asia* to conceiue some hope of better
 vltage, vnder the raigne of this young Prince. But euery one desired to change his
 Maister, vpon a conceit that this change should be profitable, notwithstanding that
 any alteration in an Estate is mortall: He tooke *Tauris* (the cheefe City of *Persia*) and
Anziron a strong place in the Mountaynes of the *Georgians*, and others which re-
 mayned to the *Turkes* by the Treaty of Peace.

This yeare died the Archbishop of *Mentz*. Wherevpon the Chapter tooke vpon the
 the Administration of the Archbishopricke, according to the ancient rights, and gaue
 a day to assemble for the election. Many Noblemen were there present, the Bishop
 of *Wirtzburg* came, not vpon an Ass, like vnto the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, not
 on foote, as *S. Hillary* entred into *Rome*, but on Horsebacke, followed by two hun-
 dred Horse. The Prelats of *Germany* are dispensed of the condition which *Christostome*
 desired in a good Bishop, not to ride on Horsebacke, nor allowing Bishops to ride
 vpon Asses or Moyles, nor to be followed by many seruants. The Election was made
 in the Cathedrall Church of *Mentz*, whereas all the people were assembled, not to
 giue any voyce, but to see the liberty of Suffrages, and the Order and Ceremonie of
 this action. The Chanoins began it, calling vpon the Holy Ghost to giude their reso-
 lutions. The went into the Chapter, and came not forth vntill two of the clocke in
 the Afternoone, where by plurality of voyces the Election was concluded in fauour
 of one of the House of *Crembourg*. The Bishop of *Wirtzburg* led him before the
 great Altar, where he was set, wiping away the teares of Ioy, whilst that the Clergy
 gaue thanks for this Election. This done, the Chapter gaue him a little note in his
 hand, with the which he went towards the Castle, being followed by the Popes *Nun-*
tio, the Emperors Ambassador, the Bishop of *Wirtzburg*, and many Noblemen that
 were there assembled, to honour the election of the first Prelate of *Germany*. Being
 come vnto the Castle gate, he founde it shut, and the Gouverneur asked him what he
 would. As soone as he had seen the note from the Chapter, he did his duty to him,
 and presently all the Gates were opened, and the Artillery discharged. This forme of
 Election which is done with Order, Liberty, and knowledge of Merits, is more profi-
 table vnto the Church, then all that which is done by the authoritie of Princes, who
 many times commit great charges to men vnknowne, and of small merit: or by the
 tumultuary opinions of people, who haue nothing to do in it. Seeing that our way to
 retorne into *France*, is to passe by the territories of the Duke of *Lorraine*, we shall find
 all there in teares and mourning, for the death of the Lady *Katherine* of *Bourbon*,
 Duchesse of *Bar*, and the Kings onely Sister, shee had bene tormented with a conti-
 nual Feauer, and there were some signes of beeing with child. All the Physitions sayd,
 shee was not with child, one onely maintayned the contrary, and she beleued his opi-
 nion, for that he was of the Religion, neither would she take any thing but from his
 hands, for that we beleue that easily which we desire. She grewe in choller against
 them which imputed her distease to any other cause, saying; *That they neither desired*
her contentment nor her Husbands. She thought she could not endure too much to be-
 come a Mother. This beleefe that shee had a childe in her body made herto bring
 forth death, rejecting all kindes of remedies to preserve her frute. If the Physition
 which had ministred to her as a Woman with childe, had not fled to *Metz*, and from
 thence to *Sedan*, all his Physicke could not haue kept him from death. The profession
 of Physitions hath this Priuilege; that the Sunne sees their practise, and the Earth
 hides their faults.

The Duke of *Lorraine* did her no lesse honour after her death, then he had witnessed
 it in her life. Hee sent vnto the King an Inuentory of her Jewells. Hee caused the
 body

A body to be conducted vnto the frontier of *France*, in a Carosse well appointed, coue-
 red with blacke Veluet, and drawne with foure Horses. The foure Bailifes of *Lorraine*
 carried the foure corners of the Cloth which covered the Coffin: three score Gen-
 tlemen marched before with the Gards. The Earle of *Chaligny* and some Noblemen
 of the Country went after it. There were twelue *Suisses* which marched on either side.
 It was receiued vpon the frontier by those whom the King had appointed. The In-
 habitants of *Troyes* would haue receiued it with a Canopy, but *Tinteuille* thought it
 not fit, neither would the King haue taken it well. She was much lameted by the Duke
 of *Bar*, who could not haue bene Husband to a better Wife, nor she Wife to a bet-
 ter Husband. The fift yeare of their Marriage was with as great respect and loue as the
 first. The affections of this Prince and this Princeesse, were in such harmony that be-
 sides the diuersity of Religion, you would haue sayd they were but one Soule, not
 in two bodies, but in one called by two names, for they spake with one mouth and
 thought with one heart. And it there be any content in dying amidst the contents of
 this world, this Princeesse protested that she had neuer content in this world more per-
 fect then in *Lorraine*. The Duke of *Lorraine* and the Duke of *Bar* desired as well to see
 her satisfied for doubts of religion. They conitured her in the extremity of her sicknes
 to thinke of her Soules helth, but she sayd vnto them that she would die as she had li-
 ued. She was no more forced in the exercise of her Religion at *Nancy* then at *Nerac*.
 True it is that she went to receiue the Communion without the Towne, and had pre-
 ching and Prayers in her house but for her selfe onely and her followers, without the
 which shee had bin much honored of the *Lorrains*, and at that time more then before,
 the Pope hauing granted a dispensatiō of the marriage. When the newes of her death
 was brought vnto the King, the chiefe of his Councell came presently to apply some
 remedy to this wound. He found that they came to that end, & therefore he comanded
 them to leaue him alone, & that he would resolute with God. He caused the Dores and
 Windowes of his Cabinet to bee shut, casting him selfe vpon his bed, to weepe more
 freely, and to ease his greefe in the liberty of his sighes. All the Court did morne, and
 the Ambassadors presented themselves in that habit vnto the King, to condole this
 death in the behalfe of their Maisters. The Popes *Nuncio* was some-what troubled in
 this complement, & would not mourne at an accident for the which those of his pro-
 fession could not weepe. The King said that he would not tie him to it against his liking,
 but he would be glad not to see him, vntill his time of mourning were past. Some other
 would not haue spoken so mildely, & we knowe that Princes haue showne strange ef-
 fects of their choller against Ambassadors, that haue failed in the honor and respect of
 these complements. The *Nuncio* being better aduised resoluēd to apply himselfe to the
 time and to do as the rest, thinking that it would not bee taken ill at *Rome*, knowing that
 he did it onely to please the King and to haue audience. But he had some difficulty to
 decipher himself when he was to speake vnto the King, for he could not vnder one ha-
 bit play two contrary personages, neither had hee words in his mouth nor teares in his
 eyes for this sorrow. He that will ease an others grieve must shew that he hath a part &
 feeling thereof. Hee went after an other maner, and his spirit did fit him with an other
 kinde of complement, the which although it were free, yet was it not vnpleasing. Hee
 sayd vnto the King that such as knew what he was, and in whose name hee spake, would
 wonder at the office which he did, but he had more occasion then any other, for that al-
 lamented the losse of the Body, but his Maister the losse of the Soule. The King sayd
 vnto him, that hee beleued his Sister was faued, for that in the last gaspe an extreame
 griefe might carry her right into Heauen, the *Nuncio* replied. My Lord that discourses is
 more Metaphisicall then Physicall, and so they both entered into other talke.

The great Duke of *Tuscany* had an enterprise profitable & glorious for Christendō.
 The Knights of his Order presented unto him often many occasions, which might fill
 their hands with palmes and charge the *Turkes* with blowes and shame: hee made
 choise of the most difficult & important, in burning of the *Turkes* gallies at *Algier*, that
 he might make all that season fruitlesse and his preparation vnprofitable. The time did
 haue

The King of
Persia in
 armes.

The Archbi-
 shop of *Mentz*
 dies.

A new Electō

In a Schu-
 lar of the
 house of *Crem-*
bourg chosen
 Archbishop of
Mentz the 7
 of Feb. 1604.

The death of
 the Duchesse
 of *Bar*.

The priuile-
 ge of Physitions.

1604. The funerals
 Pompe of the
 Duchesse of
Bar.

A marriage of
 great content.

After five
 years in-
 stance made
 by the King,
 the Pope
 granted a dis-
 pensation of
 the marriage.

The Kings
 sorrow for
 the death of
 his sister.

The Duke of
Muscovy caused
 an Amb-
 assadors Hat
 to be nyled
 to his head.

The burning
 of the *Turkes*
 gallies at *Al-*
ger.

1604 hasten the execution, but the wisdom of the great Duke did iudge, that the stay was more safe then the hazard, & if a *Diomedes* were fit to do this enterprize, an *Ulysses* was as necessary to condu& it, Policy & Wisdom being better then Force. An *English* Captain arriued happily with a Ship laden with Marchandize, for a Marchant of *Pisa*. The great Duke informes himselfe of him, in what estate the Gallies were in the Port of *Algier*. He told him that they were eight in number, ready to set sayle in the beginning of *Aprill*, & to scowre along that coast. The great Duke discovered his desseigne vnto him; the Captaine gaue him some reasons to make this enterprize easie, and the great Duke meanes to execute it. He laded his ship with Salt, vnder the which he had hidden his Fire-works, Powder, & Armes, and to the end that (if the execution succeeded not as he hoped) the King of *England* should not be offended, he left the *English* Flag, and tooke that of the *Estates* of *Holland* and *Zeland*. Hee entred the Port of *Algier*, making a shew that he would vnlade his Salt; Where finding two other *English* Vessells, he discovered his desseigne vnto the Captaine, offering them part of the Honour and Profit of the execution, if they would hazard themselves in the same danger. They agree, and prepare for it happilie, taking such good opportunity to cast the fire, as if the great Duke had bin as well serued by them which made the artificiall fires, as by them which cast the, the *Turke* had saued nothing of his Gallies but the ashes, which the Winde had left vpon the Port, and the spoyle of this Pyrat had beene preuented.

He had another Enterprize against the *Turke*, where in he was not hindred but by the Infidelity of those to whom he had giuen the Word & Faith of a Prince to dwell safely in his *Estates*. The *Jewes* which liue at *Lisorno* did discouer it, giuing intelligence thereof so soone, as the *Mariners* (which came from the *Leuant* and past by the Port) said, that they attended the great Dukes Gallies in *Negrepont*. The great Duke did but laugh at it. There be the effects of Fidelity and Affection which Princes may expect in nourishing those Serpents in their bosomes. The *Jewes* bee the *Turkes* best spies, who knowes that they are made against Christians with an implacable furye. Curst Dogges are kept tyed all day, and let loose at night. But these People should be straitly garded at all times. And in all places, they should be still kept in seruitude, as their rebellion against the Truth hath deserued.

The King of *Spainne* is offended that the *French* go to serue Prince *Maurice*, to hinder his brother the Archduke in the taking of *Offend*: That he lends them money, & that he prohibits his Subjects to trafficke into *Spainne* and *Flanders*. The King saies, that he hath not therby any cause to complaine. For the first, he doth not aduow them that go to serue the States. For the second he restores that which they haue lent him, & paises in small summes the grosse which he had receiued in his necessity. But the King hath two great occasions to be offended with the King of *Spainne*. The one was that he refused to reuoke the imposition of 30. in the 100. which he hath set vpon all Marchandize that goes in or comes out of *Spainne*. Vpon this refusal he was coucilled to forbid the *French* to Trafficke into *Spainne* or *Flanders*. The Marchants of the Towns of Traffike, made great sute to haue it taken awaye, and deliuered in reason that deserued consideration, if the King had not had others of greater importance, the which made him to continue constant, although he in his own priuate receiued more prejudice then any other, by the great diminution of his Customes. But he respected not this losse in regard of a greater good, hauing found that the continuance of the Traffike which the *French* made into *Spainne* & into the Archdukes Countries, would be more ruinous then profitable vnto the, for the great and insupportable impositions which they lay vpon the Marchandize that went in or out off their *Estates*. The King of *Spainne* should haue pleased many, if hee would haue made shewe of this discontent vpon this Interdiction. But he had other thoughts. And hauing had some speech with the Ambassador of the King of *Cusco* at *Valence*, many beleued that he would againe attempt *Algier*, for that he caused him to be conducted by a Master of the Campe & an Ingener, with great store of munition and wilde fire laden in three Frigats.

This Inhibition did nothing alter the Peace of *Veruins*, as they desired which cannot carry their Hands but vpon the pomells of their Swordes, their Feet but vpon a breach

A breath and their eyes, but vpon a place of Battaille, but a wise Prince doth neuer vnderstand any Warre lightly, considering that the time of frindship is more sweete then that of reuenge. The other cause of offence was that hee did withdrawe the Kings Subjects from their faith and loyalties, and that he alwaies entertained some Traitors in *France*. Desbarreaux the Kings Ambassador in *Spainne* complained often by his letters, that he was ill informed of the affaires, and so late as the King of *Spainnes* ministers vnderstood the before him. The King was much troubled to discover this treachery, which came to a place that was without all suspicion. Villeroi had a yong man in his seruice, in whom he trusted, for that he must of force trust some one, and this confidence tried by many yeares seemed to be the more certaine, for that he was Son to a Father who neuer had other Maister nor better Fortune. He gaue him vnto *Rocheport* going to remaine Ambassador in *Spainne*, to serue him for a Secretary, and in a small time he grew so capable both of the Language and Maners of the *Spaniards*, as he did write, speake & treat like vnto a naturall *Spaniard*. He was some-what discontented with his Master, & to vrona disphight hee resolved to betray him, discovering his intention to a *French-man* called *Raffis*, who was retired into *Spainne* for some crime that was not pardoned nor abolished by the Edict of Peace. He presents himself vnto one of the King of *Spaines* Secretaries, and offers his Honor and his Conscience to his seruice. Hee made no great esteeme thereof, thinking it to bee but the wandring liberty and fantasies of a yong man, & the first motion of his defection a heat of youth, a fire of straw for some discontent.

B Hee made no great esteeme thereof, thinking it to bee but the wandring liberty and fantasies of a yong man, & the first motion of his defection a heat of youth, a fire of straw for some discontent. A *French* inconstancy fit to receiue all sorts of formes and changes, & in a word, a bad Seruant for a good Maister. Hee sayd vnto him that the King of *Spainne* resolved not to studie any more in the Bookes of an others heart, hauing so good Intelligence with the King of *France*, as he desired not to vnderstand his affaires by any other Instrument then his Ambassadors. This answer which did not satisfie his opinion, made him not to change his resolution. He adrest himselfe vnto an other who was one of the chiefe of the King of *Spaines* Councell, who considering howe much it doth import a Prince to knowe his Neighbors secrets, and that hee could not giue to much for a good Intelligence, a faithfull Spie, and a confident Traitor (which they must seeke out by all means) hee gaue eare to this yong man, and iudging that a Traitor may be made of any mettall and that in the like occurrents they must tast and heare all, he gaue him good entertainment, incouraging him to continue in his resolution, making him great promises in recompence of his treacheries. He sent him backe to him to whom he had first discovered himself, assuring him that he should giue him satisfaction. He returned to the first, who being aduised by the second, that the neglect of such an occasion did wrong the Kings seruice and the duty of his charge, he considered more exactly of his offer, assuring him that hee did willingly imbrace it, & that his seruice should bee respected, by the King of *Spainne*. He makes him to speake with the Duke of *Lerma*, whom (for the first prooue of his deuotion, and of that which he could do) he did acquaint with the Kings letters sent to the Ambassador his Master. Here the bargain was concluded, & the Treason framed and fauored with a present of twelue hundred Crownes, & an assurance of the like yearly pension, & more according to his seruice. *Rocheport* finishing not the time of his Ambassage, the miserable wretch was out of hope to enioy a detour that which was promised, if he did not continue to giue the intelligence.

C Hee therfore workes so as he returnes into seruice with his first Master, after that *Rocheport* had assured him that he had serued him well & faithfully in his Ambassage. In his Cabinet spring all desseigns, all executions are framed, there is the Table of all that passe throughout the world, hee alone knowes the affaires of *France*, hee is acquainted with the most secret and doth manage the greatest. The first Law for such as enter into his seruice (and there is not any one that is not well knowne and tried: the Kings chiefe seruants holding it an Honor to place their Children in this Academy of affaires of State) is secrecy and loyalty, for that the most important expeditions for the Kings seruice, or of this State come out of his head, and passe through the hands of such as he trusts, to reduce them into forme. The aduices which they giue or receiue from the

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1604. Kings Ambassadors and Agents that reside with Princes and Potentates, both within A
and without Christendome, being alwaies in Cipher, they are left to such as haue
the couer-Cipher to decipher, relying vpon their fidelities. This yong man being re-
turned to his first condition, but not to his first dutie, continued to giue intelligence to
the Ambassador of *Spaine*, of that which hee did see & learne by the dispatches which
he did cipher and decipher, and to aduance the King of *Spaine* seruice, he hindered the
Kings, giuing *Taxis* the *Spanish* Ambassador, and after his departure, *Saniga* his succe-
sor in that charge, meanes to dispatch their Posts with such aduantage, as the King of
Spaine was still aduertised before the Ambassador of *France*, whereof he complained.
He discovered it more plainly vpon this occasion. The King had written a letter to
his Ambassador to acquaint the Popes *Nuncio* with a part thereof, and to keep the rest
secret. Hauing receiued it, he commanded one of his seruants to shew the Kings letter
vnto the *Nuncio*, vnto a certaine place & to conceale the rest. He goes vnto the Popes
Nuncio, who had bene already informed of the busines, by one of the King of *Spaine*
Secretaries. He red the letter, and past not the place which the Ambassador had markt.
The *Nuncio* seeing that he stayd there, told him that he knew the rest, & that the King
of *Spaine* Secretarie had acquainted him therewith. This being reported to the Am-
bassador, he knew well that he was sold, and the King betrayed. Hee could not but ad-
uertise the King thereof. *Rffis* taking this occasion for the furest meanes to worke his
peace, goes vnto the Ambassador, & tels him that he had meanes to discover a Tray-
tor vnto the King, who reuealed his secrets. The Ambassador gaue him letters, and C
assured him of what he desired for his pardon, and of a greater recompence. He takes
post to returne into *France*, the King of *Spaine* ministers were presently aduertised of
his departure, they speedely dispatch a Courrier to the Ambassador, to assure him
that there was one gone out of *Spaine*, by whose meanes the King might discover the
treacheries of *Leslé*, commanding him to do what he could to saue him, and to charme
him to silence, that being taken he might not reueale that which could not be known
nor discovered but by his owne mouth. The Ambassador giues him notice there-
of 2. houres before the King was aduertised, telling him that hee was vndone if he did
not flee. It is easie to perswade a miserable man to flee, who feares the paine of his wic-
kednes, and cannot endure the testimonie of his conscience. Hee fled, but the euasion D
of the bodie was his ruine, and to saue his head, he lost both body & soule. for the King
hauing sent diuers Pursuits to pursue him, & hauing bin ouertaken by him of *Meunx*,
at *Fay*, neere vnto *La Ferte* vnder *Iouarre*, vpon the way to *Lorraine*, the which he took
to get out of the Realme, he cast himselfe into the river of *Marne*, and so was drowned.
A iust reward for such a treachery. A miserable dispaire for him, but happie for those
who had lost the hope of their safety if he had had time to discover their practises. The
King was forrie that he was not taken alive, from whome he might haue drawne some
light for the good of his seruice. But his master was so extremely greued, that he wish-
ed a more exemplary Iustice for so great a disloyaltie, and a more perfect knowledge
of the effects, and of the complices of this treacherie. Doubtles this was a great af-
fliction vnto him, the which he did not dissemble in his letters written to his friends,
thanking the Gouernor of *Lions*, for that hee had kept good gard, least this wretch
should passe through his gouernment: he sayd that hee was much greued, that this
disloyal Traytor, who had betrayed his King, his Country and his Master, had wilfully
drowned himselfe, for he deserved a more seuerer and shamelull end, in regard of the
Kings seruice and his own particular. The bodie of this wretch (who had sold himselfe
vnto the *Spaniards*) was drawne in peeces by foure horses. The punishment was with-
out any feeling for him, but it did torment the wicked with a shamelull feare, and did
trouble the good with a pittiles horror.

Soone after the King discovered a new practise against his seruice and the *Daulphins*. F
The winds are inuisible, but they that blow them to gather these clouds together were
well knowne, and from what coast they came. They were but sparkes of fire, as soone
quencht as kindled. The King did write vnto some of his cheefe and principall
seruants

The Traytor
Leslé drowns
himselfe.

Villerois letter
to *La Guiche*
the 29. of Ap-
rill, 1604.

Execution of
a dead bodie.

A seruants in these termes. You must take it for a good signe, that you heare so seldom 1604.
from me by letter, for it is a signe that all is well God be thanked, as well for my person
as for my affaires. The *Spaniards* would willingly haue more matter & oftener, for they
cannot desist from their ordinary practises to corrupt my seruants. I haue of late dis-
couered some newe desseigne, in the which my Nephewe the Count of *Auvergne* and
Seigneur of *Entragues* are named, the which they haue willingly aduowed and con-
fessed. But I haue taken so good an order as no inconuenience shall happen.

The ninth of Iune the Pope created eightene Cardinals, not according to the pas-
sion of great Princes that had intreated him, nor to the liking of his kinsmen, know-
ing that his Predecessors had conferred those dignities vpon vnworthy persons, (set
B Scarlet hats vpon heads without vnderstanding, and giuen *Pasquin* occasion to com-
plaine, that some approached neere vnto *Saint Peters* chaire that were more stoanes,
and had lesse braines then hee had: The King had recommended many great Prelats
of *France* to bee remembered at the first promotion, to supply their places that were
dead. Among them that were newly created, there were two *French* and two *Spaniards*.
The *Spanish* Ambassador made great instance to haue more, and not to haue his Mas-
ter equalled by the King of *France*. The first in the list was *Seraphin Olinari* Patriark of
Alexandria, by race an *Italian* but borne at *Lions*, one of the most Iudicious Prelats of
his age. Only vertue aduanced him to this dignity, and the King made great instance for
him by *Bethunes* his Ambassador. *Leames Dany* Bishop of *Eureux* receiued the like Ho-
nor by the Kings recommendations. His seruices in reconciling the King with the
C Pope, his Lerner writings and his knowledge in Diuinity, did worthily purchase him
this Honour. The rest were all *Italians* except *Bernard Matzeiouischi* Bishop of *Cra-
couia* a *Polonian*. Cardinal *Aldobrandin* did also aduance *Herminio* his Secretary to this
Honour, of whome there is so much spoken in the discourse of the *Warres* of *Sauoy*.
Anselme Marzat a *Capuchin* of *Monopoli* was forcibly drawne into the number by the
Popes expresse commandement, hauing once refused this dignity, and protesting
with teares of the iniury that was done vnto *Saint Francis* and the strict-rules of his
Order. Of all the eightene that were made Cardinals, their was not any but this
Capuchin but did affect it, and many others that did expect it were disapointed. There
D was some feare least the Controuersie betwixt the Count of *Fuertes* and the *Grisons*
should drawe a ciuill Warre into *Italie*, vnder the pretext of Religion. The reason of
this trouble grewe, for that he would force the *Grisons* to breake the alliance they had
made the last yeare with the *Venetians*, and to make that which they had with *France*
fruitlesse. The King aduertised of these practises, commanded *de Vie* his Ambassador
to goe vnto *Coire*, and to represent vnto that people the wrong they should doe vnto
their reputations in forsaking the faith and obseruation of their Treaties. Out of the
discours which *de Vie* did vse vnto them, to perswade them to the keeping of their
word, these points were collected of the inuiolable firmenesse of their word and oth.

There must be many acts of vertue to purchase and maintayne a great and good re-
putation, one onely action to the contrary doth ouerthrow it, and smotheres the
remembrance thereof. It is gotten by many commendable and vertuous actions,
but that which proceeds from Constancy and Generosity in the obseruation of prom-
ises, is so much the more commendable, for that it is grounded vpon Faith and Rel-
igion which bee the two pillars that do assure and maintayne Estates.

The Ancients haue sayd that Faith was the foundation of Iustice, the Honour of
Heauen and Earth, without the which the World could not continue in Peace, and
they erected her Altar neere vnto that of thundring Iupiter, to shewe that God is the
reuerger of the breach of Faith. And Religion is so proper to Man and to the socie-
ty of Men, that as Man cannot be Man without it, so there is no Nation howe barba-
rous soeuer, that liues without some shadowe of Religion. As they haue the
best part of essence and the solemnity of Alliances and Confederations, in the which
God is called on as a witnesse and Iudge of their Intentions that doe promise and
binde themselves; so is hee greatly wronged in the breach of promises. And there-
fore

Creation of
newe Cardi-
nals.

Troubles be-
twixt the *Gri-
sons* and the
Count of *Fu-
ertes*.

De Vie disco-
uers vnto the
Grisons.

Religion one
of the pillars
of a State.

1604. fore the commendations that are giuen to many Nations are held vaine and ridiculous being separated from this constant and immutable affecton of keeping their faith. As the *Greekes* haue beene commended for many actions of Valour and Vertue, the which notwithstanding vanish away shamefully, in the reproch which hath alwayes bene made vnto them, to deny their words easily, and neuer to binde themselves, but with an intent not to hold. And contrariwise the memory of the Faith and Constancy of the *Romains* is immortall, who abhorred the breach of promises, and held it an inexpressible Crime to violate Treaties. It is not Armes alone, but the constancy of Religion and their faith giuen, that had raised them to so great a power, as they held in their hands the Reynes of all the Prouinces of the habitable Earth. In the beginning, the neighbour people did not esteeme them as a City, but rather a campe of Theeues, a nest of Tyranny, and a Cittadell in the midst of them, to trouble and practise all the furies of their Ambition. But when as they vnderstood that Faith only and a simple oath (all feare of punishment layde aside) did gouerne the City, they grewe to such Reuerence and Respect, as they held it a greater happines, to obey a people so generous in their actions, so constant in their Words, and so religious in their oaths, then to command ouer others. The formes of the Common weale of the *Grifons* haue great conformities with the politike and military Lawes of the *Romains*: and as it yeelds nothing vnto them in Valour and Generosity, so hath it alwayes preferred (like vnto them) the Religion of their Word and Promise, holding publike Faith the Foundation and Ground-woke of Estates, as Treachery is the Plague and Ruine thereof. This sufficeth to shew howe odious the Perswasions or rather Practises and Inchauntments of those should bee, that counsell them to reuoke the Alliance made and sworne with the Common-weale of *Venice*.

The estate of
ancient *Rome*.

Which be
good Coun-
cells.

Wee must cherish and respect the Councells and Remedies of such as loue the sicke Patient, but we must suspect all things that come from the hand of a Neighbour that is an enemy, they minister nothing how sweete soeuer, which causeth not great Motions and Alterations in the Bodye. His Honey is worse then that of *Cholches*, which did not infect the Heart, nor trouble the Vnderstanding but for a day. In the distinction and choise of aduice, wee must preferre those that preferre Honour and augment Posterity, before those that dissolve the Concord and Quiet of an estate. Those (sayd a great Orator to the Atheniens) are to be credited that Counsell to entertaine Alliances with friends, for there is nothing more befitting a free City then the care and loue of Equity and Iustice. Those that by their pollicies and roughnesse, would separate the *Grifons* from the Alliance of their friends, haue happily some desseignes vpon their liberty, the which they cannot execute better then by cutting off the number of their friens, the which can neuer bee too great howe great and mighty soeuer he be. And if they haue not this desseigne, yet their Councell is alwayes vnjust, seeing the effect concerns the shame and ignominy of this Nation, which cannot go from the truth of their promises, vnlesse they wil be generally taxed for treachery and basenesse. A reproch so much the more to bee feared, being certaine that as soone as a Common-weale hath giuen any subiect to doubt of her Faith, shee must inuent newe formes of Religion to purchase credit with other Estates, and vknowne people, to trust vnto their promises: for such as knowe the deceiuers will auoyde the deceit. And although among the corruptions of our age faying and dissembling be esteemed vertues, & haue in the opiniõ of the vulgar notable qualities, yet among those that haue conteyned themselves within the boundes of ancient Integrity, and knowe not the pollicies and deceits of the new-come. The people that are defamed for treachery and disloyaltie loose all their friends.

And in the end this Alliance hath bin sworne by the most sollempne acts of Religion. The name of the lyuing God (who should not be taken in vaine, and is polluted by the lightnesse of an oath) hath bene called vpon. It is an extreame Impiety, to make that Soueraigne Spirit, that Infinite Immutable and Incomprehensible Essence, who

A who is all Iustice and all Trueth, a witnesse of our basenesse and lying, that the Honnestie of his name should couer our Dissembling, his Iustice our Wrong, his Trueth our Deceit, and approue that which naturall Reason cannot allowe of. And this bond of Faith giuen, is of such necessity, as it must be kept euen with Enemies, whereof that great Capitaine *Iosua* hath left a memorable example, refusing to breake the Treaty which hee had made with the *Gabionites*, Pagan Infidells; Although hee had discovered their deceite, and was intreated by the chiefe of the Army to loose their Alliance. The answer he gaue them was grounded vpon Reason, saying; *That they had giuen them their Faith, and that they must feare least the furie of God (by whose Name they had sworne) should come vpon them.*

B There was great difficultie to retayne these people inclining to change, vpon the huge promises made them by the Count of *Fuentes*. They could not resolve in their Councells. The weight of will and hope carried them away. Hee would reduce them to extreame necessity, taking from them the Commerce of *Milan*, without the which, they could not liue. The *Grifons* Estate is merely popular, consisting of fixe and twenty Comunalties, the which are diuided into three Cantons. It is a difficultie to finde any thing equall, constant, or well aduised among so many Heads, bredde vp in the Maximes of a Democratic. The Count of *Fuentes* had debauched foure; who had like to haue corrupted the rest, as a little Leuaine marres a great lump of Dowe. For they stucke onely vpon Money, which the one demanded and the other offered. He gaue so good entertainment to the Ambassadors that came to him to *Milan*, as they passed so many Articles as he pleased, applying themselves to his humour of Peace, which being dishonorable is of worse condition for Free men then Warre it selfe. But when at their returne they would haue drawne the people to allowe thereof, the Ambassador of *France* arrived so happily as hee let them vnderstand the preiudice and wrong that they did vnto themselves. So as the best aduised being informed of this surprize, resolved not to stray from the obseruation of the Alliances of *France* and *Venice*, nor to depend for their passages, vpon the aduice and command of the Count of *Fuentes* nor of his successors, as he had bound them by his Articles, presuming that he could defend with

The great promises of the Count of *Fuentes* to the *Grifons*.

C Sword, that which hee had gotten with Gold. True it is that they made offer to enter into a new Capitulation of all that might be without preiudice to their Alliances, to assure a good Neighbourhood with the State of *Milan*, so as the Count of *Fuentes* would demolish the Fort within fixe months vpon their Frontier. The great Cantons of the *Suisses* were Actors in this busines, perswading the *Grifons* to trust rather to Courage then to the safety of their mountaines. Matters continued in great suspense. They sent often to *A Milan*, and what was concluded there was dissolved in the Assembly of the People, by the friends of this Crowne, and by the Wisdom of the Kings Ambassador, who said plainly that his Maiesty would leaue their Alliance, if they made not a Declaration that might content him. Those iudgments that were found & not preiudicate, found it reasonable, & in this reason the honor of their faith & the reputation of their estate, as contrariwise they thought it could not be an act of glory to sel their Alliance, as it was not comendable for the *Spaniards* to buye it, if they were, of the *Romans* humor, who neuer fought that by Gold, which they might do by the sword. But against these apparent reasons, the Count of *Fuentes* had so many Trickes and Deuises, as the Ambassador of *France* had much adoe to retayne this people, who promised in words not to forsake the allyance of *France* and *Venice*, doing the contrarye in effect. In former times it was incredible that the *Suisse* so great an enemy to the house of *Austria*, from whose subiection they had revolted, and the *Grifons* so contrary to the *Spanish* fashions, would incline that way, and contradict the very feeling

Resolution of the *Grifons*.

F of Reason and Nature: The Truth hath freed the doubt, and let vs see that it is of this people as of Viniger, the which neuer freezeth for that it is extremely cold. The *Suisses* and *Grifons* for that they are enemies to the *Spaniards* will not haue the power of *Spain* to bee their enemy.

An Alliance purchased dishonorable.

The

1604. The bad successe of this businesse did not concerne *France* and the *Venetians* alone, the best aduised did fore-see that it might drawe a Ciuill Warre into *Italy*, vnder the pretext of Religion. Many Commanders and Captaines *Grisons*, not able to endure the Rigour and Threats of the Count *Fuentes*, were solicited by them of their Beleefe and Religion (lurking in *Italy*) to hold good, and to attend vntill the Lord came from *Edom* to disperse their enemies, and to beleue that as there is no War more glorious then that which is vndertaken to free their Country from seruitude, so there is none more iust then that which is made to deliuer Consciences from Tyranny, and that both in the one and the other occasion it is a great happynesse to sacrifice their Liues. The King sent aduice thereof to *Rome* for the Consequence and Danger of Religion. Hee did also pacifie the diuision of the people of *Valais*, who were in Armes and ready to come to a generall Combate for the same quarell. In the meane time the *Grisons* remayned betwixt the doubtfullnesse of Warre, and the discommodities of Peace, and as in the breeding of such diuisions, free and curious spirits cannot reteyne their passions, they made *Pasquins* in *Italy* vpon this subiect, and the *Spanish* braueries were not mute, the which the *Grisons* answered with the like humour. If the *Venetians* who were the cause of all the mischeefe, would haue spoke and set their hand to the worke as they ought, the Count of *Fuentes* (who did more by example then by any authority) would haue intreated the *Grisons* more mildly. But besides that Common-weales are not good for an offensive Warre, these Seigneurs who would not hazard anything, but preferre present and assured things before that which was past and perilous, would haue beene content to haue inioyed that which they desired without any trouble.

There was a generall assembly held at *Milant*, at one of the Corners of the *Grisons*, where after great diuersity of opinions, it was concluded by the greater part, that (seeing the Ambassadors had through their Avarice defamed their Legation, and suffered the Count of *Fuentes* to binde the liberty of their aduice with chaines of Gold, and had exceeded the instructions that were giuen them) the last Treaty made at *Milan* should be declared voyde, and of none effect, if the Alliance of *France* and that of *Venice* were not expressly referred. The Dobsles of *Spaine*, had wrought wonders, giuing motion to the most heauy, and speech vnto the Domsbe, to fauor the Count of *Fuentes* intentions, with a Nation that loues money beyond all measure. But in the ende the consideration of their owne health, and the ruines of their liberty were of more force, making them to chooseth the hazard of Armes, and of all discommodities, rather then to suffer the Fort which the Count of *Fuentes* had caused to be built, to stand vnruiued. And for that (incensed with this resolution) he had made shew to seyye vpon *Valteline*, they made a leauy of eighteene hundred Men in fixe companies to oppose against him.

The Kings intention was, that the treaty of *Milan* should not alter the Alliances of the Crowne of *France* and of *Venice*. But if the *Grisons* should breake with the *French*, & dishonour their reputation with so foule a defection, the *French* had no great reason to regard it, seeing it were a losse but of inconstant friends, whose faith was ruined by the same meanes it was preserved. True it is they should loose a goodly passage into *Italy*, but when they had any desire to goe thither, it should not bee by the *Grisons*. The *French* Armies were neuer led that way to passe the Alpes. It is true that when the Kings of *France* held *Milan*, this passage was necessary for them to draw in *Suisses* and *Germaines*, for their seruice. But inioying this no more, they neede not to care much to loose that which cost them so deere to maintaine. This was the beginning of the thirteenth yeare of Pope *Clement* the eighth sitting in the Pontificall Chaire. In his youth a Mathematician told him, that he should be a Cardinall then Pope, and should sit in the seat twelue yeares. A Friar had told *Leo* the tenth as much (hauing saued himselfe in *Mantoua* after the battell of *Rauenna*) assuring him that hee should be Pope, before he came to the age of fortie yeares. A Terme which made this prediction seeme ridiculous and impossible, and yet it was true, for after the death

predictions of
near Scraphin
at Mantoua.

A death of *Julio* the second the yong Cardinalls being banded against the old, chooseth him Pope. The Astrologian, hath spoken very truly in the two first aduencures of this Pope, but hee hath misreckned himselfe in the third, yet some feare it is but one yeare, for this which wee shall shortly beginne is full of badde constellations vpon that Sea, as they hold that haue studied the booke of the Abbot *Isachim*. About that time there was a Iesuite that maintained an opinion that was held very bold throughout all the Catholike Church, but most dangerous at *Rome*. That it was no point of the essence of Faith to beleue that *Clement* the eighth was the true and lawefull succesor of Saint *Peter*. He was committed to prison, and if the Ambassador of *Spaine* had not delt in it, hee had sped worse, and tried that the Bodie hath often reason to complaine of the paine which the Spirit causeth. An other Iesuite propounded a proposition which was held very strange for the Nouelty and the Consequence thereof. Which was. That Confession might be done by Letters and by Postes. These with some other questions were decided before the Pope and the Cardinalls in the following yeare.

Curious
questions.

There fell out halfe a sedition in *Rome* by the meanes of Cardinall *Ferneze*. One being pursued by the Officers to be carried to prison, fled into the Cardinalls Pallace as into a Sanctuary, where he found a backe doore to escape. This flight was fauored by the incounter of some of the Cardinalls Gentlemen, who walking in the Court and seeing the Sargents make a noise at his escape whom they thought to apprehend, they gaue them badde words with some threats, for the small respect they had borne vnto their Masters house. The Pope was aduertised thereof, and the Governor of *Rome* went thether with his Officers. The Cardinall *Ferneze* beleened that all the Consistory was offended at this affront, the which troubled all *Rome*. They had giuen the Pope to vnderstand that this did concerne the authority of his Iustice, without the which the City could not continue happy. They had layed open this boldnesse vnto him by many considerations of his owne private interest. They sayd that this did but increase the discontents which many had conceiued against the house of *Aldobrandin*. The tumult grewe so great, as one sword drawne had put all the City in Armes. The Ambassador of *Spaine* came to the Cardinalls Pallace with all his friends, and there spent the whole night, looking on the *Romaine* gentlemen that played in the Hall: and a king who had wonne or lost, they told him that the Duke *Gaelan* had lost six hundred Crownes: Seigneur Duke (sayd hee in *Spanish*) assure your selfe that you loose nothing this night for the notable seruice you do vnto the King. Hee was often herd to say these words, the which were fuller of vanity, then of necessity or reason, *A qui quiero morir*, as if the Pope who had no forces would come to beseege him.

The next day the Cardinall *Ferneze* retired himselfe to a house of his called *Capra-rola* siue & twenty miles from *Rome*, whether he was accompanied with the principall men in *Rome*: The Pope sent the Governor vnto him, to receiue his gouernment from him, as if hee had lost it for that he had entred into his Pallace with his Sargents. He quenched the heat of those fiery Spirits with his teares, and complained that they did not loue him as he did loue, and that therein the intention of true friendship was deceived. But hee commanded his *Nuncio* in *Spaine* to copiaine of the King of *Spains* Ambassador, who had openly discovered his passion against him. In the end the Duke of *Perma* brought back the Cardinall to *Rome*, & al was pacified. As he came frō *Monte-cassallo* where the Pope was, he was well accompanied & followed into the Court of his Pallace, with cries of ioye. *Viva la Casa Ferneza*. These were the peoples violent passions not so much for any loue of him, as in hatred of the Cardinall *Aldobrandin*. But none of them trusted to this reconciliacion. The Cardinall, the Duke *Gaelan*, and many others of the greatest of the City went out of *Rome*. The Pope caused fixe hundred *Corses* to come, and two hundred Harguebuziers on Horse-backe for the gard of Saint *Peters Bourg*, and if hee had had the Spirit of *Sixtus* the fifth, or of Popes that were Predecessors to *Paul* the third, this small beginning had beene the cause of great accidents.

In the beginning of the yeare the Emperor sent his Ambassador to shew to the Pope An Amba-
sador from
and Emperoe.

1604. and Consistory, the great occasions that were lost in *Hungary* for want of means to attempt and execute them. for although the *Bascha* were arrived with two millions of Gold, they found that this Army was more capable to consume this provision, then to doe any great effect, and that they would onely seeke to waite and spoyle. The Pope told him that he had no money, and that he should be constrained to impose a tenth upon the Clergy of *Italy* to that effect. The Emperors Ambassador wondred, that the Pope said he had no money, for euery man knoweth what his Treasure is, in the Castle *S. Angelo*. It is not toucht but is wholly reserved for the necessities of *Rome*. The Emperour did also command his Ambassador to go to the Princes of *Italy*, and to intreat the like succors from them, but it was without effect. Hee was angry that the Duke of *Sanoy* (Vicar of the Empire) did refuse to contribute to the charges of this Warre. Hee was not in so good termes with the *Venetians*, as to hope for any secret succors of money. The controuersie grew for the confines of the Earle of *Tyrol*, for the *Venetians* complained, that they had vsurped vpon certaine Mountaines of the Alpes vpon the passage of *Trent*, for the recouery and maintynance of their Iurisdiction, they made some courses through the Mountaines with their Souldiers to make reprisalls of Men and Cattell, and doing other acts of possession. The Emperour was not so much troubled for this vsurpation, as he was extremely grieved for the loss of *Pesla*, the which happened through want of Courage, vnworthy the Glory and Reputation of Christians, for there are sinister accidents in Warre, which may rather be imputed to the rigor of Fortune, and to want of foresight then to cowardise, but this yeelding of the place was more basenesse. Those of *Buda* hauing received a great Conuoy or some newes thereof, shot off all their Artillery, and made great shouts of Ioy after their manner, the Christians thinking it was some great assault or some furious charge that would be giuen them, were so amazed, as they forsooke the Towne without the sight of any enemy.

Pesla abandoned by the Christians.

The King of Persia and Ambassador to the Emperour.

Description of Persia.

But as Christian Princes were cold in so holy and iust a Warre, God makes vse of an Infidell Prince, to their owne confusion. The *Persians* had bene long oppressed by the *Turkes*, but nowe it seemes they can and will seeke their reuenge. If a part of the *Turkes* Forces were kept occupied in *Hungary*, they would easily preuaile ouer the rest, and force the *Turkes* to giue them Water and Earth in signe of their subiection. For this occasion the King of *Persia*, sent an Ambassador to the Emperour to intreat him not to make any Peace with *Amst*, assuring him to succour him with many thousandes of Men and Crownes. Hee paid by *Lions* and did see the Governour to whom he reported wonders of the greatneesse and power of the King of *Persia*, who he said had taken aboute foure score Towns from the *Turke*, that he had defeated *Cigale* in Battell, and that now he held *Aleppo* besieged, and that they could not passe his Countreies in three moneths, that he could raise two hundred thousand Foote, and a hundred thousand Horse for his defence. After that hee had discoursed long with him vpon this subiect, he asked the Governour by his Interpreter, *What profit he had by his charge*, and the Governour asked *Why he demanded it? Because* (answered the Ambassadour) *that the King of Persia my Maister neuer reapes any profit of that which is leauied in his Provinces, but leaues the disposition thereof to the Governours, who for that respect are bound in time of War to furnish a certaine number of Men and a propotion of Money out of the revenues of their Governments.* Xc must beleue them which come from far, for that the great distance makes the prooffe difficult. The *Persian* ioynes vpon the North with the *Medes*, on the West side it hath *Susiane*, vpon the East *Caramania*, and towards the South, it is bounded with the Sea. The powers of the World haue their revolutions and periods as well as Men. It hath bene seene in the Monarchy of the *Persians*. They held the Monarchie two hundred and fife and twenty yeares, the *Medes* expelled the, these were chased away by the *Macedonians*, and they by the *Romaines*, and the *Romaines* by the *Saracins*. Since they haue freed themselves from any others command, and reserved some peece of the ancient Monarchy. But the *Turkes* intreated them very ill, who after many long Wars granted them in the end so infamous a Peace, as they retained

A retained their capitall Cittie, and so iniurious, as the worst conditions of warre had bin better. As peace is to be desired for them that are at ease, and war for the miserable. This *Persian* tooke the way of *Suiffeland* to performe his Ambassage, hee went from *Lions* to *Baden*, during the assemblie of the thirteene Cantons of *Suiffes*, he had but one more on horsebacke with him, and fife or sixe men on foot, and one cart for his baggage. When as the Kings Ambassador saw him in his equipage he said, he did not thinke his charge should haue any great traine, seeing he himselfe had so small. The King hauing promised to restore the Iesuits. Father *Cotton* came to *Paris* by his Maiesties command, with father *Armand* the Prouinciall, and father *Alexander*. They not onely found all things easie, but beyond their conceiued hopes: for the King grew presently into such a liking with Father *Cotton*, as he did nothing but he was called, & in the end his Maiestie granted their returne vpon certaine conditions, and the Edict made for their establishment, (notwithstanding any oppositions made vnto the Court to hinder the confirmation thereof) was confirmed in the beginning of this yeare, and their Colledges restored at *Lions*, *Rouan*, *Bourges*, and *Dijon*. The *Seigneur* of *Varenne* (Controller General of the Posts, and now Governor of the Towne and Castell of *Angers*, who loued them of this company) besought the King to build a newe Colledge at *La Fleche* in *Aniou*, with priuileges like to the other Vniuersities of this realme, the which the King made of a royall foundation, and gaue them his owne house, with pensions, for the instruction of a good number of yong gentlemen, whome his Maiestie would haue bred vp, and instructed there in all Professions, Tongues, & Exercises. During these great royall fauours, Father *Cotton* tasted of some priuat disgrace, for returning one night somewhat late (about the end of Februarie) and passing by the street of the new bridge, to goe vnto the *Louvre*, there were certaine Pages and Laquais, which calling for him at the dore of the Carosse, wounded him with their rapiers, hauing one great wound in the shoulder going towards the necke & the throat, whereof notwithstanding he was soone after cured. There was great search made for this attempt, but the King himselfe discovered presently whence it might proceed. The Pages & Laquais of the Court had bene whipt by commandement for their insolencie, in crying with dirision, *Old well, old Cotton* (vpon the complaint of certain Princes and Noblemen.) Those that say this blow was premeditated by the enemies of the Iesuits, were deceiued, and his Maiesties only opinion (who iudged that it came from the Pages and Laquais) was true. Some were taken and examined, the King himselfe heard the examination, first they excused themselves of the fact, then they sayd that they meant onely to strike the Coachman, to whom they had cryed to goe farther off, and that hee would hurt them, comming so neere the wall, the which hee would not doe, and that thinking to strike the Coachman, they had hurt Father *Cotton*. If Father *Cotton* had not bene an earnest suter vnto the King to pardon them, it had gon ill with them, but notwithstanding they were banished the Court, and forbidden euer to come there vpon paine of death. This yeare the King besides his goodly buildings, which shall make his memory commendable to posterity, would also shew vnto future ages, that he had a care of the good of his subiects, who for the commoditie of their commerce & traffick, caused a channell to be made, by the which all merchandise should be carried from the riuer of *Loyre* into the riuer of *Seine*. At the same time hee began his channell from *Seine* to *Loyre*, which costs a hundred and fourescore thousand Crownes in 3. yeares. They propounded vnto his Maiestie, an enterprize of greater difficultie, to ioyne the two Seas together, & to make the navigation from the one to the other through *Frisie*, & not to passe by the straight of *Gibraltar*. By the means of a channell more easie to bee made betwixt the two riuers, which passe the one from *Tolouze* into the Ocean, & the other from *Narbone* into the *Mediterranian* Sea, the which is made to ioyne the riuers of *Seine* and *Loire* together. The vnderaker offered Cautio to ioyne the nauigatio of the said two Seas by this Channell, within one yeare for 40000. Crownes only, the which should carrie a vessell of foure sadome wide from one Sea vnto the other, for a certaine prooffe of his dessein. Which was to make ships to passe after aards, within a small time, and for little more charge. There

The Iesuits restored.

Iesuits at La Fleche.

Father Cotton wounded.

A Channell from the riuer of Seine to Loyre.

I 604. There were many new inuentions for works deuised and brought into *France* this A
 New inuentions of works brought into *France*. Making of Cipres.
 Gilt hangings.
 Cutting mills.
 Turning of iron into fine Steele.
 White Leade.
 Pipes of Lead without folder.
 Secretie of Corne.
 Communication necessarie among Prouinces.
 No Region Prouince or Citie can pisse without their neighbours.
 Discommodities by the cessation of the commerce.

years by strangers, as weauing of gold after the manner of *Milan*, and the making of cloth and lines of the barke of white Mulberie trees, more easily then of nettles or any other trees, and more strong and of longer continuance then any other, the which was inuented by *Menfieur Serres* in *Prouince*. The making of all sorts of Cipres both curld and smooth, and of all other sorts, which were not made before but in *Italie*, is now established in the Castell of *Mantes*. Hangings of gilt lether, of all sorts and colours that may be wisht, fairer then Imbrodorie, better cheape, and of greater continuance, for the easinesse and inuention to makethem cleane, and to amend, they are in great shops in *Saint Honores*, and *Saint James* suburbs, to set poore people on worke. There were cutting mills inuented, and set vpon the riuer of *Eslampes*, where they cut iron into many peeces, and into what forme they will, the which was not done before but by the Smithies. The turning of iron, (whereof *France* abounds) into fine Steele, the which they were forced to seeke in *Piedmont*, in *Germanie*, and in other strange Countries, for fise or sixe souls the pound, hauing neuer found any thing in *France* but iron, the which for the excellencie they call course Steele of *Brie* or of *Saint Desier*, the which is sold for two or three souls the pound, at the most. The fournaifes are to bee seene in *Saint Victors* suburbs, vpon the mouth of the riuer of *Bienre*, the which deserues to be admired for the excellencie thereof. The making of white Leade, the which is a kind of drogue or quintessence, drawne out of Leade, very necessarie and common for Painters, Farriers, and many others, the which they were forced to seeke and buy deerely out of *France*, is new made there, better and better cheape. The like inuention there is of pipes of Leade, as long and as big as you will, beaten, and as light as iron for Cuirasses, stronger and more lasting then the ordinarie pipes of Leade, and better cheape, and which make the waters that passe through them more holsome for the bodie of man, by reason of the ingredients of the folding which corrupts the water that passeth by them. Besides the folder doth still leaue some little tongs or drops perced, the which stayes the slime of the water, and makes the pipe to bend, with many other secrets and commodities that depend thereon, inuented by *Ferrier*, dwelling in the suburbs of *Saint Germaine*. Some parts of *France* as well as of *Sicilia* were this yeare much afflicted for want of D
 Come. The Dukes of *Guise* and *Vantadour* besought the King that hee would be pleased to suffer *Prouince* and *Languedoc* to bee supplied by the other Prouinces of his Realme, where there was abundance. The King hauing giuen libertie, there passed great store by the Cittie of *Lions*, who fearing to fall into the like want, besought the King to reuoake his grant of the passage. The Kings answere seemed to proceed from the heart, not of a Prince onely, but of a Father, who desires to prouide equally for all the necessities of his familie, and hath a care that nothing be wanting. The principall reasons were, that there is nothing more necessarie for the well ordering of an estate, then to entertaine communication betwixt Prouinces to succour one another, and to haue the trafficke as free and as easie as may bee: Nature hauing so framed them, as they haue need one of another, for if the one restraynes the one side, the other may do the like on the other side, so as if one Prouince anioies an other, it may also receiue the like anoyance from them: as if they stoppe the passage of Corne at *Lions*, they of *Languedoc* and *Prouince*, may keepe from them, Oyles, and Spice, and many other necessarie commodities. That the Cittie of *Lions* hath no interest in this passage, being lawfull for them, to make what prouisions of Corne they please, in *Bourgogne*, and other places. That hee must also haue care of other Prouinces which haue need of reliefe, whome they might easily perswade that this libertie of passage, depended vpon the fauour and good wil of them of *Lions*, and not vpon his commandement.

There wanted nothing in *France*, but permission to trafficke in the King of *Spains* & F
 the Archdukes dominions. The sea Townes endured great discommodities, and in the end, if this prohibition had continued, they would haue sayd of the greatest, as was sayd of *Megalopolis* a great Cittie in circuit of walls, and little in number of Inhabitants.

A habitants. *Magna Ciuitas, magna solitudo*. A great Cittie, a great wildernes. The *Spaniards* found this Inhibition much more greuous & insupportable: there was nothing to be heard among them but publike complaints, for that all things grew extremely deare, and the Artisans desperate. This greuance depending vpon the execution of the Treatie of *Vernins*, the Pope commanded his *Nuncio* to deale in it. The King would not yeeld to any thing, before that the *Spaniards* who had troubled the water, did make it cleere againe in reuoking the Imposition of thirtie on the hundred. Therein hee forced his nature, for being so good, as hee desired onely the good of his people, and feesles in his soule that content wherewith God himselfe cannot bee satisfied, hee could not heare speake of this Commerce, if the King of *Spaine* did not discharge B
 that Imposi of thirtie for the hundred, which made the libertie of trafficke an extreme seruitude, and the profit an assured losse. This was most seuer and rigorous. There is not any but is bitter to the Marchants, Couetousnes hauing changed the first cause as well as the quantitie of Impositions and Customes. In former times they were not payed, but for the safetie and libertie of the passage from one place to another, and for that Princes haue publike wayes in their protection, which for that reason are called *The Kings high wayes*, they haue acknowledged this right of protection with some consideration.

In like sort when the Nauigation was vndertaken to the *Indies*, into *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*, the Emperour for the purging of the Sea of Pirats and Routers, imposed the C
 Gabell or Custome of the red Sea, for the enterayning of shippes of warre against the attempts of Pirats, with the money that should be rayled thereby. Such Impositions for so necessarie occasions cannot bee but iust. Others are not so, and yet they must beare them, being no more lawfull for the subiect to murmur against the Customes, and Imposits, wherewith his Prince doth charge him, then against the Hayle, Rayne, Stormes and Tempests of Heauen. Obedient Children kisse the rodd wherewith they haue beene whipt. Reuenge is reserved vnto God, who forbids the Soueraigne Magistrates to oppresse the people with such charges. Hee let *Pharao* knowe so much, when as *Moses* turned his rodd into a Serpent, to let him vnderstand that his Scepter and his raigne was changed into Tiranie and extreme Crueltie. Some D
 sayd that (*Spaine* which deliberates long, and resolues constantly) would neuer reuoake this Imposition, for that they would not loose the reputation of the constancie and firmenes of their Lawes, and not to bee taxed of lightnes, applying themselves to the time and occasion. But they must endure it, and the Deputies of the two Kings, and of the Archduke being resolued vpon that point, there was no difficultie but that the Commerce was restored to the first libertie. The Constable of *Castille* returning into *Spaine*, came to the King at *Fontainebleau*. The King sent to receiue him at the entrie of *Paris*, by the Duke of *Monibason*, who was well accompanied, and the next day at the entrie of the forest of *Fontainebleau*, hee found fiftene Carosses full of Gentlemen of the Court, who left E
 them to offer them to him and to his trayne, and so mounted vpon their horses which did attend them. It cannot bee spoken how royally the King receiued him. Among many testimonies of honour and affection, this was not ordinarie. *Zamet* inuited him to supper, being readie to washe, the King accompanied onely with *Bellegarde* and *Roguelare* enters, saying that hee would suppe with them. The Constable offered him his napkin, and would haue kneeled, the which the King would not suffer, saying vnto him that it was not for him to yeeld honours but to receiue them, for hee was of that house, being allyed to the house of *Velasques*, to whome the dignitie of the Constable of *Castille* and *Leon* is hereditarie, and is an honour in a manner equall with a Soueraigne; the F
 Emperour *Valentinian* finding no other place wherewith to honour and aduance his Brother *Valence*.

The Commerce which had beene forbidden for some monethes, being restored, T t t t t there

1604.

God neuer tired with doing good.

Nauigation to the Indies.

The trafficke open with *Spaine*.The Constable of *Castille* comes to the King.

The King receiues him with all honour. He sups with the Constable.

The house of *Velasques*.

there was nothing containd in the Treaty of *Veruins* but was duly executed, but that which concerned the priuate interest of the Earle of *Saint Paul*. As for the Generall, it went so well, as it might be sayd the two Kings had neuer had better correspondence, and that their wills although contrary had bene like vnto wine and water which cannot be seperated. As for the affaires of the Realme, the King found to great respect and obedience in all places, as if there remains any passion in the hearts of his Predecessors, they must bee greened that they were neuer so well obeyed. This yeare the States of the vniited Prouinces had prouided an Army of two thousand five hundred sayle great and small, to releene *Ostend*: if it were possible, or els to attempt *Sluse*, which is the chiefe port of *Flanders*, with this resolution the Count *Maurice*, Landed his Army, tooke the Isle of *Casandt*, *Isandike*, and all the forts vpon the maine Land neere vnto the Towne: so as they of *Sluse* dispayring of releefe seeing the Marquis *Spinola* repulst from *Cassant*, made a signe of yeelding, they deliuered vpp the Towne vpon Honorable Conditions, the Capitulation was made the nineteenth of August 1604.

Lost by the
vinity of *Ma-
rthe Berrino*
die gouernor.

Ostend yeeld-
ed by com-
pulsion the
15 of Septem-
ber.

The Arch-
duke enters it.

The Arch-dukes forces returned againe to *Ostend* to presse the besieged whilst the season of the yeare would suffer them, the which was defended with great Constancy and Resolution. The tediousnesse of this siege cost the States more then the entertainment of a great Army, and therefore Count *Maurice* lent expresse commandement to the Gouernor to Capitulate and leaue that ruine which cost them so many Men and so much Money. Before they entred into Capitulation they sent away their Artillery and all their stufte by Sea. After three yeares siege and more they yeelded vpp the Towne vpon as Honorable conditions, as if they had deliuered vpp the best place in Europe. The Arch-duke entred it, and they that went with him were amazed to see that they had conquered nothing but a Church-yard after so long time and so great expences, and had made an other without that was better peopled. It was a great Glory for the Arch-duke to haue taken this Towne after so longe a patience of three yeares. In matters of Warre they consider not the time that is spent but the successe. Hee lost three yeares time, but the gaine of the thing desired, did recompence his losse.

The Besiegers spent much Powder to haue a heape of Sand, they lost an incredible number of Men to get a Church-yard. It is all one, the victors Glory is not impayred hauing that which hee would haue, there was neuer seene the like For tunc of a Fort nor so great resolution to assaile and defend a Towne without houses, yea without ground, and which promised to the Conqueror nothing but a Barren heape of dust. It seemes that Warre hath made choise of the Lowe Countries, to continue there all this age, as it hath donne the best part of the precedent. Other Prouinces haue bene ruined by Warre, and especially by ciuill Warre, where the Conqueror smites and feelles the losse, but they increase and growe Rich by their Warre. They had not bene so Rich if they had not taken Armes against their Prince, who in the ende will finde it true, that it is dangerous to make long Warre with any people, for that the assiduity and continuance of this exercise makes them warlike, and Capable to vanquish them, who in the beginning durst not encounter his forces. After they haue once put a sword into the Peoples hands, it is hard to wrest it from them. The sword makes the feeble and the stronge equall and can hurt and wounde in any hard. *Agessilus* being beaten and wounded by them whome hee had forced to take Armes, was mockt by *Antaleidas*, saying that the *Thebans* had payed him the hire of it at which hee taught them against their wills. And although the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes powers bee far greater then that of the States, yet they make Warre with greater commodity and safety then he. Among many remarkable considerations of the situation of the Country, they haue the Sea free, by the which they may conduct what numbers and what quantitie of munition and equippage for the Warre they please, and to any place they please, the which cannot

The Lowe
Countryes
stowe rich
by warre.

A not bee carried by land but with exceeding great charge and by great marches. So as wee may say of them, as *Taxiles* sayd of the *Romaines* that their Armies are inuincible, and we neede not to maruell that they haue so much Artillery, Munition, Carriages and Men, seeing they haue so many Shippes in their ports: And at their doore two great Kingdomes full of warlike Souldiars, which cannot liue in Peace, but Glory in the incounter of dangers, to whome there is no paine that is strange, nor place in accessible, nor enemy redoubtable.

Advantages
of the vniited
Prouinces for
the Warre.

The King of *Spain* hath great difficulties in this Warre. They say there is no Spanish Souldiar but costes him a hundred Crownes, before he arriues in *Flanders*. And that those Countries which are of the Ancient Patrimony of the house of *Bourgonie* haue consumed aboute a hundred Millions of Gold. It is almost forty yeares that it hath continued. Those mountaynes of Gold and Siluer of the *Indies* haue bene made plaine and almost drawne drie with this Warre. Hee hath bene often constrained to flic to the *Genoais* purse. His great reuenues haue bene consumed with the incredible charge. The Mines of Siluer of *Potosi*, discovered with in threescore yeares, which brought vnto the King euery day for his fift part six thousand *Pezos* euery Peze being valued at thirteene Rials & one forth part, haue not bene sufficient to feede the flames of this Mount *Etna*. The Marquis of *Rhosny*, going to take possession of his gouernement of *Poitou*, was at *Rochelle*, where hee was receiued with all sorts of Honours, causing his Maiesties intentions to bee enterrayned with so great affection as it did amaze them that knewe that since King *Francis* the first this Towne had not bene so obedient as the rest. There are secret murmuringes, discontents and distrustes; but they are Cloudes without Water. These are vlters which drawe vnto them badde humours, but the disposition of the Bodie is no whit altered and changed: In shewe all goes well, and wee haue nothing else to care for, for men are commonly satisfied with that which seemes, as well as with that which is. It sufficeth that a Prince bee well obeyed, bee it either for feare or for Loue, *France* being neuer so miserable as when shee had Kings that cared not to bee well obeyed and I oued.

And what wants a Prince, that is at Peace with in his Realme, admired of Strangers and redoubted of his enemies, who hath so great desseignes in hand, for the increase and beaurefying of this Estate, as his Predecessors durst neuer thinke of them? One Arcenall alone can furnish him a hundred Cannons, with powder and munition for a hundred thousand shot, Armes for ten thousand Horse-men, and fifty thousand foote, and Treasor ready to pay a greater number. This Prince who knewe what it was to make Warre without money, will neuer vndertake it without a iust cause, not being in want. Warre which is attempted without cause is feldome happy and successfull, and although they bee iustificable yet is there alwaies some scruple. Hee spent the best part of the yeare at *Fontainebleau*, and found his abode there so pleasing and the season so faire, as hee sent for the *Dauphin*. It was the first voiage to the place of his birth, and the second by *Paris*. Hee made shewe that hee did participate of the Fathers good disposition, for hee neither feared nor felt Son nor Serein, although it be much felt in that place. Thus the yeare past, when as *France* could not furnish where-withall to make a perfect Narration. Wee may nowe say as it was heeretofore sayd of the *Gauls* that they were more giuen to Tillage and to the Gouernment of their families, then vnto Warre and Armes. The most factious thinke of nothing nowe but of planting of their Orchards. The *Crisons* doe still pursue the demolition of the fort. They talke of a truce in *Hungarie*, and of a Treaty of Peace in the Lowe Countries. This wil bee matter to write on the next yeare following.

The *Dauphin*
leues
voiage to
Fontainebleau.

F But wee may not forget the entervewe of the Duke of *Sauoy* with the Duke of *Montmaur*. It ministred matter of discourse, and made the Princes of *Italie* somewhat lealons: to see two Princes send Ambassadors which had continued so long in

Entervewe of
the Dukes of
Sauoy and
Montmaur.

1604. badde termes, and two Princes that were Neighbours, which had this aduantage to A
haue made Warre in person, was not without scruple. And although in thewe they
talked onely of Peace, yet are they not the first, that haue had Peace in their mouthes
and Warre in their hearts. *Machiavel* sayth that a Prince of his time, neuer talked
but of a Peace and Faith, and if hee had kept either of them hee had lost his Estate and
his Reputation.

The two Princes haue Lands lying of either side of the Riuer of *Po*. The
Duke of *Sauoy* was discontented that the Duke of *Mantoua* people had vsurped som-
thing vpon his subiects. This was a great dispute of their confines, the which not-
withstanding was soone reconciled, the Accord is neuer difficult betwixt persons
neere allied. The Duke of *Mantoua* came to *Montferrat*, which gaue the occasion of B
this entervewe, whereof the cause is vnkowne, if it bee not for the marriage of his
Sonne to the Dukes second Daughter. They met in the open field on Sunday the 12.
of December. The Duke of *Sauoy* was in Carosse, and the Duke of *Mantoua* and his
Sonne on Horse-backe: They lighted to entertaine and salute on an other. The No-
blemen and Gentlemen which followed them made a great ring, in the which these
two Princes did walke and talked together two or three houres. The Duke of *Sauoy*
feasted him at dinner the Twel-day following, in a little house vpon the frontier of
the Marquisate of *Salusses*. They continued together vntill night, when parting the
Duke of *Sauoy* gaue vnto the Duke of *Mantoua* foure goodly Horfes with very riche
furniture. To conclude this yeares worke there was newe matter presently, but it is C
alwaies bad, when as the Princes Clemency is forced to yeeld vnto his Iustice, when as
France doth bring forth Spirits to easie to corrupt, as intelligences with the Enemies
of this Crowne are not held for crimes, and their Honour as vaine smoake, the which
notwithstanding should bee so carefully preferred, that rather then to see it blemished
or charged with any reproch, they should desire and offer themselves to death.

The King offended with the practises of the Count of *Auvergne*, commanded him
to come vnto him, and to trust vnto his Clemency, the which was not vnkowne
vnto him. *Desfures* made some iorneyes vnto him, from whome hee brought no-
thing but delaies and excuses.

The King
sends for the
Count of Au-
vergne.

The Kings Iustice was once contented to make him change the ayre for a time. It D
was the best Councell his friends could giue him: it was the surest resolution hee
could take: for it was better to bee absent with the Kings good liking, then to bee re-
tired and in disgrace. The King was wonderfully greued at this relapse, and did im-
pute it to an error which great courages detest more, and pardon lesse, then all other
fautes: for compare Vice with Vice and Euill with Euill, Ingratitude is the most odi-
ous and the worst. This Prince notwithstanding (who cannot leaue pardonning) sent
Desfures backe vnto him to cause him to come. Hee promised to goe if they
would bring him a pardon formally made. The King disliked of this kinde of Ca-
pitulation, whereas his owne Authority was wronged and his worde held deceitfull.
A great King so much feared and obeyed, and of so great Authority, should E
haue his words as much credited as an others oath. It is not with this Prince as with
some of his Predecessors, who vnder the most smyling and calme countenance smo-
thered most dangerous and trouble some tempests. Hee sent him his Abolition in
the same forme and vertue that he desired, conteyning all the euill that hee had done,
and all that hee would haue donne. It teacheth the Honour of a Prince to iustifie
himselfe, when as his Innocencie is any thing mistrusted or suspected of his King.
In these Incounters hee must leaue the charges which hee holds, as *Caius Menenius*
did: hee must returne in the midst of his voiage like vnto *Mare Antonie*, hee
must quite all Legations to preuent all Accusations, and hee must oppose his
Innocencie bouldly and couragiously, vnto slander. But hee that hath once
offended his Prince hee hath no other remedie or refuge but to his Clemencie, or
to flight.

A Pardon
granted to him
on condition.

This

A This pardon had a condition that hee should come vnto the King, without the 1604.
which the effect thereof should bee suspended and without assurance. Hee got no-
thing in growing obstinate not to go out of *Clermont*, representing vnto himselfe that
hee could finde no better Councell then in the remembrance of his last Emprison-
ment, as *Cresus* did in his miseries. He did build much vpon the Loue of the Inhabi-
tants of *Clermont* and of the Country. But hee did not consider that although hee had
many hearts at his deuotion, yet should hee hardly drawe them all together to oppose
them against the Kings commandements, when it should please him to seize vpon
him in that City, and that it were more safe for him to be free without the Vineyard,
then to remaine there, not being absolute Maister thereof.

Aduerity
doth mislead.

The King
giues order to
haue him ta-
ken.

B The King therefore seeing that hee would not come but with conditions that did
not agree with a perfect obedience, resolved to haue him, by one meanes or other. The
first Ouertures were made to the two Brothers of *Murat*, the one Lieutenant Generall
in the Presidiall Court at *Rion*, the other Treasorer extraordinary of the Warres, both
vehemently affected to the Kings seruice, and for this reason greatly suspected by the
Count of *Auvergne*, who to let them vnderstand the actions that hee would haue
knowne, did often confer with them of his affaires, but in like manner as Princes doe
communicate with Ambassadors and Spies, and the more freely for that he thought
they were not men to lead him to *Paris*. But there were others to execute his com-
mandements, and more then of one condition, all resolved to take him, yea though hee

C were shut vp in a Towre of brasse. So there must bee some to take him and other to
conduct him when hee was taken. It was necessary that such as had the Kings autho-
rity in the Prouince, and the disposition of his forces and of Iustice should deale in it.
The Kings intention was imparted to the *Vicount of Pont du Chastell*, to *D'Enrie* Lieu-
tenant of the Duke of *Vandosmes* company, to the Baron of *Camilac*, to *la Boutaye* Lieu-
tenant to the company of the Marquis of *Verneuil*, to *Nereflan* Colonell of a Regi-
ment of foote, and to so many others as it is a wonder it was not diuulged being in so
many heads. In this action all shewed the duties and affections of good men which
respected their Honours. Many meanes were attempted, but they were incoun-
tered

Nothing can
be kept secret
that many
knowe.

D with great difficulties and crosses. True it is that if *Nereflan* had not come with reuo-
cation of the Kings first commandements, his taking had beene certaine when as hee
went a hunting to *la Tour of Buissiere*, where as a Gentleman should haue bidden
him to diner. The Order was changed for that hee had giuen the King to vnderstand
that he had meanes to do him a great peece of seruice in the discouery of great se-
crets. Some dayes past in the expectation of this miracle, but in the ende it proued
nothing. The Kings patience beeing wronged would beleue no more, but comman-
ded that they should force him to come, and if his Bounty had not restrained him, wee
should haue seene him as extreame in reuenge, as hee hath alwaies beene Bounty and
Clemency. Hee earnestly recommended vnto his subiects the execution of this prize,

The Kings
patience moou-
ed.

E as a thing of great importance for his seruice, for the preservation of the State and the
assurance or safety of my Lord the *Daulphin*. The surest meanes (& that wherein there
was least trouble and scandall) was the mustering of the Duke of *Vandosmes* Company,
who by the aduice of the Count of *Auvergne* himselfe, and to please a Ladie who de-
sired to be reuenged of some Country-men, dislodged from *Saint Portin* to come to
Balsac and to *Vornie*, where they intreated their Hostes in such sort as they left not pro-
uision for three daies to some one that had beene furnished for three yeares.

They resol-
ued to take
him by what
meanes soe-
uer.

D'Enrie who prest *Murat* (Treasorer extraordinary of the Warres) to paie his
company a muster, intreated the Count of *Auvergne* to see it, to the ende hee might
assure the King that hee had Gallant men and good Horfes, and that all his Com-
panions should bee wonderfully Honored with the presence of their Coronell. I will
part to morrowe sayd the Count of *Auvergne* to hunt at *Alezou*, and will returne
again on Monday at night, I pray you bee heere at super and lodge your company
at *Normain*, to the ende that the next day after that wee haue dronke, runne at the
ring and dined, we may see it.

Tttt 3

This

1604. This was done as he had appointed, and it seemes he was an Actor in his own misfortune, and an instrument of his misery, not being able to discouer the bitterness of those Golden-pills which they presented vnto him. *D'Errre* came to *Clermont* on Monday at night, and goes vnto him where he supped in one of their houses that managed this businesse. When as he espied *D'Errre* a farre off, hee said vnto him, *Now Sir, am I not a Man of my word?* *D'Errre* thanked him for the paine it had pleased him to take to see his Companions, beseeching him to thinke that he desired it with great affection, to the ende the King might knowe they were not in so bad estate as at the voyage of *Metz*. The next day the ninth of Nouember the morning was spent in running at the Rings, of foure courses he tooke three. He had intelligence that they ment to take him, and distrusting all, he had resolved to come so early to the place of musters, as not finding the company there ready, he should be excused if he did not attend them, meaning to passe on a league farther, where a Lady that loued him did expect him. *D'Errre* hauing foreseene all, leauing nothing to hazard that might be gouerned by Iudgement, vied such preuentions, as the subtilties of this spirit preuailed nothing. He commanded *La Bady* Marshall of the company to see his Companions in order. Hee aduertised *Nereffan* and the Captaines that did assist him, of the place whether they should come, & wrought so, that Dilligence and Courage which are the wings of great executions, were so supported by the secret of discretion, as none of the Troupe once drempt of that which was to be done.

The Duke of Vendomes company was not in good order at the voyage of Metz.

He is preuented by the dilligence of *D'Errre*.

He goes to Horse with two more with him,

They went to dinner, and it was well obserued that the Count of *Auvergne* had some distrust. He hath since confest that hee was ready to call the two Brothers of *Murat* into his Cabinet, and to cause them to bee searcht, for that he was well aduertised that they alwayes carryed the Kings Letters and his commandments. But a great resolution thinking that there is no more harme in fearing, then in the thing that causeth feare, he feared extremely to make shewe that hee hath any feare. After Dinner *D'Errre* asked *If it pleased him to go to horse to see the Musters*. Hee answered him; *That it should be presently, and that he should vse speed*. Hee retyred himselfe soone after into his Cabinet, and went downe being followed by *Maisonville* onely and *Liuerne*, mounted vpon a *Scottish* Horse (which *Vitry* had giuen him) the which would haue outrunne all the Horses of *France*. He would not attend the other Noblemen for that he distrusted them, hauing an intent to passe on, if he found them not ready. But beeing come to the place, he found the company in battell. This great dilligence made him somewhat iealous, and they might perceiue him, that pulling vp his Cloake, he drew his Sword foure fingers out, yet without any amazement. *D'Errre* seeing him make euen the reynes of his Horse, came to him trotting, with his Hat in his hand, and hearing him sweare with a great oath that he had beene very dilligent. *You may see my Lord* (answered he) *I haue caused my Companions to aduance, for that I would not trouble you with attendance*. *Monsieur D'Errre* (replied the Earle) *you are one of my Friends, I cannot make any long stay here. To whome D'Errre said. All my Companions are not yet here, but if it please you, you shall see this Troupe, and iudge of the whole by a part*. Here vpon he sees some Horse-men come and demands what they were. *D'Errre* told him; *That it was Nereffan who had bene at Rion about a fate of his daughters*. Hee beleued it, for he knewe that *Nereffan* had stayd some dayes at *Rion* and yet his heart began to suspect more. But it was too late, hee was environed on euery side, and hardly can one resist many. *Nereffan* lighted to salute him, and hauing enterrayned him with some discourse vpon the occasion of his staye at *Rion*, or of his returne to Court, he went presently to Horse-backe, and thrust on one of the Lackquais with his tooke, for a signe and token of the beginning of the execution.

One of *Nereffans* three Lackquais takes holde of his Horse by the Bridle. *D'Errre* seeing that *Nereffan* had taken the right side to salute the Count of *Auvergne* went vnto the left, and laying hold with his Hand vpon the Hilt of his Sword

A Sword hee sayd vnto him that hee had commandement from the King to take him, 1604. The other two Laquais pulled him so roughly from his horse, as he had like to haue fallen to the ground, hee was moued to see himselfe so intreated by Laquais, intreating *D'Errre* to cause two of his companions to light, and that hee might not see those rascalls any more: *Nereffan* sayd vnto him that they were soldiers so attyred, to serue the King in this action. A peece shott into the ayre by chace, made him to doubt worse measure, so as hee intreated *D'Errre* that hee would not vse his Pistol. *D'Errre* freed him from these apprehensions, intreating him to resolve vpon the Kings will, and not to force them to intreat him otherwise then they desired. Well said hee, I yeeld, what will you haue mee to doe? That you mount vpon the Trompets horse, B sayd *D'Errre*. It was feared that hee would not haue suffered himselfe to bee taken so easily nor so quietly, as wee haue seene many great courages choose rather to be cutt in peeces, then to see themselves referred for some shamefull end, and others that haue willingly dyed, for that they would not die by force. When as he sees himselfe in the Toyle inuironed on all sides, *Liuerne* his confident follower in flight, & his friends the ministers of his Captiuitie, hee sayd, *Ah in the Diuels name, I doubted all this*. Being mounted vpon the Trompets Nagg, they conduct him presently to *Aigueperse*. Before hee had gone a hundred paces, he intreated *D'Errre* to lend him one of his troupe, to carrie some message of his remembrance, and of his miserie, to a Ladie that attended him. *De Pleche* had the charge. Shee who had not prepared her heart to withstand the assaults of a most extreme and sensible greefe, tooke *D'Errre* for the obiekt, against whome shee poured forth the furie of her passions. If I knew (sayd shee vnto this Gentleman,) that I might saue him in forcing through your troupe, I would willingly doe it, and if I had but tenne Men of my courage and resolution, you should not carrie him where you thinke. But I will neuer die vntill I haue giuen *D'Errre* a hundred shott with a pistoll, and to *Murat* a hundred blowes with a sword. These were the passions of her loue, transported with a resolution beyond her sexe, and which did participate of a Man, of a troubled mind, and of Loue. This last makes miracles of manuell, and manuell of miracles, in wills that are equally toucht with his inspirations. So it is neuer perfect, if it bee not full and neerely toucht with the accidents of both fortunes, as the Moone is not pleasing, but when it is at the full. Shee loued him well, and was well beloued: for the Count of *Auvergne* hath bene heard say, that if the King did set him at libertie, and send him backe to his house, vpon condition that hee should not see this Ladie, hee would rather desire to die. Shee presently ordered the affaires of her house, the disposition of her furniture, and the retreat of her seruants. This passion going from the memorie to the thought, from the thought to the heart, from the heart to the eyes, made her to poure forth so many teares, as shee lost the sight of one eye for a tyme.

They set him vpon the Trompets horse.

They conduct him to Aigueperse.

The extreme greefe of a Ladie that loued him.

E Being at *Aigueperse* he writt vnto the King. At the same place hee told the Baron of *Camillac*, that hee was acquainted with the dessein of his taking. It is true sayd hee, I knew it well, and I beleue you thinke I am a very honest man. He sayd that hee submitted himselfe to all the rigours of the Kings Iustice, if hee had sayd, done, thought, or attempted any thing since his Abolition. All the way hee seemed no more afflicted, then when hee was at libertie. Hee tould youthfull and idle tales of his Loue, and the deceiuing of Ladies. Hee shott in a harguebule at birds, wherein hee was so perfect and excellent, as hee did kill Larkes as they were flying. Sometimes hee would cast forth wordes of apprehension to enter into that great heape of stones of the Bastille, where hee had already tried his patience for the space of foure or foue monethes. *Descares* mett him at *Briarre*, and there hee entred into a Carosse, and was garded and led vnto *Montargis*, and from thence hee was imbarcked vpon the ruer, and presently conducted vnto the Bastille, without passing by the *Arcenall*: And entering into the Duke

The Count of Auvergne writes vnto the King.

I 604. He assures the of his innocency. of *Birons* chamber, hee knew his bed with some feeling of greefe, and taking leaue of them that had conducted him, he assured them that hee would goe out of that place as he had entred, and if they found him more guiltie then he had sayd, he desired them not to pittie him. Entering in he sayd vnto *Ruigny*, that he had rather lodge in any Tap-house in *Paris*, then in the Bastille. Those that beleue that he is not lodged there to get out, so soone as hee did the other time, thinke also that it is the worst that can happen vnto him. But it shall be an incomparable miserie to bee alwayes deprived of the Kings grace and fauour, without the which the best conditions are most lamentable, and a life of this manner how short soeuer, is a tedious and a languishing Life, it is no Life, it is to languish and to abuse Life.

A happy discovery of Conspiracies. The happy discovery and so fitly, of all that was done, and in a manner thought against the Kings seruice, is no small signe of the prosperity of his Raigne, and of his Fortune; and an assurance that those heads which shall strike against this rocke of Diamant will proue Glasfe. The desseignes of his enemies haue sometimes shewed themselues like vnto fixed Starres in the Firmament of their ambition, and in the end they haue proued but Comets & exhalations, which drawne out off the Earth, haue bene lost in the Ayre of their Vanity and Imagination. All these practises in the end were like vnto those poore wretched Cottages, built vp of Durt and couered with Stubble. And if all the Conspirators bee not yet taken yet they do nothing, being discovered and knowne to the eyes of the Kings Iustice. Conspiracies are like vnto Coales, which in the shadowe do flame, but when as the Sunne shines on them they fall into ashes. It is not the severity nor the Rigour of his Iustice, neither the terrour of examples and punishments, that hath discovered these Conspiracies. He hath not caused the Bell of *Ramire* King of *Spainne*, to bee rung to terrifie all the Conspirators with the found thereof. This King being offended with the Conspiracies of his Subjects, sayd, that hee would show them a Bell, the which hee had caused to bee cast, the found whereof might be heard throughout all the whole world. Curiosity made them goe, and they found in a great place the Heads of the principall men of the Realme, set one vpon another in forme of a Bell. It is the great obedience that is yeelded vnto the King, euen by them that are least inured to obey, that hath discovered these practises: It is the great Wisdom of his carriage, & the Order he hath taken to be aduertised of all and to knowe all. It is the Authority and respect which neuer was to absolute and perfect in his Predecessors as in him. This apprehension was a famous president. For the time was when he must haue had more men to take the Count of *Auvergne* and to conduct him vnto *Paris* without ler.

Confiderations upon his taking. Wee may obserue in this apprehension many things that may breed Admiration and amazement, and which shewe that Men do in vaine furnish themselues with Wisedome against Heauen, and with Intelligences against the King. The Count of *Auvergne* had aduertisements from all places that they should take him, and that the Kings Pensioners were in the field to that effect. His most inward and neere friends, and among others *Florack* knewe it, and said nothing vnto him, preferring his duty to his Prince before all affection. The Constable was also as well informed thereof as any other, and yet he made no shewe thereof. A shewe of great Wisedome. His duty prescribed him a Lawe to all the bounds of Nature; so there is not any one but is more bound to the seruice of the King and his Country, then to his owne health, or to that of his Children. A Gentleman being at his Table speaking of this taking, said, *Sir if the King should command mee to take you I would doe it, although I bee your most humble seruant, that you march in the first rankes of Greatnesse in the Realme, and that all things touching Armes, depend vpon your commandments. I beleue it* (answered the Constable) *elſe you should do ill, for the King is both your King and mine. I am your Friend.* There is no loue nor affection to dispence any one from the Kings Commandments.

The Count of *Auvergne* long before and since his taking, hath not said nor done any

I 604. A any thing whereof the Kings seruants haue not kept register. He complained of those that were daily about him, that they sayd nothing vnto him, and they all answered, that they were too honest to tell him any thing. Hee is a Prince of great understanding, capable of all sorts of desseins, of a quicke disposition, warlike, vigilant, and full of inuentions and subtilties. But all this auayled him nothing against the King, of whome wee may say that hee hath wicked wretches inough in his Kingdome that would deceiue him, but they are not cunning enough to doe it so.

B Soone after that the Count of *Auvergne* was lodged in the Bastille, *D'Amiragues* Governor of *Orleans* was committed to the Concergerie of the Pallace, and the Marquis of *Fernuill* his daughter garded in her house, by the Knight of the watch. Since that hee tried, that hee that is capable to loue earnestly, may also hate extremely. Wee can say nothing of the causes of this change, but what may bee learned by the issue of the Proceſſe. They bee affaires which concerne the King, his Person and his State, and if it bee tollerable to heare what is sayd, yet is it not lawfull to speake or publish it. His Maiestie himselfe hath not yet declared the cause of the Count of *Auvergne* restraint, and in the letter which hee did write vnto the Gouverneur of *Lions* vpon that subiect, hee did onely lend him these wordes, *You haue vnderstood how that I haue againe caused the Count of Auvergne to bee apprehended, being aduertised that hee continued still in his bad practises, and that hauing sent often for him, hee would not come. At the least, I will keepe him from doing ill if I can.* (At the same time, when

C as the Count of *Auvergne* was taken, the brute was that the Duke of *Bouillon* had like to haue bene surprized. When as he could find no other refuge for his stayes, but to retire himselfe out of the Realme, hee had vied the libertie of his retreat wisely, and hath alwayes sought the Kings fauour, for the assurance of his returne. Some forraigne Prince of his friends aduised him not to returne to Court, to hold all reconciliation suspect, and to beleue, that when a Prince is once offended, he is neuer quiet vntill the offence bee reuenged. That hee must not trust to that which hee promisseth, nor to that which hee swears, houlding both the one and the other lawfull for reuenge. That the word of a Prince that is offended, is like vnto *Zenxis* cluster of

D grapes, which takes Birds, but his oth is like vnto *Parrasius* vayle, which deceiues Men. Those which haue lost the fauour of their master (for that they had intelligence with them, whome they could not serue without cryme) are alwayes in continuall distrust, the which followes the offence, as the Boat doth the Shippe, vntill they haue quenched and smothered the cause, and made it knowne that they are diuided, and enemies to all their wils, that would distract them from their duties, for Men that are double and dissemblers, are neuer tamed, no more then a Batt, which is halfe a Ratt, and halfe a Bird, or the Chastor which is flesh, and fish. The Duke of *Bouillons* patience hauing giuen the King time enough to consider of his intentions, is redie through the Kings Clemencie, to obtaine all that he could desire, to returne to a greater fortune, in the which lesse is allowed then to a meaner estate.

E The Duke *Tremouille* ended his fortune by death. Hee might haue dyed when as the King would haue lamented the losse of him more, for hee was not now well pleased with certaine wordes which had bene reported vnto him, and if hee had liued, he would haue bene in paine to excuse himselfe of the commandement hee had made him to come vnto him to answere it: From hence spring two fruitfull considerations, the one, that there is nothing so fearefull and terrible as the threats and disgrace of his King, the other, that it is alwayes dangerous to speake ill of his Prince. For the first, *Cassander* greatly feared *Alexander*, euen when hee was dead, for that hee had seene him once transported with choller against him. And although that after the death of *Alexander* he was aduanced to the Throne of *Macedon*, yet walking in the Cittie of *Delphos*, and hauing seene an Image of *Alexanders*, who

was

1604. was nowe rotten in his graue, he did so tremble as his Hayre stood right vp, his knees A
 fayled him, and the paleness of his countenance shewed his amazement, and the ter-
 rible assault which his memory gaue him: for the second, when a free speeche hath
 once escaped against the respect of the Prince, he must haue a great and a strong Citi-
 ty as *Lisander* sayd to defend his liberty of speech. They haue neither Friendes nor
 Councell against the King, and if their misery findes any shadowe or protection, it is
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 nes of their houses nor their Allyances, this qualitie doth but increase their offence.
 Princes are not so much moued with that which the common people do, as with the
 Lycentious words of great men. *Caius* disguised himselfe into as many fashions as he
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 with a scepter in one hand, a Thunderbolt in the other, and an Eagle by
 his side, burst out in a great laughter. *Caius* causing him to come
 neere, asked him why he laughd. I laugh at this foolerie, an-
 swered the Cobler. The Emperour laughd also, suffe-
 ring it to passe freely without choller, yet pun-
 ishing other speeches seuerely which
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*Thus ends the seuenth yeare after the
 conclusion of the Peace.*

FINIS.



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